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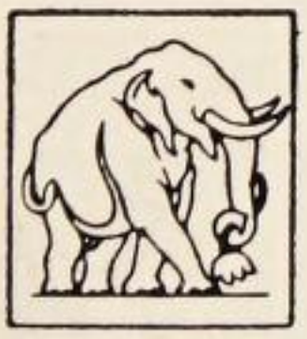
G.S. GHURYE



POPULAR PRAKASHAN
Bombay

He has, therefore, made bold to write this volume. May its reader receive some enlightenment on this ancient country, its peoples of bygone days and their contribution to the make-up of the Indian Nation!

G. S. GHURYE

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1

Early Indo-Europeans and Their Cultural Environment

THE PEOPLE of India of Vedic times have left not only literary records but also material remains, in the form of pottery and other artefacts. These latter can reveal to us their material culture to a large extent. Where these remains are accompanied by adequate physical remains of the people we can reconstruct, to a fairly correct extent, their physical type and racial affinity. Such material coming from India (Bharat), part of Vedic India, is so little and fragmentary that it is best to consider it as a whole by itself. Our search for the kind of people who inhabited the country in Vedic times is, therefore, confined to the literary-linguistic sources. The people of Vedic times, whose affiliation, physical type and total culture can be revealed to a large extent, lived in and spread over north-west India and a large part of north India (Bharat). They do not appear to have penetrated further south than the region of the lower Godavari and, in any case, not further than perhaps northern Orissa and western Bengal in the east.

Before fixing the limits of their spread and describing them, to the extent that is possible, we must try to specify, though approximately, the time-limits within which we consider the Vedic period to lie. To put the matter definitely at this stage, I consider the upper limit of the Vedic times to be about 2500 B.C. Fairly logical justification of this upper limit will be attempted later. For much of the argument leading to this date derives from linguistic and cultural data which will be briefly presented in the sequel.

I have fixed the lower limit of the Vedic times at about the end of the 7th century B.C., which I think is generally an agreed limit. I shall, however, state the compelling reasons to strengthen my case with the reader. By the end of the 7th century B.C. Mahavira had done enough religious preaching to call in question the Vedic-Brahmanic complex. And it was only a generation or two later, that Gautama Buddha had sounded a much louder revolt with much greater success in the imme-

diate future. And both these preachers arose and preached in their early careers in the region east of Kasi-Prayaga, Varanasi-Allahabad. And both of them used their vernaculars, supposed to be more or less the languages of the common people, contemporaneous with the earliest classical Sanskrit. At about the time Buddha jettisoned Sanskrit in favour of his folk-language in the east, Panini, coming at the end, almost, of a long line of grammarians and philologists, was, in the far north-west, binding and channelling classical Sanskrit, fixing its form and structure for ever. Speaking as he did in terms of contrast between 'Bhasha' and 'Chhandas', and emphasizing the significance of 'Loka' or 'samjna' or 'current social and linguistic usage',[1] he proclaimed in short the end of the Vedic Age.

The language of the Vedic people, the oldest recorded form of it, is that in which the Rigveda appears. It is known as Vedic Sanskrit, which nomenclature clearly establishes its most intimate relationship with classical Sanskrit. It does not matter whether the relationship is that of a mother or of a very much elder sister. Sanskrit, according to total consensus of linguists, belongs to the family of languages known as the Indo-European.

The Indo-European family of languages, to which Sanskrit along with Vedic Sanskrit belongs, and of which Vedic Sanskrit forms the oldest extant specimen, has a very wide and peculiar spread. The languages which are quite positively regarded as members of the Indo-European family of languages, as against, for example, the Semitic language-family, are spread from Lithuania on the Baltic in the north to the river Godavari in the south, from Scotland in the north-west to the mouths of the river Mahanadi in the south-east, and from Ireland in the west to Chinese Turkestan on the one hand and Assam on the other in the east. During the age when the Hittites, Mitannis and the Kassites were ruling over Anatolia, Syria and northern Mesopotamia, the gap that is seen today between the European members and the Asian ones could not have been so pronounced. For, the rulers of the named regions spoke Indo-European languages.

The members of this large family are naturally differentially related to one another, so that there are a number of sub-groups which are recognised within it. I shall stress here only one grouping, the most made of, though not very deep, in early history. It is based on the treatment of the gutturals in these languages. These languages fall into two groups on this basis: (1) those that preserve the original guttural sound; and (2) those that sibilize it. The first group of languages is called the *chentum* (kentum) group and the second the *satem* (satam)

1. V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 319, 351.

group. The first group includes all the European members, except Lithuanian and other Baltic languages, the Slavic languages and Albanian, the Hittite and Tocharian. The second group comprises Sanskrit and allied languages of India, Iranian, Armenian and Albanian and the Balto-Slavic. For further inter-relationship among these languages, I shall note here the opinion of Edgar H. Sturtevant, expressed in 1952 about Hittite: "It has now become quite certain that Hittite is not just one more Indo-European language. There are certain features of Indo-European that can be accounted for only as having developed in an ancestral language in which Hittite had no part. In other words, if Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Germanic are sister languages, Hittite is only a cousin".[2]

The affiliation of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit in the matter of guttural sounds with the most distant of the members of the Indo-European family, the Balto-Slavic, which Iranian shares with them, is noted above. Another feature of sound-affiliation which deserves to be noted is the treatment of 'l' sound. Vedic Sanskrit turns 'l' into 'r'. Both Iranian and the Aryan languages of the ancient Near East concur in this with it. That this feature might or must have been present in Baltic languages in ancient times arises as an inference from its presence "in some Aryan words in Finno-ugrian". This phonetic similarity is all the more important because, as Prof. Burrow points out, the distinction between 'l' and 'r' is preserved in the Classical, i.e., non-Vedic Sanskrit "to a large extent".[3] About the significance of this difference Professor Burrow observes: "... the fact that the more easterly dialects of early Indo-Aryan have avoided this change indicates a comparatively early separation from the main body, in comparison with the Vedic dialect which has undergone this change in common with the rest of Aryan before being introduced into India".[4]

The aspirazation of 's' into 'h' in the Iranian against all Sanskrit, Vedic and non-Vedic, as well as in the current purely Indo-Aryan languages, is a very important phonetic difference between these two Aryan languages. Sanskrit 'sapta' is Avestic 'hapta'. It is noteworthy, however, that this phonetic substitution is shared by Avestic with Armenian and Greek too.[5] In Greek 'seven' is 'hepta'. In Hittite, 'sapta' retaining its initial sibilant changes the 'p' into 't' giving us the word 'satta', 'seven', exactly as done in Prakrit or Middle Indian languages and their current descendants.

This peculiar inter-relationship of the language groups within the Indo-European family of languages and the widespread in recent and contem-

2. *Ency. Brit.*, 10, p. 826; 12, p. 264.
3 *Language*, 28, p. 177.
4. *The Sanskrit Language*, pp. 31-32.
5. Prof. Crossland in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* I, pl. 2, p. 838.

porary times make the question of their habitat, about the time of which the Rigveda speaks is very pertinent to our quest of the origin of the people who composed the Rigveda and of their society in India. The importance of a discussion of and a plausible conclusion about the whereabouts of the different linguistic groups in the rather remote past, as near the time of the Vedic Age of India as possible, is brought out when one reads the views on the presence of the Indo-Aryans in India of the Rigvedic age, expressed by some very prominent scholars of the time, within about two decades after the startling discovery of the Boghazkeui tablets by Hugo Winkler.

F. E. Pargiter, who was on the track of his brilliant synthesis of the data of the *Puranas* of India when the news of the great discovery came out, completed his great endeavour and published its results in his book *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* in 1922. His cogitation over the vast Puranic data had provided him with three historical traditions of great significance. They are: (1) the first 'historical' persons of the Sanskritic Indians to rule in India—Ikshvaku and also Nabhanedishtha—lived about 2100 B.C. The famous Rigvedic kings like Divodasa, Sudas and Trasadasyu, on the other hand, must have lived, according to the same system of chronological determination, about 1300 B.C. The third king of the Puranic dynasties is Pururavas, the Aila, who immediately followed the two mentioned above. His progeny prospered most and spread far and wide. While the former ruled in the rather eastern part of the country, the latter family, beginning in the region immediate west of the dominion of the former, soon spread further west and overflowed the Indian sub-continent; (2) The overflow of the western family, the Ailas, is datable, in the same chronological frame, to about 1600 B.C.; (3) The eastern family, called by Pargiter as Manva, whose historical patriarch was only a generation older than the patriarch of the Ailas, is identified by him with the Dravidians, one of the two ethnic stocks which were the earlier inhabitants of the country. The Ailas, the later family, were the Aryans, the Puranic accounts of whom point to their having descended into India right down from the Himalayan fringes through Tibet or the nearby region.

Pargiter therefore submitted that the Gods of Mitanni prove the influx of Aryans of India into Western Asia about 1600 B.C. and that it was not that wave of Indo-European migration which provided certain regions of Western Asia with ruling families, whose treaties and other affairs were recorded in the tablets discovered, that gave India her Indo-Europeans. The Indo-Europeans of India had descended into India straight through the Himalayan passes, however difficult, in the north about six to seven centuries earlier.

Peter Giles, a philologist, writing only about five years or so after

Pargiter, in the 14th edition of the *Ency. Brit.*, vol. 12, used the same Boghazkeui records and the Tell-el-Amarna letters to maintain that the migrations of the Indo-Europeans were through Asia Minor. Mentioning the fact that "the first investigators were of opinion that either the records proceeded from India advancing westwards [as Pargiter submitted] or that the original home of the Indo-European must once more be carried back to central Asia, where it had been located by some of the early authorities". Maintaining the position that the Indo-Europeans of India—the Rigvedic Indians—were a group that passed further east from the West-Asian region, he explained away the archaic nature of some linguistic features of the West-Asian records and of Sanskrit, differentiating them from Zend and Old Persian, the intervening Iranian languages, as post-separation phenomena.

Hrozny, the brilliant interpreter of the Hittite language, with the advantage of the data of the Kultepe tablets, in his contribution on the Hittites to the same work[6] heads its paragraphs as, "Aryans (Earliest Indians) in Syria and Mesopotamia" to describe the governing class of the kingdoms of Khurri and Mitanni in the second millennium B.C. He puts the "invasion" of Asia Minor by the Indo-European Hittites in the 20th century B.C. but observes, by way of prudential statement: "It is not certain whether it is permitted to infer from the name *Khuvaruvash*, [a king of the Amuru in southern Syria ranged among the 17 kings, whose coalition King Naramsin of Babylonia, 25th century B.C., is recorded to have defeated in a battle], of wholly Hittite character, that the invasion of Asia Minor, even Syria, by the first Indo-Europeans, the Luites, took place as early as the first centuries of the third millennium B.C.".

Prof. T. Burrow, as a result of his linguistic studies, propounds that Europe extending from the Rhine to Central and Southern Russia was probably already occupied by various Indo-European dialects when the Indo-Iranian migrations started from the Indo-European homeland. He states further that the Indo-European dialects which were the bases of the languages known latterly as the *satem*-group formed the central group among all, and that Greek, though not having that particular sound-peculiarity, shows "its closest connection" with them. He therefore, states that "we have to assume that the Indo-European dialect on which Greek is based was originally in the closest contact with the central dialect group" and that it was "severed at a period preceding the *satem* sound changes". It follows, for Prof. Burrow from this reasoning, that the Indo-Iranian migrations which he, along with many others, believes must have started "very likely about 2000 B.C.", carried with them the

6. *Ency. Brit.*, vol. 11, pp. 104, 604-8.

essential features developed in the European homeland. "Once the migrations began over such wide territories", he observes "all opportunities for unitary development of Indo-Iranian must have ceased".[7]

As regards "the presence of Aryans" [Indo-Europeans with Indo-Aryan gods] in the Near East "in the middle of the second millennium B.C." he thinks that it can be best explained by an invasion [of Indo-Europeans] from this quarter [South Russia]". He is, however, definite that "the major migration [of Indo-Europeans] took place to the East, North of the Caspian Sea", resulting in the concentration of the Aryans [Indo-Iranians] in Russian Turkestan, and it was from that region, Prof. Burrow asserts, "Iranians and Indo-Aryans separately penetrated into Iran and India".[8]

Professors F. W. Albright and Lambdin have pronounced a firmly definite conclusion about the affinities of Hittite, Luwain and Palaic of Anatolia. The speakers of these tongues, they say, had "almost certainly moved into Asia Minor from the north *not later than the middle centuries of the third millennium* [italics mine] and had been pushed southward [and eastward?] by subsequent invaders of quite unknown origin".[9] The pottery found in the excavations of Yanik Tepe, close to the shores of Lake Urumiya in Azerbaijan, North-west Iran, which belong to the same wide cultural province as Eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia, of about 2100-1900 B.C., supports the above statement.[10] Prof. Gurney has listed Hittite monarchs along with their reign-periods, ranging right from the middle of the 18th century to the end almost of the 12th century.

Antiquity of Indo-European influence on a settlement in Anatolia is another evidence favouring an early entry of the people in the midst of the native Anatolians. A cuneiform record reveals that one of the settlements before 2635 B.C. was named "Purushkhanda". In the reign of Sargon of Akkad, the merchants from Mesopotamia residing in the city of Purushkhanda invited their vigorous and dynamic king, Sargon, to storm the site, which was very prosperous. History records that he did accordingly.[11] The word Purushkhanda is so reminiscent of an expression in use among Hindus for ages in their religious performances, I mean the formula in which 'Bharatakhanda', 'the continent of Bharata', i.e., India (Bharat) occurs, that I cannot but see in Purushkhanda, an Indo-European linguistic and cultural mode enshrined.

7. Burrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12, 15, 16.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
9. *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, 3rd ed., vol. I, pt. I, p. 142.
10. *Antiquity*, 1961, p. 237.
11. Hrozny in *Ency. Brit.*, vol. 11, p. 104.

Eduard Meyer in his article on Persia in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[12] brings the Iranians to their "later home" from the east. "Their residence" he says, "must have lain chiefly in the great steppe which stretches north of the Black Sea and the Caspian, through South Russia, to Turan (Turkestan) and the Oxus and the Jaxartes. For, here we continually discover traces of Iranian nationality". From the steppe region they must have penetrated into the cultivable area of Eastern Iran. It was from Eastern Iran that "one part spread over the district of the Indus, then again to the Ganges; another moved westward to Zagrus [Zagros] and the borders of the Semitic world". Though the data of the migration was rather uncertain to him yet he opined that the Aryans of India were already in the Punjab in the Vedic era, i.e., about 1600 B.C. He evidently explains the presence of Indian gods and Aryan and Iranian names in documents of the 16th to 14th century B.C. hailing from Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt, as a result of the westward migration of a part of the same ethnic movement. He observes: "It appears, then, that towards the middle of the second millennium before Christ, in the time of the Hyksos empire, Indian and Iranian tribes made a great forward movement to the West, at first probably in the role of mercenaries", and connects with the situation "the well-known fact that it was about this very period (1700 B.C. approximately) that the horse made its appearance in Babylonia, Egypt and Greece, where for centuries its use was confined to war and the war chariot". About the same time, "the great highland of Iran was occupied by the Iranians", divided into at least 13 tribes.

The movement of the Iranians into the Zagros mountain area posited in Meyer's observations, which is placed by Richard N. Frye[13] in the 10th century B.C., however, is inferential. Prof. Frye himself has stated that actual evidence of Iranian language in that area does not date earlier than 879 B.C. when for the first time Iranian names occur in documents. Mention of the Medes occurs a little later in a record of a campaign of the Assyrian king Salmanasar III in 836-35. Albright and Lambdin, on the basis of cuneiform records, quite correctly argue in favour of a much earlier immigration of Iranians in that region. They opine that Iranians must have penetrated Iran "toward the end of the Late Bronze Age or the beginning of the Iron Age, roughly between 1800 and 1000 B.C. as earliest and latest possible dates".[14]

Recent studies based on archaeological finds tend to place the presence of Indo-Europeans in the Iranian areas far earlier than the dates mentioned so far. Jean Deshayes, dilating on the evidence for the Indo-

12. *Ency. Britannica,* vol. 17, p. 565-6.
13. *The Heritage of Persia,* 1962, p. 69.
14. *Camb. Anc. Hist.,* 3rd ed.; vol. I, pt. I, p. 145.

Europeans, made available by the archaeologist's spade through the unearthing of burnished grey pottery at Tureng Tepe, in strata, which by C-14 dating must be about 3000 B.C., would place the presence of Indo-Europeans in the north-eastern part of Iran from Tepe Hissar, described as "the north-eastern entrance to Iran, north and east to Tureng Tepe and the Iranian boundary, "about the last centuries of the fourth millennium B.C.".[15] B. Morton Smith, only a year earlier, had stated that painted grey ware which is associated, according to him, with iron, had come on the Iranian plateau with the Medes in the thirteenth century B.C.[16] According to Deshayes, F. Guyler Young Jr. "has brilliantly proved that the ware of Khorvin and the related ware from the Zagros district must be ascribed to the Medes who probably settled in north-west Iran as early as the middle of the second millennium B.C." and that burnished grey ware, so characteristic of Indo-Europeans, appeared "at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in all the northern areas of the Near East". The presence of burnished grey ware at Tureng Tepe, therefore, bespeaks the presence of Indo-Europeans there and on the plains of Gorgan in which Tureng Tepe lies. Deshayes has further observed that the grey ware is "practically confined to the plains of Gorgan with the exception of an advance post at Tepe Hissar on the northern edge of the Iranian plateau". As the strata can confidently be dated about 3000 B.C., the coming of the Indo-Europeans in Iran can reasonably be ascribed to an invasion or immigration from a region north-east of Iran or north of the north-eastern boundary of Iran and that too almost from the time before 3000 B.C.

Sylvia H. Matheson,[17] writing two or three years later, observed quite positively that the studies of the burnished grey ware had led to the more or less definite conclusion that the Iranians entered Iran not from the west passes of the Caucasus but had reached the plateau of Iran from the north-east side. The earliest immigrants were already settled in the western parts by the second half of the second millennium B.C.

Further north-west, in north-eastern Mesopotamia, a people known as the Kassites must have arrived about 2000 B.C., for their dynasty is known to have ruled over Babylonia from about 1700 B.C. to about 1150 B.C. Very little is known about them except that, after their eviction from Babylonia by the Elamites, they produced in Luristan-Media bronzes which speak highly of their artistic and mechanical temperament and ability. The Scythians of southern Russia, whose bronze work is so well prized, got their art from these Kassites during their stay in Luristan or Media about 680 B.C. About the linguistic affiliation of the

15. *Archaeology*, 1969, pp. 10-17.
16. *Archaeology*, 1968, p. 159.
17. *Persia: An Archaeological Guide*, 1972, p. 68.

Kassites, though Prof. Crossland [18] is still doubtful whether their language "contained any Indo-European element", and Prof. R. N. Frye [19] only observes that "they too must have had contacts with Indo-Europeans to judge from some names of their deities and rulers", the opinions of Dr. Paul Thieme and Dr. Marija Gimbutas treating them as full-fledged Indo-Europeans appear to be much better grounded on facts. Dr. Thieme considers the divine names on Kassite documents to be good evidence of the Indo-Aryan nature of the pantheon and instances as the most convincing one the name of the Sun-god, which is *Surias*, equivalent to Vedic Surya Sur(i)yas. Dr. Gimbutas has no doubts about the Kassites being Indo-Europeans. She derives them from northern Caucasus and informs us that they were mentioned in Elamite texts in the third millennium B.C. as being then in Luristan.[20]

Greek language, or to follow John Chadwick, the people, whose interaction with the earlier civilization of the region which afterwards came to be known as Greece, gave the Greek language as we know it in its earliest extant form, is now considered to have reached Greece not later than 2000 B.C. Professors Albright and Lambdin observe [21]: "The irruption of the Greek-speaking peoples into mainland Greece took place no later than the 18th century B.C., and may perhaps have fallen a century or so earlier". John Chadwick,[22] a collaborator of the late Dr. Ventris, the immortal decipherer of one of the Minoan scripts, likes to speak of "a band of invaders" entering Greece about the 20th century B.C. They were speakers of an Indo-European language. Their language mixing with an earlier language of unknown affiliation "emerged as Greek". Prof. Stuart Piggott [23] would perhaps put the date even a little earlier. He mentions the burning of a number of towns on the Greek mainland at the end of the Early Helladic II period about 2100 B.C., evidently by an intrusive people. By 2000 B.C. the intruders had settled down to foster a civilization, incorporating much from local culture. And they were "likely to be the first people we can reasonably call Greeks".

The various groups of Indo-Europeans, whose presence in the particular regional area in which they were first attested, are seen to have gone there between about 3000 or 3500 B.C. and 1600 B.C. In the case of the Hittites and the Greeks, records of other peoples, already inhabiting those lands and rearing up high and prosperous civilizations, make it clear that these Indo-Europeans were fresh immigrants that had moved

18. *Cam. A. Hist.*, I, pl. 2, p. 838.
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 57.
20. *American Anthropologist*, 1960, p. 301 fn 4; 1963, p. 827.
21. *Cam. An. Hist.*, 3rd ed., vol. II pt. I, p. 139.
22. *Archaeology*, 1969, p. 274.
23. *Ancient Europe*, p. 121.

from their original home. In the case of Iranians the high antiquity of their immigration into north-eastern Iran is postulated on the basis of archaeological discoveries of certain artefacts.

As Dr. Marija Gimbutas[24] observed more than a decade ago, the peculiar linguistic similarities, "point to a compact area for the early Indo-European homelands before their wide dispersion". And I should say, the more or less certain dating of the presence of some of them, whether they passed over the area on the north of the Caucasus and the Black Sea into Greece, or they penetrated into Anatolia through the Caucasus, or whether they appeared in the plains of north-eastern Iran, about the middle to the end of the fourth millennium B.C. or at least before 2500 B.C., makes the dispersion datable to not later than about the beginning of the third millennium B.C.

To locate the origin of the Indo-Aryans and to ascertain the approximate date of their first appearance in India we need to go further than the linguistic relationships which are partly at least noted above. To take a leaf out of the book of archaeology, particularly pre-historic archaeology, we will do well to review briefly one or two features of the cultures of the three or four groups of Indo-Europeans I have specially mentioned here above.

The question of the location of the original home of the Indo-Aryans, since the time it was taken as an axiomatic truth that they had penetrated India from somewhere in the west outside India, has been consistently and persistently discussed. The discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna letters and more particularly of the Boghazkeui tablets added a new dimension to the question. One could, if so minded, propound that the Indo-Aryans, if they came from outside, also re-emigrated to west-Asia in some numbers. A decade or so later came F. E. Pargiter's brilliant synthesis of the dynastic data of the *puranas* which turned out what looked to many till then a confused mass of names into an "ancient Indian historical tradition". And the tradition starts with the assertion or assumption that the Indo-Aryans were *sui generis* in India so that if one finds himself compelled, by linguistic and/or other cultural facts, to explain the presence of items similar to those of the Indo-Aryans outside India, in Iran, western Asia, Greece or the Slav countries of Europe, he may choose to assert that they had only proceeded from India!

Only a year or so later than, or perhaps contemporaneously with, the publication of Pargiter's synthesis of the Puranic data on dynastic personages, came the striking discovery of the Indus Valley civilization and its sudden end. The earliest stage of the civilization on the basis of tell-tale artefacts was put down at about 2500 B.C. and its sudden death

24. *American Anthropologist,* 1963, p. 817.

at about 1700 B.C. Subsequently even the new scientific procedure of dating objects found in excavations or otherwise supported more or less the same dates for the Indus Valley Civilization at their most famous centres, i.e., Mohenjo-daro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab.[25] This tended to fix the time-frame for the violent incoming or the 'devastating' invasion of the Indo-Aryans.

Three recent opinions from three authoritative sources, not quite consonant with one another, if nothing else, make it incumbent upon me to open the topic afresh and see if a little more light can be thrown on this topic.

Dr. Marija Gimbutas, reviewing P. Bosch-Gompera's book on Indo-European Archaeological Problems (in French) in the *American Anthropologist*,[26] is convinced of the intimate connection between the "Old Indic people" and "the so-called Tazbagjab * Bronze Age Culture" akin to the Proto-Scythian cultures like the Timber-grave culture of the Eurasian steppes. She asserts that the migration of the Old Indic culture is "much more probable from south of the Sea of Aral up the Syr Darya river around fifteenth-fourtheenth centuries B.C., and that the date agrees with that of the destruction of the walled cities of the pre-Aryan Indus civilization".

Stuart Piggott,[27] an archaeologist with first-hand knowledge of the Indus Valley Civilization, writing on the archaeology of Europe in 1965, revised his earlier view about the date of the Indo-Aryan invasion which was the same as that of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, the authority on the Indus Valley Civilization, and very much near to that of Dr. Gimbutas, viz., 15th century B.C., and put down the date as "the thirteenth or even the twelfth century B.C. as more appropriate". Readers will be surprised to learn that this archaeologist had, in 1950-52, dated "the Aryan invasion" to "the middle of the first millennium B.C.".[28] Sir Mortimer, on the other hand, even though writing two or three years after Prof. Piggott, upgraded his previous estimate and pushed that date back to 1700 B.C. As A. Ghosh[29] quite pertinently remarked this oscillation was

25. Cf., Dales in Hammond, *"South Asian Archaeology."*
26 *American Anthropologist,* 1963, p. 817.

* Also spelled 'Tazabagyab', it is the culture that flourished around the Sea of Aral particularly in its north-eastern and south-western regions, the latter almost extending to the eastern protuberance of the Caspian Sea. In the fine maps of European and Eurasian prehistoric culture, as located by Soviet scholars and adapted by Dr. M. W. Thompson (1-3) (*Antiquity,* 1965), the culture is named in the 3rd map. Though in the legend its date is left out, Dr. Thompson has stated that all the cultures, including this one of Eurasia, flourished in the 4th to 2nd millenia B.C. (p. 113).

27. *Ancient Europe,* p. 108.
28. *Prehistoric India,* p. 202.
29. *Antiquity,* 1969, p. 160.

a consequence of hinging the date of the coming in of the Indo-Aryans on the date of the fall and disappearance of the Indus Valley culture.

Professors Albright and Lambdin, writing two years or so later in the 3rd edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*[30] and quite frank about the agency of the destruction, with the clause "whether or not it [the destruction] was hastened by natural catastrophes", say that "the old date about 1800 B.C. or perhaps a little later [which I presume would be the same as that of Sir Mortimer, viz., 1700 B.C.!], is very satisfactory for the first irruption of the Indo-Aryans into India". As regards the provenance from which they emigrated they added: "When the Indo-Aryan [not the Aryans of India but the larger unit of Indo-Europeans] nomads —they appear certain that they were nomads and I take it they mean to imply also that they were not agriculturists!—came down from Transcaspia about that time and that they divided north of the central desert of Iran, "one branch going eastward through Bactria to the Zagros into Mesopotamia and Syria". The branch, however, did not include or contain the Iranians (p. 145). They have informed their readers at page 139 that "the Indo-Aryan irruption into India can now be dated not later than the 18th century B.C. and the Iranians migrated into Iran some centuries later". One page 155, they affirm that "the final destruction of the Indus Valley culture by the Indo-Aryan invaders" has to be put down at "somewhere between *c.* 1950 and 1970 B.C.".

Unbiassed readers would, I think, construe the statements of Albright and Lambdin to support about 2000 B.C. as the date of the India-ward migration of the Aryans and about 1500 B.C. as the date of the settlement of the Iranians (Persian Aryans) in Iran proper. Views of other writers based on a close study of the archaeology of Asia Minor, Anatolia, Syria and north-eastern Mesopotamia already stated make the immigration of the Indo-European-speaking population of those regions from the east at about the time posited by Albright and Lambdin an anachronism. Anatolian Indo-Europeans are quite definitely to be traced to a migration down through the Caucasus dated about 2500 B.C. The Kassites and Mitannis, on the other hand, appear to belong to the migration of Indo-Europeans from the eastern side. In the light of recent archaeological discoveries, however, their irruption into south-eastern Anatolia and north-eastern Mesopotamia, is logically to be put down as from about 2500 B.C. to about 1800 B.C. Dr. Jean Deshayes,[31] already mentioned, reporting on the finds of Tureng Tepe, a mound in Iran very near the south-eastern point of the Caspian Sea and some 100 or so km. south-east of the famous Turkmanian archaeological site of Anau

30. *Cam. An. Hist.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 144.
31. *Archaeology*, 1969, pp. 13-14.

excavated by Pumpelly in the first decade of the 20th century. has called attention to the important testimony of burnished grey pottery, a ware believed to be and probably found to be, a characteristic trait of West-Asian and Middle-East Indo-European culture, in favour of this date.

The coming in of the Iranians has to be placed in the later time-period. Dr. Deshayes and Dr. Sylvia Matheson have pointed out that the Turkmenian Steppe had begun to be deserted probably about 2000 B.C., Tureng Tepe retaining some of its inhabitants till about 1700 B.C. or 1600 B.C. Dr. Matheson [32] more positively has further stated that by the latter date the thinned local population "no doubt already dominated by Iranian invaders from the north, were producing new shapes in wheel-thrown grey pottery". She further observes on the significance of the grey-ware: "Recent studies of this ware have been connected with the movements of the Iranians who uptil now were believed to have entered Iran through the north-west Caucasian passes. Now it is thought that the earliest of the newcomers had already settled in the west as early as the second half of the second millennium, and from the fact that they appear to have adopted north-eastern pottery forms, most of them at least can be presumed to have reached the plateau from this [north-east] direction".

To turn to the culture of these people, primary social organization based on family and kin which carries with it its stamp of affiliation claims our attention. However, habitat and economy as well as passage of time affect its history, though not in the inevitable and exclusive manner in which Lewis Morgan and Engels more so, thought, they conditioned it, the similarities persisting through history when traced back do provide a clue for picturing the original scene. The picture, however, depends so much on the linguistic element, the terminology of kinship being the central item, that even a brief survey of that aspct of culture of the five or so main groups of Indo-Europeans I have mentioned or shall have to mention, without being much more illuminating, will load the essay too much. Nor can the aspect be described or treated in a particular time-or age-perspective. I shall therefore leave that out, especially as I have already dealt with it at some length in my book *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture* first published in 1956.

Some aspects of that part of man's culture which is based on his concern for the life after death and the supernatural can be and are known through archaeological finds in specific time-perspective. I have selected one such aspect, which besides is fairly well-known from finds, whether artefacts or religious or semi-religious paintings and sculptures, for the whole of the vast area over which the four or five units of the Indo-European groups are known to have spread by about 1500 B.C.

32. *Persia: An Archaeological Guide,* 1972, pp. 68, 98.

Worship or some kind of tendance offered to some animals and also some kind of animal sacrifice is perhaps the earliest part of man's culture-complex centred in his commerce with the supernatural. For the European of the Upper Palaeolithic Age,[33] the masterly life-like moulding, sculpturing, carving or painting of the powerful bison and the dynamic horse, both not domesticated, was no doubt a part and parcel of sympathetic magic in pursuit of food. However, as M. C. Burckitt [34] observed about some of the places in which these representations occurred, they were "not homes; but possibly sacred spots, where ritual practices took place, which had been decorated for much the same reason as many of our churches are ornamented". J. R. Conrad was convinced that Palaeolithic man fought the bull and successfully reared his own progeny. At the dawn of history, as for example at Catal Huyuk and Hacilar in south-western Turkey in the region opposite the island of Cyprus, about 7000 B.C. man is found worshipping the bull and also sacrificing it evidently to his God.[35]

Neolithic men of Anatolia had shrines full of bulls' heads, bucrania or horned pillars, and paintings of animals.[36] The sanctuaries and shrines of Catal Huyuk, says Prof. James Mellaart,[37] the great discoverer of the Neolithic site, which are "decorated with wall-paintings, reliefs in plaster, animal heads, stylised bucrania" and certain "cult statues" give us "a vivid picture of Neolithic man's concern with religion and beliefs". The observation of Dr. M. C. Burckitt about some of the Upper Paleolithic sites of Europe is thus much more appropriate for Neolithic Catal Huyuk and Anatolia. The sanctuaries, Mellaart points out, were used for cult purposes only. They were not places for offering sacrifice, for there are "no altars and no tables for bleeding a sacrificed animal". Nor are there any pits for blood. The construction of the shrines further makes it impracticable to bring animals into them. However, to warn us against a categorical assertion of the non-existence of animal sacrifice in Neolithic Catal Huyuk, Prof. Mellaart observes: "If animal sacrifice was practised at all the slaughtering must have been done elsewhere".

Mellaart informs us that animal heads, as far as the description goes, only those of bull and perhaps of rams are indicated, in plaster relief

33. Dorothy Davison, *Men of the Dawn,* pp. 99-117; R. R. Schmidt, *The Dawn of the Human Mind,* pp. 85 ff.; Paolo Graziosi: *Palaeolithic Art,* pls., 119d, 121, 123, 134, 135b, 136, 164b, 165-67, 169c, 170a, 175-77, 181-83. 193, 200a-c, 204, 206-8, 215, 241, 245-46, 250. In pl. 178 one sees the hall of bulls and in 207a prototype of the bull painting of Catal Huyuk.
34. *Ency. Brit.,* 14th ed., 2, p. 242.
35. *The Horn and the Sword,* 1959, p. 9; Bacon, *Archaeology Discoveries in the 1960s,* pp. 122-26.
36. Brodrick Broughton, *Animals in Archaeology,* 1972, p. 9; Bacon, *ibid.*
37. James Mellaart, *Catal Huyuk,* 1967, p. 77.

are seen in the earliest level of the site, datable to *c.* 6500 B.C. There were five bulls' heads and only three other heads, possibly of rams. Two of the bulls' heads have "enormous but clumsily moulded horns". A painting of a "large black bull" decorated a temple of the next level, in addition to a head of a bull and one of a leopard, which appears from Prof. Mellaart's description of other shrines to be an emblem or an attribute of a goddess (p. 118). From the charts on pp. 102-3 we can see that in the upper levels, the VII and particularly the VI, bulls' heads far outnumber heads of other animals; bucrania, for bull pillars in numbers testify to the importance of the bull for cultic purposes. Benches with inserted horns, another item of decoration, again bespeak the same. In one temple of the VII level and in two of the VI a black bull cut out in relief in a charging posture decorates the north wall. In one temple of the VII level a figure of a big bull cut out of plaster decorates the north wall, while in another two such figures placed back to back enclose between their backs two goddesses sitting astride with legs widely separated, with a bulls' head facing the observer from the meeting of the legs of the goddesses. The configuration decorates the west wall (Fig. 23). No goddess was discovered in any level below the VII. In one shrine of the VII level in which a charging black bull with its generative organ emphasized, is painted on the north wall, the west wall towards which the bull faces, has a pair of standing goddesses in relief with a bull's head lying in between near the feet. The two shrines of the VI level, in which a charging bull figures in the north wall, bear decorative equipment which is almost identical and Prof. Mellaart's description of one of them being available and very telling I shall take the liberty of quoting a short passage from it. "The west wall of the shrine bore the familiar representation of a goddess ... with raised arms and upturned feet, a position indicative of child-birth. Immediately below, a large bull's head with spreading horns, modelled in clay and plaster is shown. The representation is clear and shows the goddess having given birth to a bull" (p. 124). In later level shrines, wall paintings preponderate, one of which is very germane to our purpose and must be briefly drawn upon. It is dated by Mellaart on the basis of C-14 dating as of the first quarter of the fifty-eighth century B.C. The enormous bull, vital energy and prowess-incarnate so to say, is over six feet long. The human beings, one between its stocky powerful horns and others round about, are drawn very small, evidently to emphasize the bigness and power of "the monster". As neither killing nor wounding is shown, Mellaart is "doubtful whether the scene represents hunt" (pl. 64 and note and p. 170). May we not take the scene to represent sacrifice as was current then in the open, not to any deity as such but simply as a magic rite calculated to increase power?

The scenes of goddesses and charging bulls in plaster relief of the earlier levels have to be interpreted as absorption of male virility, the mighty bull being its symbol and its charging pose the injection of that virility in the goddess. Prof. Mellaart has himself drawn attention to the fact that in plaster reliefs the goddesses are presented in anthropomorphic form and not through their attributes or their symbols [the breasts] and "the place of the male is taken by bulls and rams, a more impressive exponent of male fertility", the bull and not the ram, being represented in full outline (p. 101).

Bucranium or bull-pillar is a symbolic or rather more respectable and convenient form of bull-complex. It consists of a small pillar of bricks "in the upper part of which are incorporated the horn-cores and the frontal of a wild bull (*Bos primigenius*). In Catal Huyuk they were kept not only in shrines but in houses too. In one house a singleton bueranium by way of protection of the house, (or as an adornment?) was commonly found. In shrines, however, bucrania occurred in multiples. One of the two splendid shrines of the VI level "presented a terrific spectacle of bucrania; two placed on the corner-platform and a third beyond a carefully modelled bench". Prof. Mellaart [38] remarks on its visual effect: "The impression left by these remains is still that of tremendous male power and it may be surmised that this was a shrine devoted to the cult of the male deity".

The stage of bull-complex represented in the civilization of Catal Huyuk, it appears to me, would justify one to accept J. R. Conrad's dictum about bull-complex that the fundamental qualities of the bull, viz., tremendous strength and great fertility, being also "the permanent values" of man, the bull, came to be "worshipped in all the early civilizations on earth" as a symbol (*op. cit.*, p. 9). Dr. Conrad speaks of worship which is a complex broad enough for him to include under it even the killing of a bull in the modern Spanish *corrida*. To me it seems that the killing of a bull after an exciting and strenuous fight with it must stand on a different kind of approach to the acquisition or absorption of power and virility from that indicated by a sacrifice of a bull without its having any opportunity to fight. For, in the latter case there is no question of demonstration of the power of the sacrificer, nor is there any intention to do so. The sacrifice undirected, unspecified or undedicated must further be distinguished from sacrifice as an accompaniment of a burial and from one that is dedicated to a deity. The last is, besides its magical power transferring implication, a kind of worship. Sacrifice as an adjunct of a burial has further implications regarding the life after death, the concept of property and also regarding the

38. *Op. cit.*, pp. 65, 118.

well-being of those members of the family that are left behind. Sacrifice as worship-complex, too, can be further distinguished according to the nature of the theory regarding the sacrificed animal, its disposal and its future if any. These distinctions will be found necessary in our quest for affinities of the Vedic Indo-Aryan with one or the other of the four or five groups of Indo-Europeans we have fixed upon as relevant to our purpose.

Before proceeding further with a study of the spread of the bull-complex after the Anatolian one of the 7th-6th millennia B.C., I must note here one important discovery made by Mellaart in his Catal Huyuk excavations which is quite significant for a proper appraisal of Indo-Aryan religious complex of the Vedic age, and that is the one about a bull-riding God. Mellaart discovered five male gods made of baked clay, four of whom were seated on animals. One of the four, a youth, was seated on a leopard. The remaining three gods, all adults, were seated on bulls. It is clear from Mellaart's description that two of them, one in clay [?] and another "in blue limestone", were bearded: and it is not clear whether the third bull-riding god "in white calcite" was bearded or not.[39]

Bacon has reproduced a painting from one of the walls of a so-called shrine of the V Level of about 5850 B.C. The animals painted include "a bull, which is certainly the central figure, red deer ... bear, wolf, wildasses, a pair of onagers, dogs and a large unspotted feline animal. The bul is enormous, the human beings painted as running round about "are not quite so tall as the bull's legs". At least one man—or is it a woman?—is seen in acrobatic posture on the back of the enormous animal, the human being appearing more slender than its hump. Bacon has interpreted the scene as one of "ritual-teasing or baiting of the main food animals", human beings being engaged in leaping and dancing, pulling the animal's tail and tweaking its tongue and has observed that "it is impossible not to see in these fantastic games the fore-runners of the Minoan bull-leaping of some 4000 years later".

In view of the presence of so many animals which cannot possibly be thought of as fit for food, like wolf, bear, ass and dog in the company, it is not possible to agree with Bacon that the scene depicts "ritual-teasing or baiting". Magical induction of power into the individuals or individual, i.e., either the community or perhaps the patron at whose cost the work was accomplished is more likely to be the rationale of the scene. In view of the presence of burials, actual or inferrable, under the platforms of the shrine, which has induced Prof. Mellaart to suggest, though "very tentatively", that the so-called shrine was either a comme-

39. Mellaart, *op. cit.*, pls. 86-91.

morative building or a cenotaph",[40] it would not be unreasonable to infer that the scene depicts the preliminaries to a bull-sacrifice accompanying a burial.

Namazga II culture of Turkmenia, dated about 5300 to *c.* 4300 B.C., provides the next evidence of bull-complex. The culture exploited stone much more than earlier cultures, making both vessels and statues out of them. One of the statues is of a bull.[41] Kara Tepe from the same region, too, had not only baked clay figurines but also those of stone. Prof. Masson[42] has found it necessary to make "special mention" of the "massive figugre of a bull" in "white marble-like stone". Specially interesting in this context is the find of a terra cotta figurine of a cow "painted with dark brown spots, clearly representing the bridling of live cows".

The fine copper statuette from Tell-el-Ubaid of early Sumerian period and therefore datable to *c.* 3000 to 2500 B.C., is perhaps the earliest testimony to the prevalence of bull-cult in Mesopotamia. The piece is figured in the *Ency. Brit.*, 14th ed., vol. 2, p. 848, pl. III. It stands majestically, with its very long tail rather gingered up as if in readiness for some advance. It is noteworthy that its generative organ is specially emphasized. The Sumerian epic-tale of the hero Lugalbanda, which is dated by S. N. Kramer as in the first quarter of the third millennium B.C.. has preserved for us a very brief account of Sumerian bull-sacrifice. On getting instructions in a dream from Utu, the Sumerian sun-god, Lugalbanda hunted a wild ox and killing it, presented its fat to the rising Utu. He also slaughtered a kid and poured its blood in a ditch and its fat on the plain as bidden to do. "He prepared food and strong drink for An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursag, the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon".[43] Naramsin, who, in view of Leonard Wolley's dating of Sargon I of Akkad, has to be placed in about 2360 B.C., appears in a horned helmet-like peaked cap on the famous Stele of Victory. In "the renderings of gods and kings for centuries afterwards" this type was reproduced. The horns we learn were assumed by Naramsin for the time to proclaim his divinity".[44] Conrad[45] thinks that the shape and form of the horns in the head-dress of Naramsin appear more or less like those of the beared bull's head on a Sumerian harp of gold and lapis lazuli.

40. Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25.
41. Mellaart in *Cam. Anc. Hist.* I, pt. I, pp. 302-03.
42. *Antiquity*, 1961, p. 210.
43. Kramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 271.
44. *Ency. Brit.*, 2, p. 845.
45. *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

Prof. Piggott [46] has offered still more important and interesting information regarding the bull-complex in ancient Mesopotamia. Asserting that the evidence of the funeral paraphernalia of the Royal Tombs of Alaca Huyuk was a convincing proof of the existence of the practice of "ritual disposition of hides, in this instance of oxen", he notes the contrast in the funeral complex of the Royal Tombs of Ur or Kish in Sumer. These latter, which in date are "slightly earlier" and comparable in other respects with those of the Hittites, show that in Mesopotamia the draught oxen sacrificed were buried entire along with other things and not merely the skulls and bones. He concludes that "the frame of reference" in the case of the Hittite Royal burials presumably attached "ritual significance" to the hide.

Most interesting is the tablet figured in large pictures as pls. 38-40 by S. N. Kramer in his *History Begins at Sumer*.[47] It is known as the plaque of Dudu the scribe and is dated in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. Below the bold and vigorous symbol of the God Ningirsu, i.e., eagle perching on two lions standing back to back, in the left hand corner is a couchant young bullock. Its right leg flexed at the knee, protrudes a bit as if the animal is preparing to stand up, and the other three legs are bent under the body. Both the attitudes, the pose and the posture are strangely reminiscent of Nandi in some of the famous temples of Siva, particularly those in Karnataka!

W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont [48] drawing on W. M. F. Flinders Petrie's description of a sacrifice accompanying a burial of the mysterious people, the Hyksos, at Gaza, have pointed it out as the earliest horse-sacrifice and have considered it as of Indo-Iranian ethnic origin. William H. Stiebing, Jr., [49] writing in 1971, has rightly called in question the correctness of the identification of the animal sacrificed. He says: "There is no firm evidence of the presence of horses in Palestine earlier than the Late Bronze Age and it is probable that Petrie's 'horses' were actually onagers".

On the other hand, there is solid evidence of the great prestige enjoyed by the bull in Israel of about the 13th or 12th century B.C. in the finds of Tell-Nagila, about 20 miles north of Beersheba and 19 miles east of Gaza, a site in occupation from the Chalcolithic age to the Mameluke period of history, i.e., from the 4th millennium B.C. to A.D. 1500. Amiran and Eitan, the discoverers, have pictured a clay vessel in the shape of a bull found in one of the "public buildings". It appears to be humpless, with the "dewlap prominently shown". It comes from strata which

46. *Antiquity*, 1962, p. 113.
47. *Op. cit.*, p. 328.
48. *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 54, pp. 113-14.
49. *Archaeology*, 1971, p. 115.

are ascribed to the Middle Bronze, II period, dated to between 1750-1500 B.C. In a later stratum, that of the Late Bronze Age, I period, dated to between 1550-1200 B.C. "One of the most interesting objects" the excavators discovered was a "krater of Bichrome-ware", which testifies to the probability of bull sacrifice proper, i.e., to a deity, being in vogue in southern Israel in the 14th-13th centuries B.C. There is "on one side [of the pot] a single figure of a humped bull tied to a rope with a nose ring", the rope at one end being fastened to the nose ring. The discoverers observe: "The bull may be considered a *pars prototo* representation of a sacrificial scene, as for example in the wall painting at Mari".[50]

It is very welcome information which incidentally we are privileged to have about the painting of bull sacrifice at Mari. Amiran and Eitan have referred to A. Parrot's work on Mari for their authority in regard to it. Mari or Tell Hariri as it is known, lies on the right bank of the middle stream of the Euphrates, south-east of the effluence of the Hebur into the Euphrates, far to the west of Nippur, so that this is evidence for early bull-sacrifice among the Akkadians.

A Babylonian ritual text of the 8th century, which according to W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont,[51] may be taken to represent fairly correctly the Babylonian ritual practice of about the third quarter of the 3rd millennium, 2500-2250 B.C., offers us an interesting description of the sacrifice of a bull. It is noteworthy that the objective of the ritual and the sacrifice was to procure an ox hide for the ritual building up of a sacred musical implement.

The bull to be sacrified was enjoined to be one of perfect black colour with horns intact. It must not have "seven tufts of hair like the Pleiades" on the head, nor must it have been "beaten with a staff" or "lashed with a whip". After bringing the animal at the right spot, twelve bricks covered with linen cloth were to be placed in front of it for sacrifices to twelve gods; and twelve sheep were to be sacrificed on them, one each for every one of the twelve gods. Beer of the best quality, wine and milk were to be offered "as a libation". The text which speaks in terms of the imperative then goes on: "thou shalt whisper into his [bull's] right ear through a reed-pipe, a good reed, the incantation: 'Great bull, mighty bull, who dost tread the holy pasture. *(who dost roam over the meadow, increasing fertility, who dost till the grain, making glad the field,* my pure hands offer a libation before thee)'. Thou shalt whisper into his left ear, through a reed-pipe, a good reed, the incantation: 'O bull, the offspring of Zu art thou, *(for ritual and liturgy wert*

50. *Archaeology*, 1965, pp. 115, 122 and 123.
51. *J.A.O.S.*, 1934, pp. 119-122.

thou reared:); Ningizzida is thy companion for ever... to (Lumha) may he be assigned; to Bel may he be granted... that bull shalt thou slay with an axe' ".*

The sacrifice of a bull by an Assyrian king stands portrayed in a sculpture of the later half of the 9th century B.C. Shalamanesar III's bull sacrifice which is reproduced in pictures 364 and 625 of Pritchard's *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, shows that the killing was carried out by the soldiers. The slaughtered animal's parts were immersed in water. Before the king's image stand two royal standards, an offering table, an incense stand and a vessel on its stand. The king is accompanied by a priest pouring out a libation. The second picture shows a ram being led forward as the bull was being slaughtered by the soldiers. In the lower panel the king is shown on horseback and as attended by servants, leading animals for sacrifice.[52]

In Crete, as Conrad [53] points out, there was invariable association with "one or more of a variety of phallic objects such as pillars, horns, snakes and trees" with the Mother-goddess or her priestesses" in Minoan times; and the symbol was "always" a bull which again is "frequently associated with women". Bull-festival was an annual event. Skulls of huge bulls adorned the palace halls of Knossos. Bulls were sacrificed and their blood was used in magical and religious ceremonies.[54] The dances attending the bull festival were held before a horned altar on the south side of the palace. Anne Ward in her description of the place has pointed out that these horns adorning it were known as "Horns of consecration". She has also reproduced a Cretan seal depicting a man taken on its horns by a mighty bull in taut action.

The bull-complex among Minoan Cretans comprised one major item besides bull-sacrifice and dances mentioned above, and that was bull-fight which Conrad interprets as a fertility rite. Dances, too, appear to have ended in a kind of fertility rite. For we are assured that some of the dances ended with "ritual intercourse between the king dressed as a bull and the queen dressed as a cow". It is quite likely that the intercourse was with an actual bull for Conrad observes: "Cretan women were supposed to prefer bulls to men [for copulation].[55]

At Arkhanes in Crete tombs of Mycenaean times of about 1400 B.C. have yielded interesting evidence of sacrifice of bulls to a deceased person

* N.B. All italics are mine. Ningizzida is a Sumerian deity of the nether world (Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 304).

52. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 292, 324.
53. *Op. cit.*, p. 114.
54. Broughton, p. 94.
55. Anne Ward in *Antiquity*, 1968, pp. 117; Conrad, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 116, 118-19.
56. *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

and not to a god. In the tomb was found "the complete skeleton of a bull, with the skull separated from it". Bacon [56] describing it as "the first such sacrifice to be found in a Cretan tomb" remarks that it "seems to indicate that such sacrifices were paid, not to a god, but to the deceased". Representations of bull sacrifices were known previously on Minoan Seals.

Further north-west, in Yugoslavia, the bull-complex appears to have existed in a non-Indo-European civilization of neolithic vintage dated about 4000 B.C. Dr. Marija Gimbutas [57] in her comments on a large pear-shaped classical *Butmir* vase, with a schematized bull's head in the centre has opined that the civilization to which it belonged was "probably non-Indo-European".

The early Indo-European groups, other than the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans, having linguistic affinities which varied in intensity as between certain groups, appear to have had a fairly uniform environment of one cultural element, that of the great importance attached to the bull, which either was treated as a religious symbol or was sacrificed to a god or to a deceased individual or was both a religious symbol and a fit and necessary sacrificial victim to the deceased.

57. *Archaeology*, vol. 23, p. 296.

2

Indo-European Bull-Complex And Horse-Complex

BULL-COMPLEX, i.e., magico-religious or sacrificial importance of the bull appears to have been a feature of culture or cultures of Indo-Europeans, European Indo-Europeans evincing it perhaps the earliest, though very much later than that met with in the Middle East cultures. Dr. Marija Gimbutas, reviewing A. L. Mongait's book *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, translated into English by Dr. M. W. Thompson,[1] states her opinion that the origin of the Slavs and other Indo-European groups in Europe cannot be traced back earlier than the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium B.C. She puts the earliest phase of the Timber-grave culture at "not later than the very beginning of the second millennium B.C.". The chieftains' burials at Maikop and Tsarskaya* in the northern Caucasus she dates as from 2200 to 2100 B.C. The homeland of the Slavs in her opinion was the northern part of the western Ukraine extending from the northern slopes of the Carpathians to the middle Dneiper, that being the area where the most ancient Slavic names occur. She agrees with the view of the Georgian archaeologists that the first iron objects in western Transcaucasia [Koban] are to be dated to the 14th century.[2]

Prof. Piggott, writing in 1965, considered the culture complex of "South Russian region . . . such as that of Mikhailovka in the Lower Dneiper area" as answering fairly correctly to the source of the Balto-Slavic linguistic groups and that of the Celto-Nordic as well. As for dating, though a precise date was lacking, he tentatively assigned "the earliest

* Appears as Tsarevskaya in Minn's note in *Ency. Brit.*, 8, p. 838. Gordon Childe informs us that "Tsarevskaya" wrongly specifies the site which is really Novosvobodnaya (*Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 152), Gimbutas later spelled the name as Tsarskaja.

1. *Antiquity*, 1962, p. 152.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-3.

phases" to "around 2500 B.C.".[3] The culture complex with its three or even more phases, the late ones coming down to about 1700 B.C., was spread over a large region between the Dneiper and the Ural rivers and north of 39° north latitude, with Transcaucasia as the central area. The Maikop barrow or 'kurgan' is more specifically dated, on the basis of finds comparable with those of Alaca Huyuk tombs and the Troy II hoards such as Treasure L to about 2400-2200 B.C.[4]

Dr. Minns describing the Caucasian culture of the Kuban river forty-five years ago (*Ency. Brit.*, 8, pp. 838-9) drew attention to the two barrows or cairns at Novosvobodnaya which contained "dolmens, divided into two chambers by a holed stone", one of which is figured by Childe in his *Dawn of European Civilization* (fig. 81), describing it as a "port-hole-cist". In his description of "the richest barrow" at Maikop, now known to be a chieftain's grave, he mentioned vessels with beasts upon them and also the canopy under which the chieftain and his wife had been buried. The canopy he informs us bore sewn on it "gold plaques shaped as lions and oxen". Among other things lying with the burial-figure, there were not only vessels in clay, stone and in gold, but also "gold and silver sticks threaded through oxen" [?]. Marija Gimbutas adds to the royal graves of Maikop those of Tsarskaja and speaks of the Maikop period as the Early Kuban Copper Age. As already stated, she dates it to about 2200 to 2100 B.C. In the equipment of the burials instead of the "gold and silver sticks threaded through oxen" of Minns's description, she mentions "gold and silver bull figurines adorning canopies".[5]

Gordon Childe, in his much fuller description of the Maikop barrow-finds, has more clearly mentioned two silver vases both bearing engravings. One of it has the local mountain-scenes. The other, which is more interesting to us, bears engravings of "two kinds of ox, a mouflon, a tame boar [!], Przewalski's horse and a panther".[6] Prof. Piggott[7] added an even more significant piece of information and that is that the grave contained two gold bulls, which figure in his book. Tamara Talbot Rice who, evidently on the authority of Soviet archaeologists, dates the tombs as from the third millennium, mentions "votive bronze statuettes of bulls and stags". Following H. Frankfort's lead she states that the animal art of the Maikop people influenced the pre-Hittite work of Anatolia

3. *Ancient Europe*, p. 81.
4. Piggott in *Antiquity*, 1962, pp. 114-5; E. H. Minns in *Ency. Brit.*, vol. 8, p. 838; Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization*, pp. 150-158.
5. *Ency. Brit.*, VIII, pp. 838, 853; Childe, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 195; M. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-28, pls. III and IV, fig. 2; Robert W. Ehrich, *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, pp. 486-89.
6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.
7. Piggott, *Ancient Europe*, p. 82.

through ethnic migration from the Caucasus.[8] In Kurgans, containing much less rich burials further north and west, in the South Russian steppes of the so-called North Pontic Culture slightly later than the Maikop ones, heads and hoofs placed adjacent to the buried corpses have been found to be common. At least at one or two sites as many as five ox hides were deposited over the timber mortuary house.[9]

In one phase of the Kurgan culture, named Classical Phase by Dr. Gimbutas and dated to between *c.* 1700 B.C. and 1100 B.C., "horse burials or deposits of horse hides, begin to appear, the former sometimes accompanied with bone cheek-pieces of bridles". Prof. Piggott sees in these burials evidence of horse-sacrifice or "horse-burials of the Scythians".[10] Whether or not one agrees with Prof. Piggott to see in them the precursors or predecessors of Scythic peoples, the Kurgan culture elements, according to Dr. Marija Gimbutas, "fully correspond with the early stratum of Indo-European words concerning social structure . . . and religion (horse-sacrifice, sun-symbolism etc.)". Horses, she assures us, are evidenced "from the earliest Kurgan phases onwards", that too, "apparently for milk and meat and as a sacrificial animal like sheep and cattle".[11]

Vassos Karagiorghis informs us of the practice of sacrifice of horses with the dead in Mycenaean Greece. The contents of a bee-hive tomb of the 15th century B.C. at Marathon revealed evidence of horse-sacrifice. About classical Greece Karagiorghis observes: "It is perhaps this Mycenaean custom which is described by Homer in the *Iliad*, where it is told that four valiant horses were slain by Achilles on the pyre of his friend Patroclus". He proceeds to point out that "that particular burial-custom [one accompanied by horse-sacrifice] survived in Anatolia, where it is known as early as the Hittite period". Prof. Gurney, too, has drawn our attention to the sacrifice of horses over the funeral of Patroclus as described in the *Iliad*. Edward Bacon has spoken of horse-sacrifices in funerals in Mycenaean and Homeric Greece, quoting quite a few lines from Pope's *Iliad* describing the funeral of Patroclus. The presence of funeral horse-sacrifice in Cyprus of the 8th to the 5th or the 6th century B.C. is mentioned by both, Karagiorghis and Bacon.[12]

The Scythians, who, authorities are agreed, were one of the five or six ethnic groups comprising the Iranian-speakers, the eastern-most being the Tocharians of Turfan and Sakas of Bactria, are known to have made their appearance on the South Russian Steppes before 800 B.C. Hero-

8. *The Scythians*, 1957, p. 152.
9. *Ancient Europe*, pp. 81, 118, 175-6, 180; *Antiquity*, 1962, pp. 113-6.
10. *Ancient Europe*, 81, 118, 175-6, 180; *Antiquity*, 1962, pp. 113-6.
11. *American Anthropologist*, 1965, pp. 827, 834.
12. *Archaeology*, 1965, pp. 282-84; Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Bacon: pp. 145-46; W. H. Stiebing, Jr. in *Archaeology*, 1971, pp. 115-117.

dotus, Piggott [13] tells us, has reported a Scythian sacrifice of 50 horses and riders, apparently as accompaniment to a Scythian chief's burial. He has further stated that in the barrow at Kostromskaya about 60 miles to the north-east of Maikop in Transcaucasia, the burial revealed the sacrifice of 35 horses. However, Mrs. Rice in her graphic description of the burial in that barrow quite definitely informs us that there were only 22 horses. The very finely and carefully figured burial on page 103 not only substantiates her statement regarding the number of horses sacrificed for that burial but also opens up for us a new vista of the nature of the sacrifice. The corpses of the horses are entire. The sacrifice, therefore, meant the strangling of the animal but not its cutting. Every one of the horse-corpses, well distributed on the four sides of the tabernacle, though on a much higher level than it, is laid on its right side fully extended.

Prof. Gordon Childe in his note on Scythia in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [14] has drawn our attention to a barrow at Ul—which site is not indicated in the maps provided by Mrs. Rice, unless it be the same as Ulski in the Kuban, shown in map (fig. 24, pp. 104-05) as some 40 miles west of Kostromskaya—wherein the sacrifice of 400 horses was evidenced. Both the barrows, Kostromskaya and Ulski are datable to the 6th or the 7th century B.C. The Scythian burials were contained in a wooden mortuary-house under the barrow and thus were directly in the line of the earlier timber graves of the South Russian Steppes and Transcaucasia. It may also be noted that in these burials the dead, particularly the chieftains, were laid down in their equipment, even the wagon being buried somewhere in the barrow, some of the wagons being vehicles drawn by four or even six horses.[15] The persistence of horse-sacrifice as an easily recognizable copy in Turkistan in the 13th century A.D. is attested by John Andrew Boyle in his account of a 13th century Mongol burial.[16]

A study of the Hittite religious complex is very important for us, as the core population of the national compound is now generally acknowledged to be an Indo-European group which got into Anatolia down through the Caucasus before 2000 B.C. In a treaty of theirs with a neighbouring State that of Mitanni on their south-east, made in the 15th century B.C., gods mentioned as Guarantors include at least four of the gods of the Rigvedic Indians.

The characteristic god of Hittite Anatolia, Prof. O. R. Gurney informs us, was the Weather God, Teshub. Teshub drives in a primitive car

13. *Ancient Europe*, p. 175-6, 179; *Antiquity*, 1962, p. 116; Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
14. Vol. 20, p. 237.
15. Rice, *op. cit.*, 99, 100, 103, 154, 158-9.
16. *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1965, p. 145.

drawn by two bulls which are named either Seri or Serisu and Hurri or Tella. The bull is the sacred animal of Teshub and may stand alone on an altar as his cult-symbol. The deity was sometimes represented as a life-size figure either standing or seated, in the great-sculptured scene at Alaca Huyuk,* not very far from the famous capital, Boghaz Keui, a fine bull majestically standing, composed, on a high stone-pedestal, is being offered worship by a king and his queen who stands just behind him. Both of them have raised their hands in obeisance. In the figure of the animal appearing in Prof. Gurney's book *The Hittites* (pl. 16), the organ of generation of the beast is highly emphasized. We may see in this the idea of the animal's generative vigour and virility being intended to be drawn attention to. Later the Weather God came to be represented as standing on a bull. Another god Adad was depicted as a horned god standing between two reclining bulls. Among the animals appearing on the Hittite seals the 'sacred bull' is one, another being the stag. It is noteworthy that the picture of the bull on the seal does not emphasize the generative organ. Bull and stag appeared prominent on the standard of the city of Alaja Huyuk.[17]

The Hittties sacrificed animals to their gods. Even such "unclean" animals as the dog and the pigs could serve as a sacrifice, though oxen, sheep and goats were the more usual animals to be sacrificed.[18]

One of the Hittite ritual-texts mentions the offering of a sacrifice. The ritual is against pestilence and the last item in it is the animal sacrifice. The text in Goetze's translation reads: "Afterwards they drive up one full-grown goat and two sheep. He sacrifices the goat to the Seven—('the Pleiades', Krittikas of Indian astronomy) he sacrifices one sheep to the Sun-god. The other sheep they kill and cook". The preliminary to the sacrifice, too, is noteworthy: "... they bring fodder for the god's horses and mutton tallow, and while doing so they speak as follows: 'Thou hast harnessed (thy) horses; let them eat the fodder and let their hunger be satisfied! Let also the chariot be greased with mutton tallow! Turn towards thy land, O Storm-god! In favour turn toward the Hitti land".[19]

Sacrifice of oxen was a regular ritual-practice in the disposal of the dead royalty of the Hittites, their literature prescribing the same. The

* This spelling of the name of the site is the one which is adopted by Gordon Childe in his *The Dawn of European Civilization,* by Stuart Piggott in his *Anc ent Europe* and Kurt Bittel in his *Hattusha* (1972). Gurney's spelling is 'Alaja', while Hrozny spells it as Aldja Hoyuk.

17. Gurney, *The Hittites,* pp. 66, 115, 129, 134, 141, 148-9, 151 and 193; Conard, pp. 97, 101, 198.
18. Gurney, *loc. cit.,* p. 15; Hrozny, *op. cit.,* p. 120.
19. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures,* p. 347.

bones of the cremated had to be collected and to be placed with proper ritual and treatment in an urn of valuable metal like silver. Two oxen and two lots of nine sheep were sacrificed, one ox and one lot of sheep being sacrificed for Sun-goddess (of Earth) and the other ox and the remaining nine sheep (for the soul of) the deceased. The bones then were to be deposited into stone-house, evidently divided into two sections. In the inner section or chamber a bed was laid out and the bones were placed, other accompaniments near it being a lamp and oil etc. Then again one ox and one sheep were to be sacrified for the soul of the deceased.[20]

Prof. Piggott, in his article entitled "Heads and Hoofs" in *Antiquity* (1962), has mentioned the so-called "Royal Tombs of Alaca Huyuk... not far from Boghazkoy and 100 miles or so north-east of Ankara", dated somewhere about 2400-2200 B.C., as "the most dramatic evidence" of the practice of animal-sacrifice in connection with a funeral. It is the bones including the skull and the skin with the hoofs of the animal that formed the actual sacrifice, being laid in the grave along with the other burial-paraphernalia. He has illustrated one burial in fig. 3 (p. 117). The bulls' heads—there are two in this burial—have the horns or horn-cores too on them. The tombs, he tells us, are either rectangular pits or shallow shafts. At the bottom "low dry stone walls were built in where the corpses were laid". They were roofed over with a series of logs transversely laid and plastered over so as to produce a flat roof. It was on the roof that the cattle skulls and bones were laid. They were in pairs in many cases. Prof. Piggott has interpreted the deposits to indicate the use of ox-hide for burial. Their being in pairs, he contends, meant that they were draught teams whose hides were "dedciated as a funerary offering". He informs us that there was no evidence of the knowledge of the horse in the tombs and that "the importance of cattle as cult-animals is shown by the copper figurines of bulls which, together with those of stags, form a striking feature of the grave furniture" (p. 112). These copper figurines of bulls in the Hittite graves remind one of the copper statuette of the same animal at Tell-el-Ubaid in Sumer mentioned in the first chapter and figured in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[21]

The funerary practices of the common people of the Hittite-country were evidently different from those of the royalty. Prof. Gurney[22] informs us that Hugo Winkler had discovered "near the road to Yazilikaya a large number of pots (pithoi)" which were laid in pairs, mouth to mouth. Within them were found several smaller vessels containing the ashes

20. Gurney, *op. cit.*, 164-5.
21. *Ency. Brit.*, II, p. 848, pl. III.
22. *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

of the cremated persons. Prof. Gurney assures us that they are the only cremations "yet discovered at a Hittite-site of the second millennium". Inhumation appears to have been the common practice both at Alishar and at Boghazkoy. Two methods of disposal of the dead by inhumation are attested by the remains. The body was laid "simply in an earth grave". I shall interpret this statement to imply the absence of any stone or wood or any other material interposing between the corpse and the earth. In the second method, two pithoi laid mouth to mouth as in the case of the cremations near Yazilikaya accommodated the corpse.

Prof. Piggott's [23] description of what he has justly called 'remarkable burials" at Osmankayasi near Boghazkoy in a rock-shelter — it is very tantalising to identify the site with Prof. Gurney's rock-shelter "near the road to Yazilikaya", but there is no indication given by the author—fortunately fills a gap in Prof. Gurney's account and is most important for us. The "inhumation and cremation burials" are dated from the 17th to 15th century B.C. and from the 15th to the 14th respectively. They contained the bones of animal-offerings, being those of dogs, pigs, sheep and a cow. "The most significant remains", however, were those of two domesticated horses and eleven domesticated donkeys. The remains of the horses and donkeys comprised "only skulls and limb bones". Prof. Piggott rightly concludes that the practice of hide-burial is not proved here but only a kind of variation in it can be presumed.

In view of the importance of the complex of the disposal of the dead in our study, to have Prof. Gurney's [24] comparative statement about the disposal of the dead as current among the Hittites of about the second millennium B.C. and the Greeks of Homer's description is very welcome.

The common features between the practices of the two communities noted by Gurney are: (1) the body was burnt; (2) the pyre was quenched with potable liquids; (3) the bones were dipped or wrapped in oil or fat; (4) the bones were wrapped in a piece of linen-cloth and then in a fine garment; (5) the bones were placed in stone-chamber; and (6) there was a funeral repast. The differences pointed out by Prof. Gurney are: (1) the Homeric warriors used a golden urn for the treated bones. The Hittite ritual-texts do not mention any such urn; (2) according to the Hittite-ritual the bones were placed on a chair or a stool; (3) the Hittite stone-house was "apparently complete in itself, whereas the Homeric warriors raised a barrow over the grave"; (4) magical operations were the accompaniments of the Hittite-ceremony, athletic games those of the Homeric.

Prof. Gurney [25] is of the opinion that both the Hittites and the Achaean

23. *Antiquity,* 1962, p. 115.
24. *Op. cit.,* pp. 164-68.
25. *Op. cit.,* pp. 164-5, 168-9.

Greeks of Homer must have adopted the practice of cremation from the Trojans. The Greeks appear to have resorted to it only in the case of the Achaean heroes as a special case to meet the situation of disposal in foreign land. One item in the funerary-ritual of a Hittite king or queen laid down in the ritual-texts deserves to be singled out for specific mention as being significant for our enquiry regarding the affiliation of Vedic Indo-Aryans. Prof. Gurney informs us that the ceremonial of a king's or queen's funeral "lasted for no less than thirteen days, possibly longer"; but actually he ends his study of the burial-customs with the sentence: "The texts for the eighth, twelfth and thirteenth days appear to be concerned with rituals and sacrifices of a general nature".

Apropos of Prof. Gurney's observation about the details of Patroclus' funeral as special and not common Greek practice, it has to be pointed out that Bacon,[26] who has quoted the relevant passage from Pope's *Iliad*, considers the details of the funeral as more of the archaic past, i.e., of the Mycenaean context, and coming down to the Homeric Age, while commenting on the discovery of the evidence of more or less similar funerals at Salamis and Enkomi in Cyprus in the 8th-5th centuries B.C. Vassos Karagiorghis,[27] a Greek archaeologist, considers the sacrifice of four horses on the pyre of Patroclus described by Homer to have been "perhaps a Mycenaean custom". Homer tells us that "well-fed sheep and sable oxen were slain", with the fat of which Achilles covered the corpse and piled the victims around it to be consumed by fire along with the corpse.[28]

To begin with a brief notice of Grecian funeral as becomes due in the context, I shall point out first the fact of the bull having been principal among the magic beasts of the ancient Greeks. "Its outstandingly sacred character was of immense antiquity," observes A. Houghton Brodrick [29] in his essay entitled "'Animals in the Aegean". He submits, however, that some of the Grecian bull-complex was "an inheritance from Crete through Mycenaean Greece". They sacrificed for Zeus a white and for Poseidon a black, bull (which was thrown alive into a river to be drowned). In his festival at Ephesus the cup-bearers were called "bulls" and Poseidon himself was surnamed "Bull Poseidon". Both in Ionia and in Thessaly, the land of horses, bull-fights took place in his honour.[30]

"The horse, too, was specially associated with his worship. Several legends represent him as creating the first horse; horses were occasionally sacrificed to him, and he is called Hippios ('lord of Steeds)" [31] He bore

26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 145-7.
27. *Archaeology*, 1965, p. 284.
28. Bacon, *ibid.*
29. *Animals in Archaeology*, edited by him, 1972, pp. 105-06.
30. *Ency. Brit.*, 18, p. 298.
31. *Ency. Brit.*, 18, p. 298.

a trident in his hand, with which he lashed the sea and caused horses and fountains to spring up from it. As Brodrick points out, Poseidon never lost his peculiar association with the horse. He considers Poseidon to be a god brought by proto-Greeks from their Indo-European home. The horse remained sacred to him just as the trident and the dolphin, the sea animal.[32]

Brodrick informs us that horses were "occasionally" offered as sacrifice to Poseidon, the form of the sacrifice being the drowning of the animals in water.[33] Horse was one of the forms of the corn-spirit in ancient Greece.[34]

Dionysus was not an Olympic god for Homer, and began to figure in Greek literature prominently since Hesiod.[35] However, according to Conrad,[36] the oldest and the most popular bull-cults of Greece centred round him, the "mysteries" of his worship being particularly popular among women. Homer's description of him as a "raging" god implied his patronage of rather uncontrolled and loose behaviour. He became the wine-god in Hesiod and in later literature. Participants in his festival wore the horns of bulls. Late at night in the progress of the "mysteries" associated with him, after an excessive intake of liquor, promiscuous copulation was indulged in as being god-ordained. Anthesteria was an annual festival at Athens held by the elite in his honour. The main feature of it was the queen's relationship with Dionysus. The rites were carried out in a former residence of the king, known as the Ox-hall. And there took place the sacred union between the queen and the bull-god Dionysus. Conrad observes: "Whether this relationship was with an actual bull, or with a man clad in skins and horns, is not known. ... For centuries, Queen Archons such as Attaia worshipped Dionysus in this manner. Their belief was that by corporal union with the bull-god or his surrogate the entire state represented by the royal personage involved would be blessed with prosperity and fruitfulness".

In the Bouphonia ritual at Athens, ox figured as sacred and it is very interesting to learn that the ox was believed "to dedicate himself to the god by voluntarily approaching the altar and eating the corn upon it. The flesh of the sacred animal was eaten. Afterwards a simulated resurrection of the ox was enacted".[37] The Dionysiac 'mysteries', whose celebrations were held at night and in which women played prominent part in the ritual, we are told, "were marked by wild ecstasy and orgiastic self-abandonment" which included a practice which is quite frankly and

32. *Ency. Brit., ibid;* Conrad, pp. 128-9; Brodrick, pp. 105-106, 111.
33. Brodrick, p. 106.
34. *Ency. Brit.,* VII, p. 179.
35 *Ency. Brit.:* Dionysus.
36. *Op. cit.,* pp. 130-35.
37. *Ency. R. & E.,* vol. XI, p. 16.

openly worded in the statement of Conrad quoted above. It is, however, disguised in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* note on Mysteries as "a savage form of sacramental communion", with the addition that "the animal victim of whose flesh and blood the votaries partook was at times [!] regarded as the incarnation of the divinity". The flesh, it should be noted, was eaten raw. The mysteries were widespread in Greece about the 7th century B.C.[38] At Sparta and Hermione at the Chthonia festival "a cow which voluntarily [?] presented itself, was sacrificed by three old women". The cow was specially sacred to Hera. The epithet which Homer has employed for her may have meant to early worshippers of Hera "cow-faced", though later it was understood as "large-eyed like the cow". Cow was the most frequent sacrifice for Hera and her car was drawn by four oxen. When Zeus fell in love with Io, the first priestess of Hera, and Io incurred Hera's ire, finding Io turned into a heifer in order to escape punishment, Hera got the warden of Io, the heifer, disposed of mysteriously. Io, the heifer, in its frantic effort to escape Hera's wrath "swam the strait known on this account as the Bosporus (Ox-ford)" and reaching Egypt, regained her form and got identified with Isis, the cow-goddess, of the Egyptians.[39]

Some kind of bull-complex has recently been unearthed by John M. Coles[40] in some artefacts of the north-west European Celts and some Nordics, hailing from the Late Bronze Age, mentioning the Vikso helmets, which, being horned, can represent the bull-head, have been discovered in Zealand. And similar helmets have also occurred in some other areas of north-western Europe. Their counter-parts occur on some of the Steles of Iberia. Another artefact found in association with these speaks for east-Mediterranean, i.e., Creto-Greek, influence. These finds are, it appears, datable to about 800 B.C. The motive stems, in Cole's opinion, from the fact that the bull has been a symbol of fertility since very early times in Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Ægean. The musical implement, the horn of Ireland, North Germany and South Scandinavia, Coles contends, was "only a permanent and relatively indestructible form" of the bull-horn implement. A more instructive tell-tale artefact is "the crotal of cast metal with a clay core removed and one or two stones incorporated to produce a rattle". The croatal, Coles submits, tends itself to be interpreted as "the other outward sign of the virility of the beast, the scrotum and its contents", on the background of the musical horn, as the permanent representative of the bull-horn, the horn being the most prominently impressive sign of its power. The final conclusion of Coles that "the bull-horn helmet of Iberia and Nordic

38. Vol. 16, p. 49.
39. *Ency. Brit.*, 7, p. 178; 11, pp. 453-4; 12, p. 570.
40. *Antiquity*, 1965, pp. 217-9.

Europe, the bull-horn musical instrument of Nordic Europe and Ireland and the crotal of Ireland may be linked together as evidence of the existence of a ceremonial practice involving the bull in Late Bonze Age Europe", I think, stands fairly well supported.

There is some reason to believe that these Celto-Nordic, or at least the Celtic people, had inherited a much more explicit bull-complex as some noted archaeologists treat the Danubian region around the Tisza river as the home of their precursors or ancestors. The Tisza culture, which came to an end about 2000 B.C., has left its mementos in the form of houses. The houses unearthed at the village of Kokenydomb are found to have been "decorated with painted models of bulls' heads".[41] The ox-hide burials of pre-historic Denmark and "two probable examples of hide-wrapped burials" of Early Bronze Age in Scotland lend additional support.[42]

To pass on to the Iranians, whose presence in the northern part of the region which afterwards became known as Iran, is registered in records only from about the 9th century B.C., I may note that their own cultural record is not dated earlier than the 6th or the 7th century B.C. The record registering their presence in the 9th century is Assyrian. The Assyrians sought horses for their cavalry from the plateau occupied by the Medes, who had then "fortified towns" or "castles" and were known for their horses.[43]

The Zend-Avesta or the Avesta in Zend comprising the *Yashts* and the Vedevat ("Vendidad" as popularly known) could not have been in existence before Zoroaster and his Bactrian patron Vishtaspa, i.e., before 500 B.C. Yet the language in which these texts are presented is very close to the language of the earliest of the Vedas, the Rigveda. It is a linguistic problem to explain this phenomenon. For our purposes I shall take the texts as our guide to the earliest known Perso-Iranian cultural milieu. However, we must keep in view the peculiar situation in regard to ritual and religion of these Iranians, which since then has been called Zoroastrianism, that presents itself in its history. Prof. R. C. Zaehner,[44] quoting and discussing some texts has observed: "it would seem clear that Zoroaster is attacking [here] a traditional cult in which a bull was slaughtered at night or in a sunless place in honour of the devas [meaning demons or devils]: this rite was accompanied by another in which the juice of the Haoma [Vedic Soma] plant was extracted and ritually consumed. This juice must have been fermented and certainly intoxicating". He then points out the fact that in the later Avesta,

41. Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 111; Piggott, *Ancient Europe*, pp. 91.
42. Piggott in *Antiquity*, 1962, p. 118.
43. Richard Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, p. 70.
44. *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 38-9.

the sacred texts of the Zoroastrian Iranians, the Haoma-rite occupies the central place in the ritual, thus formed, establishing the prominence of animal-sacrifice in the original liturgy. He concludes from this fact and from the fact that among the offerings mentioned in the rite figure "both the 'beneficent ox' and 'the living ox'" that the earliest ritual involved animal-sacrifice, in which an ox must actually have been immolated in sacrifice. Yasna 11, according to Prof. Zaehner, further supports the statement that pre-Zoroaster Perso-Iranians sacrificed a bull as an accompaniment of their Haoma-ritual; for therein "both the ox and Haoma are presented as complaining of being ill-used; but the ox does not ... complain of being slaughtered but merely accuses the priest of not distributing its sacrificial flesh equitably, while the Haoma complains that the priest withholds from him the jaw, tongue, and left eye of the sacrificial animal" originally allotted to him by Ahura Mazdah.

Spitama, Zarathushtra himself and his pupils according to Mihir Yasht (119) appear to have been asked to offer Mithra sacrifice "with small cattle, black cattle, with flying birds". In Bahram Yasht (50) Ahura Mazda himself proclaims: "Let the Aryan nations bring libations unto him [Verethraghna] ... let the Aryan nations cook for him a head of cattle, either white or black or of any other colour but all one and the same colour".

The primeval Bull or the "only created Bull" is a significant expression emphasizing the importance of Bull both in the act of creation and of regeneration. The primeval Bull who was killed by Ahriman, the foe of God and mankind, is thus addressed in Vendidad (Fargard XXI, 1): "Hail, holy bull (the primeval who was created by Ormazd and killed by Ahriman)! Hail to thee, beneficent bull, Hail to thee, who makest increase! Hail to thee who makest growth! Hail to thee, who dost bestow thy gifts upon the excellent faithful, and who wilt bestow them on the faithful yet unborn". When the only-created primeval bull was killed "what was bright and strong was brought to the sphere of the moon, and when it was cleansed there in the light of the astre, two creatures were shaped with it, a male and a female, from which came two hundred and seventy two kinds of animals" so notes Darmesteter in his explanatory note on Fargard XXI, 9. The moon, Mah, is therefore referred to and sacrificed as the keeper of the seed of the Bull. Siroza II, 12 runs[45]: "To the Moon that keeps in it the seed of the Bull" and Yasht VII, Mah Yasht, adds: "to the only created Bull; to the Bull of many species". Yasht VII further states that the seed of the Bull dwells not only in the Moon but also in Gos, the Genius of cattle, named both Gosurun and Drvaspa, and also in Bahman or Vohu-Mano, i.e., "good

45. armesteter, *The Zend Avesta,* part II.

thought, good mind". 'Gosurun' means 'the Soul of the Bull' and Drvaspa is only another epithet for the same Genius.

Etymologically Drvaspa means, 'she who keeps horses in health'—note that though the form is not feminine the Genius is female. The etymological meaning, however, does not connote the concept enshrined in the term which is only an epithet of or another word for Gosurun. This transformation is noteworthy. It clearly demonstrates the primacy of the bull-complex in the Perso-Iranian culture. This suppression of the horse-content of the term Drvaspa further implies that the horse-complex came into the horizon of the Perso-Iranian culture rather late, and that too probably as a borrowed trait or as imitation! Some function in the horse-context is predicated of Drvaspa. Yasht IX, the Gos Yasht, declares that the "powerful" Drvaspa was made by Mazda and that she, in addition to keeping flocks and herds in health, "yokes teams of horses, makes her chariot turn and its wheels sound and fast etc." A number of the ancient Iranian heroes are said to have offered her sacrifice. All of them except Zarathushtra and Haoma—Haoma is a hero, though actually the plant used for libation and drinking, anthropomorphized into the Genius of the plant—i.e., Vishtaspa and others individually are said to have offered as sacrifice "a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs" in addition to libations. Haoma offered nothing. Zarathushtra sacrificed with haoma and meat, with the baresma (the special green wood), with the wisdom etc. Finally we read in Yasht XIV (61), *Bahram Yasht*: "In the ox is our need; in the ox is our speech; in the ox is our victory; in the ox is our food; in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage that makes food grow for us".

In the context of Drvaspa being a late introduction in the Iranian culture I find support from the note of Christensen's view which Dr. Dresden has made on the first passage in the *Dhruvasvakalpa of the Manava Grihya Sutra*. Christensen "postulates a god Drvaspa after an inscription on a coin from the time of Kanishka [1st century A.D.].[46]

The sacrifice to be offered to Saoka, the Genius of health, in order to induce and enable it to combat the evil Genius, the spreader of 99999 diseases, was the heaviest by far. One thousand "fleet, swift-running steeds", 1000 "fleet high-humped camels", 1000 "brown-oxen without blemish", and 1000 "young of all species of small cattle" had to be offered to Saoka.[47]

The principal purpose of bull-sacrifice was to secure immortality. We are told that those who ate the flesh of the first sacrifice offered by Yima, the first man (?) became immortal; and also that at the end of time the

46. Dresden, *Manava Grihya Sutra*, p. 129.
47. Darmesteter, pt. I, pp. 230-31.

sacrifice of the bull Hadhayans will procure immortality to all men.[48] The other aim was of course provision of food for the gods, the gods needing such nourishment.[49]

The antiquity of bull-complex in Iranian culture is suggested by the presence of figurines of humped bulls yoked or unyoked in the pottery of a "royal cemetery of a forgotten kingdom" at Marlik Tepe, just south of the Caspian near Rudbar in northern Iran, dated to about 1100 B.C. E. O. Neghaban,[50] the excavator, who describes the figurine in red pottery as a "magnificent example" of animal figurines, has drawn our attention to the gold earrings in its pierced ears. Vases shaped as humped bulls with the head in the form of a spout appear to have been abundant among the pottery of Marlik mound. Among the gold objects of the royal grave-goods one "tumbler-shaped cup" deserves to be particularly noted. It has on it "splendid rampant winged bulls, the heads of which are in such high relief that they are almost in the round".[51]

Another important link in this story of the early occurrence of the bull-complex among the Iranians or rather the inhabitants of territories in Iran and in the immediate north-west, is provided by the gold bowl from Hasanlu, situated a little south of the southernmost point of Lake Urmia, some miles north-west of Marlik. Edith Porada has described it as "the most interesting and impressive piece because of its great size and the wealth of iconographic themes, which may eventually be shown to link earlier and later motifs of ancient Iranian art".[52] It is dated by Robert H. Dyson Jr., the discoverer, to *c.* 1200-1000 B.C., though found in the ruins of a building dated in the ninth century.[53] In one register there are three gods riding in chariots, two of them in chariots drawn by a mule, the chariot of the third being drawn by two hefty but unhumped bulls. Only one of the gods riding in a mule-drawn chariot bears bull-horns on his head. The hornless god in the bullock chariot is according to Dyson the weather-god. Dyson has duly drawn attention to the curious harness arrangement and I may point out the tinyness of the two six-spoked wheels. The wheels are so small that they do not reach even the knee joint of the hefty bullock and the face of the standing god can just be seen from the front above the bullock's heads. The bullocks, however, are shown as spewing out water, while a long-robed priest, standing before, holds a tumbler in both hands in line with the horns of the animals. The water spewed out flows as a river on to the com-

48. Zaehner, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 126-8, 317.
49. Sacrifice, Iranian, in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics.*
50. *Archaeology,* 1965, pp. 109, 110, 112.
51. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 200-01.
52. *Archaeology,* 1964, p. 200.
53. *Archaeology,* 1960, pp. 120, 126; 1964, pp. 200-01.

mit of a mountain portrayed in the lower register. One grave of unascertained age conatined five slaughtered horses and their equipment.[54]

Elam, to the east of Sumer across the Persian Gulf, testifies to the horns being considered a sign over and above the divine appurtenance. About sculptural representations of gods in Elam of about the same time-bracket as the Mesopotamian scene menioned earlier, Dr. Walter Hinz observes: "Representations of gods in ancient Elamite sculpture regularly show the crown of horns, and the horns fastened to the walls confirm this symbolic relation to the supernatural world". In the case of temples the bucrania pattern was expanded, temples having "three huge horns rising out of the walls on both sides".[55] M. Rostovtzeff[56] writing about the figurines of Bulls in the Maikop tombs in Transcaucasia, remarked that "the only parallels are furnished by Elamitic and by one or two Sumerian monuments, especially Elamitic seals and seal impressions on proto-Elamite tablets".

Bull-complex, involving some kind of divine attribution and honour to bulls and bull-horns as symbols and/or sacrifice of bulls in ritual worship of gods or in the ritual accompanying the disposal of the dead appears to have been a characteristic of cultures all over the vast area lying west of the borders of the Indian sub-continent of Vedic times from Greece to Bactria. The time-bracket within which the prevalence of the complex prevailed is equally or even more large, having been known from the 7th or the 6th millennium B.C. to at least about the first centuries of the Christian era in some parts of the area.

The bull-complex in Anatolia of the 6th or 7th millennium appears to have been perhaps as fundamental as the one prevailing in Iran among the Perso-Iranians in the 11th century through the 8th or 7th century B.C. and later. In the former case the multitude of bucrania and their disposition in such abundant yet beautiful and symmetrical fashion as is seen in the shrines unearthed is testimony to such a conclusion about the significance of the bull-complex in prehistoric Anatolia. The worship of the majestic bull as a symbol of a god among the Hittites in the 2nd millennium B.C. supports such a conclusion. In the Perso-Iranian culture the Zend-Avesta, the oldest extant literature of that culture, testifies to the fundamental nature of the bull-complex in the ritual of worship and more so in the complex of belief in the procurement of animal regeneration and personal immortality.

In Afghanistan at Fullol in Badakshan, south-east of Baghlan on the Amu Darya and at the western end of the Hindukush mountains, in a hoard of the Bronze Age among the articles were two bowls, one silver

54. *Archaeology*, 1960, pp. 121, 125-27; Bacon, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.
55. *Cam. An. Hist.*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 670.
56. *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 27.

and the other gold. The former was decorated with a frieze of bulls while the latter had a "repousse decoration of Mesopotamian type bearded bull". Maurizio Tosi and Rauf Wardak in their description find in the bulls and their treatment correspondence with the Mesopotamian art of Larsa period onwards, i.e., *c.* 2000-1800 B.C. However, they date the hoard at between 2600-1700 B.C. and are not prepared to eschew wholly its debt to the art of Minoan Crete.[57] Louis Dupree, Philippe Gouin, and Najibullah Omer, struck by the richness of Khosh Tapa Hoard in North Afghanistan not far from the above site, have commented on "the mixture of Indian, Iranian and Mesopotamian motifs" in the artefacts and have dated them to about 1350-2500 B.C. Three of the items in the hoard are: (1) a small gold bowl and (2) a large silver bowl and (3) a small silver bowl. The gold bowl has a bearded bull engraved on it, the details of the beard and curls on the body of which are carefully done. While the large silver bowl is decorated with a frieze of bulls, the small one has two pairs of bulls facing each other embossed on it. The discoverers see in the 'curl' motif on the neck and the flanks of the bulls on this vessel "an Indianization of the Iranian style of" those on the gold bowl.[58] None of the animals has a hump.

From the finds reported from Turkmenistan, Anau-Namazga area, we may infer the existence of some kind of bull-complex in the pre-historic Turkmenian cultures. Among figurines of stone and baked clay found at Kara Tepe, not far from Namazga Tepe reported by Prof V. M. Masson, Prof. J. Mellaart declares the massive figure of a bull of white marble-like stone to be "specially significant". He assigns the starta of that Namazga II culture to c. 5300 to 4300 B.C.[59]

The bull-complex characterized the culture of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans too. As will be made clear in the next chapter, which deals with the horse-sacrifice among these people, the prince of sacrifices for them and their ethnic and cultural descendants of much later days, sacrifice was the usual and almost the exclusive mode of worship among the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans. The institution of horse-sacrifice appears to have put into shade the bull-complex which was also current among them. The sage who has to his credit, the two bymns, *RV*, I, 162 and 163, which are the key-hymns of horse-sacrifice has quite interestingly, though casually, referred to bull-sacrifice. He says[60]: "I saw from far away the smoke of the fuel with spires that rose over that beneath it. The mighty men have dressed the spotted bullock [Soma]. These were

57. *East and West*, 1972, pp. 14, 17; Eigs. 5 and 15; G. F. Dales in Agrawal and Ghosh, pp. 126-27.
58. *Archaeology*, 1971, pp. 28-34.
59. *Antiquity*, 1961, 210; *Cam. An. Hist.*, I, pt. I, pp. 302-03.
60. *RV*, I, 164.43.

the days aforetime". Another sage proclaims about Agni, "Ours art thou, Agni, Bharata, honoured by us with barren cows, with bullocks and with kine in calf".[61] In a supposed dialogue with Indra we read: "Then will, I, when I lead my friends to battle against the radiant persons of the godless, prepare for thee at home a vigorous bullock, and pour for these the fifteen-fold strong juice [of Soma].[62]

The fact, which stands supported by a statement in the later Vedic texts, the *Brahmanas*, is that the bull was an animal that was sacred to Indra, a deity common to the Anatolian Indo-Europeans and the Indian Indo-Europeans or the Indo-Aryans and was thus pre-Indo-Aryan. The *Satapatha Brahmana* [63] declares that the bull is Indra's own animal and that it is sacred to him and is to be sacrificed for him. Bull-sacrifice as we saw in the first chapter was a prominent, dominant trait of the cultures of the vast region spreading from the Ægean Islands to the eastern borders of Iran. It is but natural that the god of importance should have had the sacrifice of the animal much earlier domesticated by man than the horse.

Bull as a symbol of vigour, though not particularly of reproductive vigour, with its horns as sharp or powerful weapon and its bellowing as a terrific roar, appears well established in the Rigvedic culture. "Indra, you are a bull", says one sage, adding "with a bull's rush, whom none may slay ... celebrated as a Bull, famed as a Bull both near and far". He further speaks of the reins he holds and the whip that he handles as being either very bulls in strength or having bull's strength in them. Even about the famous horses of Indra's chariot, he declares that they are as strong as bull. Finally he adds: "thou Satakratu ['Hundred-powered or witted', Indra's epithet] art a bull".[64] Indra, though "very mighty, causing woe to men, whets the thunderbolt [his special weapon] for sharpness, as a bull"; "like a bull with sharpened horns, terrific, singly excites and agitates all the people".[65] The singer, whose name, real or fancied by later tradition, embodies an irony in so far as it means 'unequalled chariot fighter', 'Apratiratha'—Rigvedic chariots were all horse-drawn—is even more explicit and eloquent on Indra's affiliation with bull. He says: "Swift, rapidly striking, like a bull who sharpens his horns, terrific, stirring up the people. With eyes that close not, bellowing, Sole Hero, Indra subdued at once a hundred armies. With

61. II, 7.5.
62. X, 27.2.
63. XII, 7.1.13; V, 3.4.3; VI, 2.1.5.
64. VIII, 33.10.12.
65. I, 55.2; IV, 19.1.

him loud-roaring, ever watchful, Victor, bold, hard to overthrow, Rouser of battle ... He rules with those who carry shafts and quivers ..."[66]

Bull-sacrifice for Indra met with in the Rigvedic hymns continued to be presented in the ritual-codifying literature of the *Brahmanas* as his specific privilege in any sacrifice. Thus the *Satapatha Brahmana*[67] laying down the ritual-law about particular animals to be offered as sacrifice to particular deities, prescribes horse as specific to Varuna, but bull to Indra, ram to Twashtri and he-goat to Agni. It is very instructive to note the sort of supporting reason for this prescription which we read in another passage of the same ritual-text. For it shows that horse, which as we shall see presently, was such an important animal to the Rigvedic society, is counted as the second animal in the series of animals in which man occupies the first rank and is specifically dedicated to Varuna. The text reads[68]: "A man (purusha) he slaughters first, for man is the first of animals; then a horse, for the horse comes after man; then a bull, for the bull (or cow) comes after the horse; then a ram for the sheep comes after the cow; then a he-goat; for the goat comes after the sheep; thus he slaughters them, according to their form, according to their excellence". *Pari pasu* Indra's fondness for bull-flesh is almost inexhaustible. Indra eats the flesh of bulls, of one, of twenty, of a hundred buffaloes or 300 buffaloes".[69]

It is of particular interest in this context to note that the early, perhaps the earliest, *Brahmana* literature records the sacrifice of as many as one hundred bulls by sage Agastya for the sacrifices he offered. Agastya's service to and fame in Rigvedic society were in large measure the part he played in bringing about a reconciliation between Indra and Maruts.[70]

The *Atharva Veda*[71] glorifies the sacrificial bull in mystical language just as the *Rigveda* does the sacrificial horse! The Bull is said to pierce the demons with his horns, to banish famine with his eyes and to hear good tidings with his ear". He worships "with hundred sacrifices and fires consume him not". The great importance of the bull-sacrifice is stressed by asserting that "All Gods promote the Brahmin who offers the Bull in sacrifice". Finally the cows are assured of the return of the Bull, their "youthful leader" and are exhorted to wander at their pleasure, asking them, of course, to increase the cattle wealth as well as general prosperity of the sacrificer.

In Vedic society when a dead person was to be disposed of by crema-

66. X, 103.1.4.
67. VI, 2.1.5.
68. *Sat. Br.*, VI, 2.1.18.
69. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 56.
70. V.I., II, 145; Rahurkar, *The Seers of the Rigveda*.
71. IV, 11; IX, 4.

tion, the corpse was laid on the funeral pyre covered with the caul and other parts of a slaughtered animal. This practice is alluded to in the Rigvedic hymn, X, 16, in its 7th stanza, the first six stanzas of which were to be repeated when the body of the departed was burning on the pyre. The stanza referred to reads: "Shield thee with flesh against the flames of Agni, encompass thee about with fat and marrow, So will the Bold One [Agni, Fire], eager to attack thee with fierce glow fail to girdle and consume thee". That the animal killed to provide the fat and marrow for covering the corpse which must have been a bull or a cow may be presumed from the fact that in the 4th stanza of the hymn, Agni is told that his portion is the goat whose parts we are told were laid on the corpse. We shall learn from our study of horse-sacrifice that the Rigvedic people led a goat before the horse that was being prepared for the sacrifice. The statement that a draught ox was burnt with the corpse found in the *Atharva Veda*[72] supports the above presumption. We may also surmise that the caul and fat used for covering the corpse on the pyre was, in the Rigvedic society, from the ox that was to be burnt, though it is possible that as in the later Vedic age, that of the Sutras, a cow was killed for that purpose.

The *Taittiriya Aranyaka*[73] makes it quite clear that the corpse laid on the funeral pyre was to be shielded from direct contact with fire by means of the ox or cow-hide, prescribing the appropriate Vedic text to be recited while covering the body with the hide. Sayanacharya in his commentary has made explicit the kind of hide prescribed or intended and the way it was to be laid on the corpse. The hide was to be whole, the head, feet and hair all intact and was to be placed on the corpse with the hair upwards outside. In the *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra*[74] we are apprised about the "Anustararani" cow, as the animal to be sacrificed is called, because it covers the deceased. The topic is introduced as the prescription of "some", that a she-animal is to be sacrified for covering the dead body with its limbs. It could be a cow or a she-goat according to Asvalayana. What parts of the sacrificed animal were to be used to cover what parts of the dead body is specified in IV, 3.20-25. The text to be recited while putting the omentum on the dead body is the 7th stanza of the 16th hymn of the tenth book of the Rigveda, the hymn which is already mentioned above. Stanza 8th of the same was to be recited while covering the dead body with the hide of the animal.

When a misfortune like the death of Guru, preceptor, occurs an expiatory ceremony was prescribed and in it a bull had to be killed. For, at a certain stage of the ceremony a bull's hide with the neck to the

72. V.I., I, 9.
73. VI, 1.
74 IV, 2 and 3.

east, with the hair ouside, was to be spread out on which the people of the house had to step.[75]

The dark 8ths of four lunar months were prescribed days for certain rites. The day after an 'ashtaka' known as 'anvashtaka' was sacred to the manes, and a sacrifice, called 'Pitrimedha' was offered. On the 8th of the dark half of the month of Magha (February) a cow is prescribed to be sacrificed according to *Gobhilagrihya Sutra*.[76] The cow to be sacrificed was laid up with its head to the east, the feet to the north if the sacrifice was addressed to the Gods, but with head to the south and feet to the west, if it was for the Manes. The killing was to be so done that the blood did not stain the ground to the east of the fire. Only the omentum was to be offered into the fire. *Hiranyakesi Grihya Sutra*[77] enjoins a different position for the cow to be killed, the head being laid to the west and the feet to the south. Not only the omentum but also the cooked meat of the cow was to be offered to the fire.

Ashtaka-sacrifice to the Manes or Fathers is one of the three occasions when, according to Apastamba (I, 3.7-9), the other two being marriage and the arrival of a guest, a bull is to be sacrificed. *Sankhayana Grihya Sutra* concurs (I, 12.10-11; II. 16.1). Hiranyakesin has supplied us with full particulars of the sacrifice of a bull offered on the arrival of the married couple to the bridegroom's home. He has prescribed that a red bull's skin should be spread out to the west of the sacrificial fire so that the neck is turned to the east, hairy side being up-side. The couple sitting on it offers only cooked food as oblations, after other worship. Asvalayana, who prescribes this procedure at the "Parting of the hair" rite, does not very much insist on a red bull's hide. He asks the performer to spread out any bull's hide, neck turned to the east and hairy side up, as mentioned in the above prescription.[78]

The third occasion on which a cow or a bull had to be killed, the arrival of a special guest, is provided for in the *Sankhayana G. S.*[79] by permitting an option between a cow, a goat or any other eatable desired.

The depth of the sentiment regarding cow or bull-scrifice for an honoured guest can be guaged from the fact that it appears to have continued till about the beginning of the 8th century A.D., though perhaps only among the eastern peoples and infrequently. Thus in the *Ramayana* (II, 54.17) which records a number of special features of the eastern variety of Vedic culture, the sage Bharadvaja is said to have offered this kind of

75. *Ibid.*, IV, 6.8.
76. III, 10.18 ff.
77. II, 5.15.
78. *Hir. GS*, I, 7.22 and 23; *Apastamba* II, 6.8, prescribes the same way; *Asvalayana*, I, 14-3.
79. II, 15.1.

honourable treatment to Rama, when the latter, on his journey towards his exile, visited Bharadvaja's hermitage. Five to six centuries, down south in Vidarbha, Bhavabhuti, a staunch orthodox Brahmin of the 8th century A.D., mentioned through the dialogues of the disciples of Valmiki, that a heifer would be slaughtered for the guests that had arrived at the hermitage. And the guests included such spiritually advanced worthies as Janaka and Vasishtha. The dialogue, quite crisp and witty, forms an interlude in the play called *Uttara-Ramacharita*,[80] a play performed in a temple! And all this sentiment and probable practice continued in spite of the fact that Paraskara [81] had already countermanded such a sacrifice, in a manner likely to appeal to the conscience of a people. It lays down that the host, with a butcher's knife in hand should say to the guest thrice "A cow", and the guest replying that it is the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of Adityas and the centre of immoratlity, was to ask the host not to kill "the guiltless cow, which is Aditi"!

Bull as a sacrifice to Gods is well attested in the *Grihya Sutras* in their prescription of the rite, significantly named Sulagava, Spit-Ox or ox roasted on a spike. In some form or another it figures in the *Apastamba* (VII, 20), *Asvalayana* (IV, 8), *Baudhayana* (II, 7), *Hiranyakesi*, II, 3.8), *Manava* (II, 5) and *Paraskara* (III, 8) *Grihya Sutras*.[82] The sacrifice was for the propitiation of Rudra or Isana, so that the cattle of the performer of the sacrifice and also of the village should be free from the depredation of that killer-God. It was to be performed outside the village at a secluded spot and none of the meat of the sacrificed animal was to be brought into the village. All the omentum and much of the flesh were to be offered into the fire as oblations for Rudra, who in some of the Sutras is presented in his other names or forms, like Asani, Bhava, Bhima, Mahadeva, Pasupati, Sarva, Ugra, and for their consorts named Bhavani, Sarvani, Rudrani, etc. According to the *Asvalayana GS*, the blood of the slaughtered animal was allowed to flow down the ground where it was assigned to serpents. The *Manava GS* required eight pots to be filled with the blood which were then to be placed in eight quarters intended as offerings to them. *Paraskara GS* alone speaks of the blood as an offering to the Ganas or hosts of Rudra's attendants distributed in eight quarters.

The *Apastamba GS* and the *Hiranyakesi GS* which speak more of Isana than of Rudra, incorporate two more deities into the rite as recipients on equal terms. One of them is Midhushi, the Bountiful, a goddess who is not known to either Vedic or later Hindu pantheon, and

80. IV.
81. I, 3.26-7.
82. VII, 20; IV, 8; II, 7; II, 3-8; II, 5; III, 3 respectively.

the other is Jayanta, the offspring of Isana and Midhushi. Jayanta is known to later Hindu mythology as the son of Indra only. Both the ritual-texts then bring in Kshetrapati, a deity known to the Rigveda as the protector of fields but to later Hinduism under the slightly transformed name of Kshetrapala, or Bhairava, a terrific form of Rudra-Siva!

Sacrifice of a bull to propitiate a deity appears to have continued to be a practice in the eastern variety of the Vedic vulture much longer. For in the *Ramayana*,[83] we find Sita, while crossing the boisterous Yamuna river with Rama for the exile, vowing to the river-goddess a sacrifice of a thousand bulls and a hundred jars of wine, on their safe return to Ayodhya at the end of their long exile.

Some non-sacrificial features of the bull-complex also must have been current in the Rigvedic society. The fact that besides Indra other gods like Agni and Soma among others were addressed as bulls implies that some claim to deityhood for the bull might have been made. But if any such claim was made there is no hymn addressed to the bull in the Rigveda. On the other hand, there are two hymns addressed to the horse, besides whatever hymnal endeavour has been lavished over the special horse Dadhikras. The bull receives its glorification in the *Atharvaveda*[84] wherein the bull is said to wear the form of Indra. He is further identified with both the arms of Varuna, the vigour of Indra, the hump of Maruts and the shoulders of Asvins. It is suggested that the bull should be called Brihaspati, the lord of wisdom. People call it Indra and Sarasvan, the male consort of Sarasvati, too. Then the various parts of the bull—it is the sacrificial bull that is glorified just as it is the sacrificial horse that is glorified in the two hymns of the Rigveda mentioned above—are specified as the particular deities. And the sacrifice of a bull is recommended by asserting that "All Gods promote the Brahman who offers the bull in sacrifice". While judging the development of the bull-complex or its intensity in the Vedic age in the light of the above-mentioned hymn of the Atharvaveda it should be borne in mind that the very next hymn of that Veda is devoted to glorifying the sacrificial goat. We may conclude that the bull-complex in Vedic Indo-Aryandom was rather on the way out. This conclusion is borne out by the contrast presented by the expression of sanctity about the cow in the same Veda to such an extent that Macdonell[85] has observed: "In the *AV* the worship of the cow as a sacred animal is fully recognised".

The bull-complex prevalent in the early cultures of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Crete and Greece, as mentioned in proper context earlier, was clearly one intensely connected with man's desire for securing prowess

83. II. 55.20.
84. IX, 4.
85. *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

or strength and also sexual vigour and reproductive power, bull having been the symbol of such power and fertility. In view of this it is worthy of note that the Rigvedic words for a bull are: *vrisha, vrishan, vrishabha* and *ukshan*. Regarding the first three words Griffith[86] finding them used in repetition about Indra notes that they are "so commonly applied in the hymns to living beings and things pre-eminent for strength".

It is intriguing to find that as pointed out by Dr. Louis H. Gray,[87] some thirty-five years ago, the Indian word 'baila' for 'bull' means "one possessing drops of semen". Dr. Gray, discussing the etymology of the Prakrit word 'bailla' for 'bull', posited a Sanskrit predecessor derivable from the Indo-European base 'bende', 'drop of liquor', which appears in Sanskrit as 'bindu', 'drop', compared as cognates, with old Cornish 'bandu', Breton 'banne', 'drop', on the authority of Walde-Pokorny. His further comment covers the fourth Rigvedic word for ox or bull, 'ukshan'. "For similar romantic [?] development ['bailla' meaning, in the final analysis, 'one possessing drops of semen'] one may compare Sanskrit Ukshan-'bull', Avestan uxsan-'bull', Welsh yeh ox from ukso: 'uks'-'sprinkle, wet'." Prof. Burrow[88] has provided the Tocharian cognate 'okso'. The Rigvedic and later Indo-Aryans quite clearly prized the animal bull for its sexual vigour, procreative power and fertility. The power aspect of the animal so well emphasized in the Rigvedic hymns is seen incorporated in a special rite prescribed in the highly philosophical work of the later Vedic age, the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.[89] It prescribes that one who desires to have a son well-versed in the Vedas, well respected in the assemblies, soft spoken and long-lived should eat along with ghee, rice cooked with flesh of ox or bull. The sex vigour aspect of the bull finally was enshrined when in the form of Nandi the effigy of the animal came to be fixed up in front of the Phallic emblem of God Siva!

86. *RV*, VI, 44, 19-21.
87 *J.A.O.S.*, 1940, p. 366.
88. *Op. cit.*, p. 142. T. Burrow: *The Sanskrit Language.*
89. VI, 4.12-21.

3

Horse-Complex Among Indo-Aryans: Religious Aspect

RIGVEDIC religion was almost entirely a basically sacrificial one. There are a number of Rigvedic stanzas which are what we may call prayers, requests and earnest appeals to gods for wordly goods and blessings of all kinds, most of them being an accompaniment of an offering or libation made at a sacrifice. Pure worship by itself whether humble supplication or panegyric is very rare. Thus the kind of worship described or envisaged in "Nigh they approached, one-minded, with their spouses kneeling to him [Agni] adorable, paid worship"[1] is rare. And even in the above hymn, in the very next stanza we discover a reference to twenty-one kinds of sacrifices in which Agni played the central role, indicating the vast development of the sacrificial institution. Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati is the deity that presides over prayer, the Lord of Prayer; and we read in a hymn addressed to him: "The King supreme of prayers, O Brahmanaspati: hear us with help; sit down in place of sacrifice. Brihaspati, God Immortal! verily the gods have gained from thee, the wise, a share in sacrifice".[2] Another hymn to the Lord of Prayer opens with, "Served with oblations, first-born, mountain render, Angiras's son, Brihaspati, the Holy, ... our Father, roars loudly as a bull, to Earth and Heaven.[3]

Another kind of worship, highly developed later, and since mediaeval times the dominant form of worship in Brahmanic Hinduism, is represented, too, but is even rarer. Thus one feels moving almost in current Hindu religious atmosphere, when one finds, Indra, the most sacrificed to god and the typical warrior-god, addressed as in *RV* VII, 22.5. The address runs: "I know and never forget the hymns and praises of thee [Indra], the Conqueror, and thy strength immortal. Thy name I ever

1. *RV*, I, 72.5. The English-renderings of all the *RV* passages in this book are from Griffith's translation of the *RV*.
2. *RV*, II, 33.1-2.
3. *RV*, VI, 73.1.

utter, Self-Refulgent". However, the stanza is preceded by: "Accept the prayers I offer at thy Banquet. Here thou the call of the juice-drinking press-stone" [which operation has to be gone through at the beginning of a Vedic Soma sacrifice], and followed by, "All these libations are for thee". Again in *RV*, III, 37.3 we read: "O Indra, Lord of Hundred Powers, with all our songs we invocate Thy names for triumph over foes". But the 8th stanza of the hymn requests Indra to drink the Soma juice offered at the sacrifice. Indra, himself proclaims what he thinks to be the proper worship for him in *RV*, X, 27 thus: "This, singer, is my firm determination, to aid the worshipper who pours the Soma [offers sacrifice]. I slay the man who brings no milk-oblation, unrighteous, powerful, the truth's perverter". To this the singer-sage of the hymn answers a more emphatic promise of a full bull sacrifice: "Then will I, when I lead my friends to battle against the radiant persons of the godless, Prepare for thee at home a vigorous bullock, and pour for thee the fifteen-fold strong juices".

Varuna and Mitra-Varuna are known to be deities concerned with moral order and justice but even in an approach to them sacrifice inevitably peeps in. "He who wins favour for his prayer by worship... That good man's mind the Mighty Ones will follow" proclaims one stanza and the next runs: "This priestly task, Gods! Varuna and Mitra! hath been performed for you at sacrifice".[4] Even Savitta, the visible Sun-deity in the praise of and the prayer to whom occurs the most famous and the most repeated of the stanzas of the Rigveda, the so-called sacred incantation of all twice-born Hindus for ages—the Gayatri 'mantra' or the Savitri, the 10th stanza of the 62nd hymn of the third book—which enshrines a sublimely noble prayer, is followed by the statement that the worship offered along with the prayer was of the standard "holy rites", i.e., of course a sacrifice!

In the 72nd hymn of the first book of the Rigveda we read in stanza 6th: "Soon as the holy beings had discovered the thrice-seven mystic things contained within thee. With these one-minded, they preserve the Amrit [ambrosia]" The statement is quite convincingly interpreted to mean that the various sacrifices, which number in all twenty-one, having Fire at their centre, are conceived as mystic forms of Fire and that through these scrifices the Gods are able to store up and secure the fall of rain. In the 4th stanza of the 87th hymn of the VII book, too, we may detect a reference to twenty-one kinds of sacrifice, the names of which, the Rishi proclaims, were revealed to him by Varuna, "The sapient God, knowing the place's secret", who "shall speak as it were to teach the race that cometh". Some of the sacrifices such as Agnishtoma,

4. *RV*, VII, 50.11-12.

Atiratra, Asvamedha, Brihspatisava, and Gavamayana are either described in part or named or alluded to indirectly or implied in the statement of some features.[5] Some specific rites comprised in a sacrifice, like Prayaja, Anuyaja and Pravargna, too, are either actually named or implied.[6]

Griffith has noted in his comment on *RV*, I, 162.5 wherein different priests are mentioned by their designations, that they are eight out of "the sixteen priests employed in solmen rites". The authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on Ritvij mention stanza second of the first hymn of the Second book of the *RV* as being the oldest list of seven priests by their designations. They state further that according to Darmesteter the Perso-Iranians had eight priests. The cooperation of seven priests in sacrificial rites is actually mentioned, without naming all of them, in many more passages.[7]

That the institution of three fires for sacrificial rites should have been alluded to as in *RV*, II, 36.4, III, 20.2, is proof certain that the sacrificial institutions were already well established in the Rigvedic society. A passage in the 10th book of the Rigveda[8] declares: "When three-fold flame burns high for thee, to rest on poles of sacrifice, thou [Indra] with the living joyest in the self bright Ship, i.e. the sacrifice". And three daily libations, ('Savana') are alluded in II, 4.8; III, 28.5; IV, 5.2; VII, 11.3; VIII, 1.29.

Some of the essential parapharnalia of sacrifice is further deified and have hymns addressed to them in the Rigveda. The stones with which the twigs of Soma are pressed to extract its juice, the supreme essential of a Vedic sacrifice, receive at least three hymns.[9] The Vedi, altar, is thus mentioned: "Together with all Gods, O fair-faced Agni, be seated first upon the wool-lined altar, nest-like bedewed with oil".[10] It is described as the loftiest spot on earth in *RV*, III, 8.3.

The sacrificial post, Yupa, so essential to any animal sacrifice, has a whole hymn to it (*RV*, III, 8). It is described as set up to the eastward of the enkindled fire. Perhaps there were more sacrificial posts or pillars and they were painted, adorned, and "well-robed". "Like swans that flee in lengthened line, the Pillars have come to us arrayed in brilliant colour.... Those stakes upon the earth with rings that deck them seem to the eye like horns of horned creatures". We notice a mention of the "hall of sacrifice" in *RV*, X, 61.1 which is partially described in VII, 2.5.

5. X, 114.6; VII, 103.7-9; VIII, 1.29; I, 162-163; III, 53.7, 62.5.
6. X, 51.8; 182.2; V, 30.12-15; VIII, 61.7.
7. Cf. *RV*, II, 52-4; X, 61.1.
   RV, I, 58.7, 94.6; IV, 9.3-4; VIII, 61.7; X, 10.7; 61.1, 91.10 124.1
8. 105.9.
9. X, 76.94 and 175.
10. *RV*, VI, 15.16. Cf. VIII, 19.8; X, 61.2.

Sacrifice is described as "a chariot fraught with happy fortune". To emphasize the extent of the interpenetration of sacrifice in the mores of the Rigvedic society I shall quote here only one description of the process of pressing Soma juice which was so essential a feature of the Vedic sacrifice. It reads: "Pour golden juice within the wooden vessel: With stone-made axes fashion ye and form it. Embrace and compass it with ten-fold girdle, and to both chariot poles (the arms) attach the car-horse (the upper press stone). Between both poles the car-horse goes pressed closely.... Lay in the wood [the vessel] the Sovran of the Forest (the Soma plant) and sink the well, although ye do not dig it (store up the juice)".[11] The following passage embodies a brief description of the total complex: "Blest unto us be Soma, and devotions, blest be the Sacrifice, the Stones for pressing. Blest be the fixing of the sacred Pillars, blest be the tender Grass, and blest the Altar".[12]

The development, currency of and faith in sacrifice had so far gone by the time the latest hymns of the Rigveda were composed that Sacrifice, Yagna, itself was deified and was identified with Purusha. For the famous Purush, proclaims hymn X, 90.16: "Gods sacrificing sacrificed Yagna (Purusha) as a victim. And that formed the earliest set of holy ordinances. The Mighty ones thereby, i.e. by sacrifice, attained the height heaven, "where the Sadhyas, Gods of old, are dwelling".[13]

The theoretical basis for sacrifice could thus quite clearly be its high value for securing benefits in the hereafter. The utility of sacrifice in procuring varied benefits in the worldly existence, nay its imperative necessity for procuring varied benefits and for tiding over numerous difficulties in this worldly existence, is made patently manifest in such a large number of Rigvedic passages that a whole page can be filled by references to them. Hardly less numerous are the texts which speak of the need for the Gods to drink the Soma-juice offered at Sacrifices to replenish their powers. Indra requires large quantities of it to strengthen himself to fight the demons of drought.[14] In *RV*, II 33.7 sacrifice is actually called "the banquet of the gods". As for the benefits accruing to the institutors of sacrifice one sage proclaims[15]: "No troubles vex the King in whose home Indra drinks the sharp Soma juice with milk commingled". Another sage speaks of the legendary first sacrificer who thereby "made more sure", impliedly of their own welfare, and tells poste-

11. *RV*, X, 101.10-11.
12. VII, 35.7.
13. *RV*, X, 90.16; X, 62.1; I, 164.50.
14. *RV*, II, 14; III, 32.12 and 15; 36.6-7; IV, 22.8; V, 29.7; VI, 7.11; 40; VII, 26; VIII, 33.1-4; X, 27.1-2; 50.7; X, 89.5-6; 104.1-3; 116.1.
15. V, 37.4.

rity that one of the ancient families of sacrificers, the Bhrigus became, through their sacrifices, "esteemed of all as Gods" (X, 92.20).

Animal sacrifice, fairly well illustrated in many of its aspects in the Rigvedic hymns, was quite clearly the more important form of worship, though Soma juice or Soma sacrifice was the basis of all. Soma sacrifice is common to both the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans and the Perso-Iranians who spoke of their Haoma, and was current among the Sakas of Sogdiana, Bactria and Ferghana in the Achaemenian period. Among the three sections of Sakas enumerated in the Achaemenian inscriptions figure the "haumavarga", "the *haoma*-revering" ones. They were called by the Greeks "amyrgiol".[16] One Rigvedic Rishi sings of Agni as "He in whom horses, bulls, oxen and barren cows, and rams, when duly set apart [i.e. as sacrifices for specific gods], are offered up".[17] Among these animal-sacrifices the Horse-sacrifice, *Asvamedha*, held the most honoured first place. *Yupa* or Pillar is a requisite for all animal-sacrifices. As already stated, *Yupa* is deified in one hymn, *RV*, II, 8.

In the systematization of the ritual complex, the authors of *Brahmanas*, speak of 'Yajna', 'sacrifice' in anthropomorphic terms and declare "Yagno vai Vishnuh", "Yajna, verily is Vishnu", or "Yajamano vai Yajnah", "the sacrificer is verily the Yajna".[18] The construction of the altar as laid down in the *Satapatha Brahmana* involves the placing of a small golden statue of the sacrificer down at the centre. The bricks to be placed over the spot are enjoined to be "self-perforated"; and the explanation for this lies in the need to keep some outlet for the sacrificer to issue out of this golden image and proceed heaven-ward at the appropriate moment in the progress of the sacrifice. This detail has concretised the notion that the sacrificer is himself Yajna. Dr. Jogiraja Basu[19] says about the Brahmana period view of Sacrifice that "the end of sacrifice is identification of the sacrificer with the presiding deity of the sacrifice". The purpose and valuation of the fully developed sacrifice made by Julius Eggeling seventy-five years ago is fuller and brings out the mystic content of it quite well. He wrote: "Once granted that the real purport of all sacrificial performances is the restoration of the dismembered Lord of Creatures [Prajapati] and the reconstruction of the All, it cannot be denied that, of all ceremonial observances, the building of the great Fire-altar was the one most admirably adapted for this grand symbolic purpose. The very magnitude of the structure, nay, its practically illimitable extent, coupled with the immense number of objects, mostly bricks of various kinds [I have counted more

16. Frye, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
17. X, 91.14.
18. *Sat. Br.* I, 7.1-21; I, 9.3-9; III, 6.3-3; *Ait. Br.* I, 5.
19. *India of the Age of the Brahmanas*, 1969, pp. 143, 182-3.

than fifty named kinds in the list given by Dr. S. V. Ketkar in the second volume of *Jnanakosha* (in Marathi), pp. 96-98] of which it is composed cannot but offer sufficiently favourable conditions for contriving what might fairly pass for a miniature representation of at least the visible universe".[20]

Of the animals for sacrifice only the horse stands deified. The importance of its sacrifice can be guaged from the fact that two hymns are addressed to the sacrificial horse: *RV*, I, 162 and 163. The first of these almost fully describes not only the preparation of the horse for the sacrifice but also the kernel of both the ritual procedure and the theory of sacrifice in general and animal sacrifice in particular. The first stanza informs us not only that the "virtues of the strong steed" are declared in the sacrificial congregation but also that the horse was considered to be "descended" from Gods, i.e., "born as the type of various deities" as Griffith puts it. The Courser was covered with trappings and "wealth", i.e., rich ornaments and that an oblation from the remains of the previous oblational offerings made in Fire was held before it. A goat was to precede and lead the horse to the actual spot of sacrifice (2 and 3). In the fourth stanza of the hymn we get a further glimpse into the complex ritual as also into its avowed or accepted purpose and function. It reads "When thrice the men lead round the Steed, in order, who goeth to the Gods as meat oblation, The Goat precedeth him, the share of Pushan [the pastoral deity of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans] and to the Gods the sacrifice announceth". Griffith's comment on it states the theory in part thus: "the object of the sacrifice is to send the horse to the Gods that he may obtain blessings for his sacrificers". The horse is described as "A good friend won for the Gods' banquet" (st. 7). Not only is it implied that the horse, being lead by the goat, peacefully and willingly proceeds to the place of sacrifice but it is plainly stated in the second hymn. Stanza 12th of it states that "the strong Steed hath come forward to the slaughter and also that it does so "pondering with a mind directed God-ward", i.e. like a devout man breathing his last! When the horse is immolated it is thus addressed "No, here thou diest not, thou art not injured: by easy paths unto the Gods thou goest". It is then told that it becomes, thereafter, the fellow-companion of the horses of Indra, the spotted mares of Maruts, and the ass that draws the chariot of the twin gods Asvins[21]. Finally, the Rishi singer of the hymn 163 assures all of the glorious destiny reached by the horse and the certainty of its securing great benefit to the sacrificer: "The Steed is come unto the

20. *Satapatha Brahmana,* pt. IV, vol. XLIII of the S.B.E. Series, p. XIX.
21. 162.21.

noblest mansions, is come unto his Father and his Mother. This day shall he approach the Gods, most welcome"; then he declares "good gifts to him who offers" in stanza 13. The Rigvedic singer apologizes to the gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, Varuna, Aryaman, Mitra, Ribhukshan, Indra and Maruts and begs them not to slight him or his companions and participants, for the declaration made "of the virtues of the strong God descended steed" amid the congregation (162.1).

Every little part of the animal, after it was slaughtered, was to be collected for being thoroughly and properly roasted on the fire. The fat that oozed out in roasting was also to be collected. That the Rigvedic people ate the flesh of the sacrificed horse or perhaps of any horse, is to be gauged from the singer's utterance: "They who observing that the Horse is ready call out and say, the smell is good, remove it; And carving meat, await the distribution". It is clear from stanzas 18 and 19 of the 162nd hymn, that the sacrificed horse was roasted as a whole and the carving of it took place afterwards. The carver had evidently to be an expert animal-anatomist; for he is asked to carve the horse rib by rib, every one of the 36 ribs apparently having been individually and specifically named even in those times. However, the dissector cut out only 34 out of the 36 ribs, "each one being sacred to a separate divinity". What was done with those two left out is not indicated; and I should think that that was the only portion left for the human co-participants to make use of! How the killing of the horse is no killing but only reaching the horse to his Father and Mother, in order that he may, approaching the Gods, bring "all-sustaining riches, wealth in good kine, good horses, manly offspring and freedom from sin" has already been mentioned. As a sort of an apology or as contrition of the conscience or/and as insurance against revengeful activity the singer assures the sacrified horse that the oblational activity will banish all the woes that the horse might have had "when someone seated, with excessive vigour urging hath with his heel or his whip distressed" it (162.17)!

In the context, the identification of the horse with some deities or its origin from some, eulogy of the horse as horse, bringing home to the reader the great value Rigvedic Indo-Aryans placed on horse as an animal, and the appealing apologies and earnest request for pardon they made for whatever maltreatment the animal as a mount might have received from they are relevant.

The horse, in one mood, the singer thinks, proceeded from the sea or upper waters[22]; in another he speaks of him as a gift of Yama to Tritra and even identifies him with Yama, with Trita, with Adityas and even Varuna (2-4). The horse is the pattern for vigour and is

22 *RV*, I, 163.1.

copied by Gods (8). The singer and his society, in spite of their appreciation of the horse, it seems, could not get over their earlier bull-complex, which fixed the form of the bull as both vigour and striking power. Thus the poet waxes eloquent over the physical features of the horse when he sings about him as being "symmetrical in flank with rounded haunches, mettled like heroes", as having "a body formed for flight", as "swift as the wind in motion", fleeter than Indra who is as swift as thought, yet he says that the horse has "horns made of gold" "limbs of the deer and eagle pinions" (1, 9-11).

The fatuation with the horse prevalent in the Rigvedic society comes out even more prominently in its deification of one particular horse called Dadhikravan or Dadhikras, believed by Ludwig and Pischel to have been the special horse of the great warrior and devout king Trasadasyu [23]. Dadhikravan was so far deified that besides addresses or references to him in the 3rd and 7th books of the Rigveda, there are three consecutive hymns addressed to Him in the fourth book (38, 39, 40). Dadhikravan is said to have been presented to Trasadasyu, from whom it passed on to his people the Purus, by Mitra-Varuna. The Rigvedic view of Dadhikravan, which establishes his fascination for the people is this: "And fain to come forth first amid these armies, this way and that with rows of cars he rushes, gay like a bridesman, making him a *garland* [underlining mine] tossing the dust, champing the rein that holds him"; "victorous and faithful obedient with his body in the combat speeding straight on amid the swiftly pressing"; "at his thunder, like the roar of heaven, those who attack tremble and are frightened".[24]

Apropos of Dadhikravan's being a special gift of Mitra-Varuna I should draw readers' attention to what has been already said about horse as the special sacrifice for Varuna in the *Satapatha Brahmana* [25] I should further add here that the same text enjoins that in the Vajapeya sacrifice, which only a Brahmin or Kshatriya could perform, the fee to be paid to the priest for sacrifice to Varuna was to be a horse [26]. This prescription emphasizes the close connection of the horse with Varuna. In the *Tait. Samhita* it is laid down that if one wants either to give away or accept a horse he should perform a ceremony dedicated to Varuna and Adityas [27].

Having presented a few of the features of horse-sacrifice which are available, though laconically, in the Rigveda itself, I shall now give a few further details about it from the later Vedic literature.

23. Griffith's trans. of *RV*, VIII, 44.4.
24. 38.1-2, 6.8.
25. *Satapatha Brahmana*, V, 1.5-2.3.
26. V, 3.1-5.
27. Ketkar, vol. 2, p. 93.

Asvamedha or 'horse-sacrifice', since its earliest mention, has been a sacrifice associated with paramount sovereignty. The horse selected for such a sacrifice was to be washed clean by four priests standing in the four quarters. Each one of the priests was accompanied by 100 non-priestly individuals; one hundred non-royal but brave members of the warrior caste (Kshatriyas) armed with swords, accompanied one priest, the same number of members of a mixed caste called Kshatta followed another. Still another priest was accompanied by one hundred persons from among village-headmen and charioteers bearing staves, and the fourth was accompanied by one hundred young male members of royal families clad in armour. When Sona Satrasaha, a king of the Panchalas, we are told in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[28], performed a horse sacrifice, his sacrificial horse was accompanied by an army of thirty-six thousand horses from the Turvasa country (the north-west Punjab) with six thousand armoured men!

There were to be sacrificed, besides the sacrificial horse, 180 other beasts. The total number of posts or 'yupas', of five different kinds of wood, required were twenty-one, and the number of priests to conduct the sacrifice was sixteen. The sacrificial horse when let loose to roam was to be accompanied by hundred old horses surrounding it[29].

Before letting the horse loose to roam about the Adhvaryu priest and the sacrificer whispered into the horses right ear its praise ending with the declaration: "Thou art called Yayu (sacrificial), thou art called Sisu (euphemistic for mature horse). Follow thou the flight of Adityas". In this formula of the *Vajasaneyi Samhita*[30] (*YU*) we can see the ideas figuring in *RV*, I, 162. 11 and 22 and 163.13 put up in straightforward language!

Roaming about at will for a year or a year-and-a-half when the horse returned it was yoked to a chariot carrying a fluttering flag and was driven round the sacrificial ground.

The wives of the king were to stick into the various parts of the body of the horse pins of gold and silver and then the horse was tied up to the principal post (Yupa). A skin and a woollen cloth soaked in ghee were spread over branches of a particular species of tree already laid out. Thereon a rich bed with an embroidered cloth and gold was prepared. Over it was placed a silver sheet. And it was on this richly accoutred bed that the horse was laid down and slaughtered. After the horse was 'quieted', one of the priests, the Adhvaryu, led the wives of the performer towards the prostrate horse. They were accom-

28. XIII, 5.4.16-18.
29. Griffith's note on *RV*, I, 162.5; *Ramayana*, I, 14.38; *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4.2-5; Ketkar, vol. 2, p. 78.
30. XXII, 19.

panied by a young maiden and four hundred female attendants, the exact number of the male attendants of the horse mentioned earlier, carrying water to wash the horse's feet.

The queens said to one another: "Amba, Ambika, Ambalika, there is no one to lead me"! According to the *Vaj. Sam.* the saying was completed by the words, "the horse sleeps near Subhadrika dwelling in [or hailing from?] Kampila" [31]. The queen was evidently to lie with the horse and copulate with it in the early complex. But the author or authors of the *Satapatha Brahmana* and his society of the time were not in favour of continuing the old practice of absorbing the divine power and physical vigour of the sacrificial horse through the actual physical act, which by then had naturally come to be considered as barbarous. So they dropped out the ancient injunction. We must consider that practice to have been almost extinct by the later Vedic age at least in the main part of the Madhyadesa. Effective support for this statement is provided by the halting mention of or rather befogging reference to the leading of the chief queen to the horse ("upasamvasana") made in the Mahabharata XIV, 91.1-2 in the horse-sacrifice, which Yudhisthira is said to have performed before his final enthronement on the throne of Hastinapura. Part of the text-passage is so corrupt that R. D. Karmarkar, the editor of the *Asvamedhikaparva*, in the edition of the Great Epic issued by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, has despaired of extracting a cogent and consistent meaning out of it. On the part of the text on which I have depended in the above statement, R. D. Karmarkar observes: "It appears that during the period when the Mahabharata received its present shape the obscene features [the obscene dialogue described as being carried on by the three queens, Mahishi, Vavata and Parivrikta or Parityakta] connected with the "upasamvasana had completely fallen into abeyance". In the description of Dasaratha's horse-sacrifice in connection with the rite for getting male issue, occurring in the *Ramayana*, I, 14.34-35, the priests are said to have "united"—the Samskrit word being 'samayojayan', 'yuj' meaning to join—the principal queen, or another queen who was out of sexual contact with the king, with the horse. Kausalya, the principal queen had already lived—'avasat' from 'vas' to live—with the horse with ease and calm for a whole night and thus had fulfilled the religious requirement laid down for the Asvamedha!

One intriguingly significant detail of the Vedic horse-sacrifice was that early in the progress of the performance a dog was to be dumped into water in front of the horse before its sacrifice and was to be done to

31. Ketkar, II, 78; *Sat. Br.* VIII, 2.8.13 and Eggeling's note at p. 321 of Pt. V of his translation of *Sat. Br.*

death with a pestle while it was struggling in water. The sacrifice of a dog by the Gods enigmatically introduced in the Atharvavedic glorification of Sacrifice[32] may be a reminiscence of this practice. It reads: "With dog the Gods, perplexed, have paid oblation, and with cow's limbs in sundry sacrifices."

As stated above, among all the Rigvedic sacrifices 'Asvamedha' or 'horse-sacrifice' was the most important. There is evidence in the Rigveda, apart from the hymns addressed to the sacrificial horse, mentioned earlier, to show that horse-sacrifice among the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans is almost as ancient as the ancient sages. Visvamitra, the patriarch of the family of Visvamitras, in *RV*, III, 53.11 says: "Come forward Kusikas; be attentive and let loose the horse of Sudas, to win him riches, east, west and north, and let the king slay the foemen; then at earth's choicest place perform his worship". Kusikas are the scions of the family of Visvamitra, so addressed after their earliest known patriarch. The horse-sacrifice was for Sudas, the famous Rigvedic king whose glories and wars inspired a fair amount of Rigvedic hymns. The place of sacrifice, it should be noted, is declared to be the choicest place on earth evidently because the great sacrifice was so important and unique that it raised the dignity of the site where it was actually performed! Perhaps another Rigvedic prince, king Svanaya Bhavayavya, too, performed a horse-sacrifice on the banks of the Indus. Kakshivan, a famous old sage tells us that that "unconquered king desiring glory" favoured him with a "thousand pressings". Thousand pressings of the soma plant were a requirement of the 'asvamedha', 'horse-sacrifice'.[33]

In the later Vedic literature, *Sat. Br., Ait. Br., Kaush. Br., and Jaimi. Up. Br.*,[34] a number of kings are recorded as having been consecrated with 'aindra mahabhisheka' or as having performed horse sacrifice, some of them a large number of times too. Among these Saryata or Saryati happens to be the earliest. Saryata, called Manava, figures in the Rigveda, as a protege of Asvins. Chyavana is presented in the Rigveda as a sage or seer who was the beneficiary of special favours from Asvins. In the later Vedic literature he appears as the husband of Sukanya, the daughter of Saryata, and as the chaplain who consecrated Saryata with the great consecration and evidently had the horse-sacrifice successfully performed by Saryata. The other king of the list before Janamejaya, who can be chronologically placed, is Bharata, Daushanti, i.e. the son

32. Ketkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 78; *Taittiriya Samhita*, A. B. Keith's translation, 612 and f.n. 7-8. ; *AV*, VII, 5. English renderings of *AV* passages are from Griffith's translation of *AV*.
33. *RV*, I, 126.1. ; Ketkar, vol. 2, p. 367.
34. I, 6.4.4; II, 5.4-9; V, 5.4, 9-10; VII, 34, VIII, 21; V, 5 and II, 6-11 respectively; VIII, 23.1 and XIII, 5.4 respectively.

of Dashyanta, and also Saudyumni. An ancient verse, 'gatha', quoted about Bharata proclaims that he attained by his sacrificial performance the 'universal sway' which "now", i.e. in the time of the later Vedic age, "belongs to the Bharatas", i.e. the descendants of Bharata. In a similar verse we are told that Bharata dedicated his sacrificial horses to Vritrahan, i.e. Indra, seventy-eight of them on the banks of the Yamuna and fifty-five near the Ganga. Bharata appears thus to have performed 133 horse-sacrifices. Another ancient verse vouchsafes to us the information that he was the son of Sakuntala, an Apsaras, and was born to her at a place named Nadapit, which has not been identified. An ancient verse quoted in the *Aitareya* and *Satapatha Brahmanas* records the extra-ordinarily striking impression which Bharata's sacrificial activity and royal pomp and power had made on generations of Indians even before the later Vedic age. It reads: "The greatness of Bharata neither the men before nor those after him attained, nor did the five (tribes of) men, even as a mortal man does not touch the sky with his arms".

Dhvasan Dvaitavana, a king of the Matsyas, who cannot be chronologically placed, is said to have bound for Vritrahan, Indra, fourteen horses, i.e. he must have offered fourteen horse-sacrifices[35]. Janamejaya called Parikshita in the Brahmanas, along with his brothers is reported to have performed a horse-sacrifice or horse-sacrifices. Two different priests or chaplains officiating at his sacrifice are mentioned, implying thereby that he might have performed two horse-sacrifices. His capital is stated to have been at Asandivant, a place not identified. He appears to have had special fancy for his horses; for he is said to have been refreshing his horses with sweet drinks.[36] Vedicists identify this Janamejaya Parikshita as the great grandson of Arjuna. Thus he was two steps further than the 95th in the lists of dynastic personages framed by Pargiter. On Pargiter's chronological scheme he would thus have lived about 900 B.C.

In the Puranic tradition sixteen celebrated sovereigns, or 'chakravartins' are constantly mentioned. Bharata Daushyanti is one of them. It is not clear from the random accounts of their doings if all of them had celebrated a horse-sacrifice. Restricting our attention to those among them who figure as performers of a horse-sacrifice, we have to place Mandhatri Yauvanasva as the earliest recorded performer of a horse-sacrifice. He stands twenty-first in Pargiter's lists. The famous king of the Ikshvaku lineage figures quite distinctively, though not called an Aikshvaka, as a victorious monarch. Tradition ascribes to him many a horse-sacrifice. And it is quite interesting to find a description of

35. *Sat. Br.*, V, 5.4.9-10.
36. V.I.: Janamejaya.

the spread of his dominions, though in Sanskrit of about the 6th to the 8th century A.D., which is a prototype of the description of the British Empire about the end of the 19th century. It is said there in effect, that the Sun never set on Mandhata's dominions.[37] He stands 21st in Pargiter's lists.

There are four other monarchs of the list of sixteen who are attested in the Puranic and Epic tradition as performers of a horse-sacrifice and three of these belong to Ikshvaku lineage. They are Sagara, Dileepa and Rama. Bharata, the fifth, is the only non-Aikshvaka monarch.

Sagara, known for his exploit of crushing the Haihayas, who in their expansion in North India had humbled the Ikshvaku lineage, is perhaps even better known as the king whose sacrificial horse roaming about was the cause that led to the training of the course of the Ganga. As the horse had strayed into the hermitage of Kapila, Sagara's sons rushing after it angered the sage who turned them into ashes. It was Bhagiratha, the great-great-grandson of Sagara who after great endeavour trained the course of the sacred river so as to purify the remains of his ancestors burnt down by the sage. The horse-sacrifice offered by Dileepa is sung by Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa. Rama's horse-sacrifice is attested both in the Uttarakanda of Ramayana and in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*.

Dasaratha, the father of Rama, according to *Ramayana* performed a horse-sacrifice and Kalidasa, again in his *Raghuvamsa* assures us that Rama's grandson, Atithi, too, celebrated the great sacrifice. The *Mahabharata* describes the horse-sacrifice that was performed by Yudhishthira after the fratricidal war.

Saryati's horse-sacrifice, if any, can be dated, following Pargiter's identifications and chronological scheme, to about 2075 B.C. and Mandhatri's sacrifices to about 1838 B.C. Sagara stands 41st and Bharata, the Paurava, 44th in Pargiter's lists, so that their horse-sacrifices would have been celebrated between about 1600 and 1560 B.C. Accepting to Pargiter's identification of Rigvedic Sudas, which places him as the 68th in the N. Panchala dynasty, the Rigveda-recorded horse-sacrifice has to be dated as contemporary with that offered by Rama's grandson and as dated to 1274 B.C.

Janamejaya's horse-sacrifice of about 900 B.C. must be considered to be the last horse-sacrifice recorded as of the Vedic age. The authors of *Vedic Index*[38], writing more than sixty years ago, pointed out that "there had been some serious scandal mingled with their [Janamejaya and his brothers] greatness which they had, in the opinion of Brahmins atoned for by their horse sacrifice with its boundless gifts to the priests".

37. Chitrav, *op. cit.* Mandhatri.
38. V.I., I, p. 520.

Their remark was based on a passage in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad [39] which implies that the ultimate fate of the horse-sacrificing Parikshitas was being discussed among the Brahmins of the Upanishadic age. We need not see any scandal involved that prompted them to discuss the fate of Parikshitas. We can and ought to interpret the situation as one of crisis of faith in sacrifices in general, and in horse-sacrifice, the prince among them, in particular. That this is the proper interpretation of the rationale of the questioning is clear from the reply of Yajnavalkya, the philosopher, contained in the next sentence. Yajnavalkya quite confidently tells the questioners that they could not have gone further than the place which is as distant as thirty-two times the distance travelled by the Sun's chariot in a day. And this implies that as far spiritual welfare procured by a horse-sacrifice goes, it is quite limited, nay trivial, compared with what is possible through other, the newer, means!

Horse-sacrifice had thus come to have depreciated in welfare-value. On the other hand, horse-sacrifice was portrayed by the intellectual Brahmins of the age as an allegory, important constituent elements of it having been interpreted as some mentally cultivable and attainable qualities or capabilities.[40] That horse-sacrifice had ceased to concern the people for some centuries after the Upanishadic age is testified to by Panini. He mentions a number of sacrifices including some special and minor ones classifying them. Though he mentions, Rajasuya and Vajapeya, he does not refer to Asvamedha. Similarly when he explains specific terms for the guerdon paid at the various sacrifices, he mentions the terms for the guerdons paid at the Rajasuya, Vajapeya and Agnishtoma and passes over in silence Asvamedha.[41]

It was in about 150 B.C. that a horse-sacrifice got recorded in the grammatical work of Patanjali. It was offered by Pushyamitra, of the Sung dynasty that came to rule over a large portion of North India after the Mauryas. The sacrifice which also has found mention in a play of Kalidasa—*Malavikagnimitra*—may have been performed about 170 B.C. It marked the resurgence of Vedic sacrifices; for thereafter till about the seventh century A.D. not only horse-sacrifice but many others, of which we have knowledge only from the ritual texts, no record of specific individuals having performed one or the other of them being known, are recorded as having been offered by specific individuals in many parts of the country and particularly in the regions south of the Narmada down to the Krishna.

I shall make a brief survey of the history of this sacrifice in that period.

39. III, 3.
40. *Brih. Up.*, III, I.
41. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-70, 381.

Sarvatata, who is believed to be a king of the Kanva dynasty which followed the Sunga led by Pushyamitra, in his inscription at Ghosundi, near Nagari in Chitorgarh District, dated *c.* second half of the 1st century B.C., though he had put up an enclosure round the temple of Samkarshana and Vasudeva, "the Supreme Gods", described himself as one who had celebrated two horse-sacrifices.[42]

Significantly the southern record of the performance of horse-sacrifice among many other sacrifices begins with obeisance to Samkarshana-Vasudeva with the addition of both Chandra (Moon) and Surya (Sun) along with Yama—Varuna—Kubera—Vasava (Indra) and is datable to about the same time. It belongs to a queen of the Satavahana dynasty and hails from Nanaghat, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnar in Pune District. Queen Naganika informs us that she performed twenty-four different kinds of sacrifices, the names of eight or so are not preserved and half a dozen were performed more than once. There were two Asvamedhas and one Rajasuya among the whole lot. Quite correctly does Dr. Sircar observe: "The number of sacrifice [and I may add the nature and extent of the dakshina distributed] proves the great influence of the Vedic Karmakanda in the Early Satavahana court."[43]

The dynasty which came after the Satvahanas to rule over the Krishna Guntur region, it is significant to note, called itself Ikshvakus, raises the presumption of a very early migration of some section of the great Ikshvakus of Ayodhya southwards. Did it bring with it the tradition or the trait of horse-sacrifice? That the Ikshvakus were famous as horse-sacrificers Epic-Puranic literature amply testifies to. The national poet Kalidasa, singing the glories of that family in his semi-epic *Raghuvamsa* about the time the Southern Ikshvakus appear on the historical scene, has testified to the Ayodhya Ikshvaku's propensity to perform animal sacrifices. He describes the rural scene of the Ikshvaku kingdom in the time of King Dileepa, as studded with sacrificial posts, 'Yupas'. Nearer the capital describing the scene on the banks of the Sarayu river, in the reign of Rama's son Kusa or Kakutsha, he tells us that there were hundreds of sacrificial pillars in their bases raised by the former members of the Raghu family for the sacrifices they had performed. He has very briefly mentioned the celebration of horse-sacrifice by Rama whereat Kusa and Lava, the sons of Sita and Rama, brought up incognito in Valmiki's hermitage, sang the composition in which Valmiki had described the life of Rama. Kalidasa further informs us that Kusa's son Atithi, too, celebrated Asvamedha, the "great sacrifice" in which he distributed fabulous amounts of 'dakshana', fees.[44]

42 Sircar D. C., *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 91-92, 96.
43. *Op. cit.,* pp. 184-90.
44 *Raghuvamsa,* I, 44; XIII, 61; XV, 58-65; XVI, 35; XVII, 1,76-80.

Sri Santamula Vasishthiputra of the Ikshvakus of Nagarjunikonda, Krishna District, is described, in an inscription of the place, as one who had performed the sacrifices, Agnishtoma, Vajapeya and Asvamedha. The king considered himself to be under the special grace of (Skanda) Mahasena, the Lord of Virupaksha Spirits. The beauty of it is that the queen of Virapuruhadatta of the same family, whose benefactions to Buddhists are recorded in the inscription, was such a staunch Buddhist that not only is Buddha described in the opening homage with many of his Divine attributes and achievements but is also engrafted with the Ikshvaku family. The opening homage of one of these inscriptions reads: "Bow to His Divine Presence—Buddha, born in the family of Ikshvaku in which sovereign kings and hundreds of Royal Sages have been born [45] . . ." Such was the staunch Buddhist attachment of the ladies of the royal family that even the daughter of Virapurushadatta, Kodabalasri, who became the queen of a Banvasi-monarch, made a benefaction for the Buddhists. However, her brother, proclaiming the descent, mentioned in full his grandfather's sacrificial activity in a qualifying phrase [46]! The famous performer of Asvamedha and other sacrifices lived in the early part of the third century A.D. At Jagatram in the upper reaches of the Yamuna archaeologists have uncovered definite evidence of the performance of "horse-sacrifices" in the form of "the remains of inscribed burnt-brick altars" by king Silavarman, datable to the third century A.D.[47]

Samudragupta, the fourth known monarch of the Gupta dynasty, went on a conquering spree through a very large part of the country, bringing under his direct or indirect control about two-thirds of the old empire of Asoka in about A.D. 350. Thereafter he performed the horse-sacrifice, rather late in his career. He struck coins, now known as 'asvamedha' type of coins, which celebrated the event in the right royal manner for the first time in recorded Indian history. And there is a very significant difference between the 'asvamedha'-type of his coins and other types. In the 'asvamedha'-type of coins the king does not figure at all, nor does the Gupta speciality, the goddess Lakshmi nimbate seated on a wicker stool and holding fillet and cornucopia in her right hand. On one side, it bears the effigy of the sacrificial horse standing before the sacrificial post, 'Yupa', adorned with pennons which fly over the animal's back. Beneath the horse the lengend in Samskrit reads: "The overlord of Kings of irresistible prowess or the performer of 'vaji(asva)medha', having conquered the earth wins the heaven". On the other side, we find the effigy of the chief queen Dattadevi, "wearing loose robe [sari] and jewellery, *holding chowree in the right hand;* left hand hangs by

45. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-226.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 230-1.
47. B. B. Lal, *Indian Archaeology since Independence*, p. 30.

her side; on left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around the pedestal, on which the queen stands, a chain [garland] of flowers (?) extending [hanging ?] round the spear; on some specimens, a goad (?) at her feet". The inscription reads: "Glorious feat of asvamedha"; evidently echoing the sentiment which in some other inscriptions of later Gupta times is expressed by describing Samudragupta as the performer of the long 'abandoned' 'asvamedha'.[48]

Almost a century later, Kumaragupta I (A.D. 414-55) Samudragupta's grandson, too, struck *asvamedha* type of coins, which fact is proof certain that he, too, must have performed the horse-sacrifice. On one side of coin horse stands to right, wearing breast-band and saddle, before the sacrificial post on the altar, and pennons from the post fly over it. Between the legs of the horse stands the legend read as 'asvamedhasvah', 'horse for horse sacrifice'. On the other side, as in the case of 'asvamedha' coins of Samudragupta, we see the effigy of the queen of the performer of the sacrifice. She was Anantadevi by name. Two modifications are seen: (1) the effigy is nimbate, thus idolizing the queen and equating her with Lakshmi; (2) the chowrie is held over the right shoulder as a chowrie-bearer-in-waiting would do. The legend which reads "sryasvamedha mahendrah", literally meaning "the blessed great lord 'asvamedha' " is rather enigmatic [??].[49]

The Vakatakas of Vidarbha, Berar, who were evidently Brahmins, appear to have taken their cue from the Satavahanas and the southern Ikshvakus in sponsoring Vedic-Brahmanic resurgence in the south. For the Basim copper plate inscription of Vindhyasakti II of the Vakatakas, which competent Indologists have dated, on the basis of palaeography, in the fourth century A.D., speaks of Pravarasena, his grandfather, as one who had established his right to be called Samrat i.e. Sovereign Overlord by celebrating four horse-sacrifices. In addition he had done what no other historically recorded Indian monarch had or has done. And that was that he had performed the Brihaspatisava, which was a sacrifice establishing the right of a priest to assume the office of a chaplain, to be reckoned a superior priest, a prince among priests. The King had performed the four most important of the other sacrifices, viz. Agnishtoma, Aptoryama, Jyotishtoma and Vajapeya.[50] Queen Nayanika of the Satavahanas had performed many more scrifices but neither Vajapeya nor of course Brihaspatisava, though she had performed not only a Rajasuya but also two Asvamedhas. Sri Santamula of the Ikshvakus of Nagarjunikonda had performed a Vajapeya but not the Brihaspatisava

48. Sircar, pp. 254-78; A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins*, 1954, pp. LVIII-LXIV, 38-49.
49. Sircar, p. 297; Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. CVIII-CIX, 299-300.
50. Sircar, pp. 407, 419.

and only one Asvamedha. A Pallava king of Kanchi, a Kadamba king of Banavasi, a Salankayana king, and the Chalukya king Pulakesin I figure as performers of a horse-sacrifice each in the south between the 4th and the middle of the 6th century A.D. The south can thus be seen to have out-beaten the north in the upsurge of Vedic Brahmanism.

The largest number of horse-sacrifices are claimed by one king of the south, Madhavavarman, a king of the Vishnukundin family who bore the appellation of Janasraya, "peoples' refuge", who lived in the second half of the 6th century A.D. He boasts of having celebrated eleven horse-sacrifices and even one 'purushamedha', i.e. human sacrifice! Barbaric revivalism fortunately did not catch on. It must be pointed out that there might be an element of purposeful exaggeration in the statement; for before that king boasted about his horse-sacrifices the northern house of the Bharashivas, whose dominions bordered on the Bhagirathi or Ganga had performed ten horse-sacrifices. And their great exploit was duly and very proudly blazened forth by the Vakataka king Pravara-sena II who was the son of a daughter of the Bharasiva king Bhavanaga, in his Ellichpur-Chammak (Berar) record of the 5th century A.D. K. P. Jayaswal, I think, has rightly seen in this enterprise of the Bharasivas the source of the famous bathing ghat at Varanasi, named Dasasvamedha-ghat, the bathing site 'Dasasvamedha'. Thus stands today the four thousand year old Rigvedic heritage of the horse-sacrifice almost personified and apotheosized for posterity.[51]

As a testimony to the subconscious vitality of the Rigvedic heritage of contemporary Indians and those, too, of the so-called flippant generation and age, I should note down here what appeared in the *Times of India* issue of February 13, 1974. It bears the heading in bold letters: "Horse sacrifice with new slant", and states as from Baroda, Feb. 12: "The residents of Panch Pole here performed an asvamedha yagna when a decorated white horse, carrying a pair of swords and a coconut, was sent round the city... The Yagna was meant to challenge the Government of 'corrupt MLAs and Ministers'. Some 3000 people, mostly the young, followed the horse till it returned to the place of Yagna' [sacrifice]".

51. Sircar, *Successors of the Satavahanas*, pp. 39, 86, 88, 89, 98-99, 112, 127-28, 154, 390-93; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 96, 220-30, 278, 407, 420, 437-41.

4

Horse-Complex Among Indo-Aryans : Social Aspecte

HORSE as a sacrificial animal superior to a bull is writ large on the Vedic and Vedic Brahmanic board of Indian culture. This position the animal must have acquired because the Vedic people must have had a fascination for the animal both on account of its grace and power and its immense usefulness in their routine life. The Rigvedic society's preoccupation with the horse as a form or item of wealth comes out quite clearly in a number of passages where the poets have spoken of wealth in its various forms, either as the gift of Gods or otherwise. In this connection, RV, I, 118.2; 121.14; II, 12.7; IV, 32.17-19; V, 52.17; VI, 35.4; VII, 94.9; VIII, 25.22-23; IX, 61.3 and X, 90.10 may be particularly noted. In the last passage the whole Creation out of the sacrifice of the Primeval Man is laid out and the animal section of it begins with the horses followed by cattle, kine, goats and sheep. At X, 156.3 we read in a prayer to Agni, "bring us wealth secure, vast wealth in horses and in kine"; and at X, 131.3 in Indra's praise: "Men come not with one horse at sacred seasons; thus they obtain no honour in assemblies. Sages desiring herds of kine and horses strengthen the mighty Indra for friendship." Again Indra is asked[1] to "give riches manifold with noble horses, to be remembered while my songs address thee". A poet declares: (X, 62.7-8) "with Indra for associate the priests have cleared the stable-full of steeds and kine, giving to me a thousand; with their eight-marked ears they gained renown among the Gods. May this man's sons be multiplied, like springing corn may Manu grow, Who gives at once in bounteous gift a thousand kine, a hundred steeds". Indra Vaikuntha himself proclaims[2]: "I won myself these herds of cattle, steeds and kine, and *gold in ample store* [italics mine], with my destructive bolt. I give full many a thousand to the worshipper, what time the Soma and the lauds have made me

1. RV, X, 113.10.
2. X, 48.4.

glad". A singer[3] substantiates by asking of Indra-Agni "Wealth in gold, in cattle or in steeds". A Vasishtha sage[4] eulogizing *Vastoshpati, the Lord of the House* [italics mine] prays: "Protector of the Home, be our promoter; increase our wealth in kine and steeds, O Indu". A singer's appraisal[5] of a "plenteous wealth of steeds" as a bounty made by a patron "*desirous of great renown*" [italics mine], prompts him to wish his patron-donor perfect security to be guaranteed by Indra. The Panis[6] in their reply to Sarama declare: "*Paved with the rock is this our treasure-chamber;* [italics mine] filled full of precious things. of kine and horses". Indra, invited, is described[7] as "Lord of corn lands, Lord of horses, Lord of Kine". Ushas is asked to bestow "wondrous gift wherewith to support children and children's sons . . . with wealth of horses and of kine"[8] to shine on the worshipper.

The intertwining of the horse-complex in the social life of the Vedic Indo-Aryans is found to be a distinctive feature of Vedic civilization. And no account, it appears to me, of Vedic society which does not lay bare this feature can be comprehensive or complete. In this chapter I have tried to describe that feature as fully as it is possible to do.

We saw that the Rigvedic people looked upon the horse as a guide to the gods to their divine destinations and that in one mood their singers traced the origin of the horse to water or the sea. Horses would appear to have sometimes distinguished themselves so much as to receive a specific name. Thus the famous horse of the great Dasyu-fighting prince of the Rigvedic people, Trasadasyu, had a horse that was named Dadhikravan. It was further believed by the Rigvedic society to have been a special gift of Mitra-Varuna to Trasadasyu and his Kuru people.

The *Satapatha Brahmana*[9] elaborated the notion of the horse being the divine guide so as to accommodate the routine practice of the Vedic people to ride on horse-back to move from place to place and also to use the chariot drawn by a horse or horses for transport. It maintains that it was as "haya", one of the many words for 'horse', that the horse carried the gods, but as "vajin", another word for horse, meaning "one that is strong", the Gandharvas and as "arvan", "speeder", the Asuras. But it was as "asva"—perhaps in the opinion of the author of the *Satapatha Brahmana,* this word to denote a 'horse' was the latest of the four words, —that it carries men. The text says that "the sea is its kindled, the sea

3. VII, 94.9.
4. VII, 54.2.
5. VII, 16.10.
6. X, 108.7.
7. VIII, 21.3.
8. I, 92.13-14.
9 V, 1.4-5.

its birth-place" and that it was produced from water. We are further told[10] that a mythical sage, Asva name, was "Samudri", i.e., a descendant of "samudra", the sea. More or less the same phraseology is used in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*[11] to explain the origin of the horse, adding a mystical justification for the horse being used as a sacrificial animal. Because the horse came into being when Prajapati desired to make his body fit for sacrifice, the horse is the fittest animal for being sacrificed. The physical fact of there being two seas, one on the east and the other on the west, of the then accepted country of origin, India, provides the ground for the fancy that they represent the two large vessels, one of gold and the other of silver, which are placed in a horse-sacrifice, one in front and the other behind the horse and consequently to justify the fitness of the horse for being sacrificed!

Horse-consciousness of the Indo-Aryans with their inveterate propensity to attribute the origin of horse to some divinity or some divine intervention and thus to clothe the animal with mystic glory, stands out as boldly in the mythically famed horse Uchchaisravas of the late Vedic or post-Vedic age as in Dadhikravan of the Rigvedic times. Uchchaisravas first makes its appearance very soon after Dadhikras and that in the *Atharvaveda*,[12] and that, too, as Indra's horse as in later mythology. Krishna in his discourse of the *Bhagavadgita*[13] affirms to Arjuna, while impressing upon him his Universality in his Cosmic aspect, that he is Uchchaisravas of the horses. The context shows that what the Lord meant to imply is that Uchchaisravas by all contemporary account was the best of all horses and classes of horses. The eastern epic, Ramayana,[14] in its narration of the great churning of the ocean by the gods with the help of Vishnu, the Supreme God, lists Uchchaisravas as one of the products of that divine endeavour. Just as goddess Lakshmi and nectar and Rambha, the best among the Apsarasas, and Kamadhenu, the wish-fulfilling cow, arose out of the churned ocean, Uchchaisravas also came out of it. Lord Krishna, however, has qualified Uchchaisravas as having arisen out of nectar instead of along with it, though commentators render the qualifying expression in such a manner as to conform to the Ramayana account of the churning of the ocean. This would mean that by about 400 or 300 B.C. Uchchaisravas as the divinely produced horse was known and accepted as a fact.

A voluntary rite, which is found only in two of the Grihya Sutras, the *Manava* and the *Kathaka*, underscores this horse-consciousness and proves

10. *Sat. Br.* XIII, 2.2.14.
11. I, 1.2.
12. XX, 128.15-16.
13. X, 27.
14. I, 45.39.

the social importance of horse in the Indo-Aryan culture of the time. It is called "Dhruvasvakalpa", 'rite for obtaining reliable horses', i.e., rite to make one's horses thoroughly reliable. In our present context it is immensely important. For the gods or divinities that are to be appealed to and are believed to be propitiated by it are, according to the text of the *Manava Grihyasutra*,[15] Uchchaisravas, Varuna and Vishnu, the two Asvins and the twin asterism Asvayujau.

The rite was significantly enough to be performed on the full moon day of the lunar month Asvin, marking the end of the monsoon season. Wreaths, garlands, particularly white ones, various perfumes and grains figure very much in it. The woods, too, to be used as Fire-feeders were to be the five best known for their strength and firmness. In the fire the three principal deities, viz., Uchchaisravas, Varuna and Vishnu were to be offered oblations of rice mess and animal flesh, while Asvins and the asterism, Asvayujau, were offered oblations of ghee alone. The horses adorned with garlands and perfumes were to be led round the Fire thrice, with their right sides turned towards it, i.e., in the usual 'pradakshinam' way of worship. After they had neighed they were to be taken back to their places.

Dadhikravan, the pet horse of the famous king Trasadasyu is the earliest known of the named horses. Alexander's Bucephalus came a whole millennium after it. And as chance has it, the place where Bucephalus had to be buried happened to be more or less in the region where Trasadasyu must have ridden triumphantly his Dadhikravan. Alexander is known to have built a town named Bucephala on the Jhelum at the place where Bucephalus was buried. According to Vincent Smith the mound known as *Pindi*, "the town", near the modern town of Jhelum, marks the site. This town under its name Bucephalus Alexandria is mentioned by the author of *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* in the first century A.D.[16] In Vedic India, though we may not count Uchchaisravas among named horses, being a mythical one, there is the red mare, named Vrishanvati "obedient to the rein and whip", singled out for mention from among the group of things Priyamedha, the singer-sage, received from a performer of sacrifices.[17]

Speed and impetuosity of movement of horse had impressed themselves upon the mind of the Rigvedic society so much so that horse is used as a standard of comparison for or as the embodiment of them. One Rigvedic singers[18] expresses his admiration for these qualities of the

15. M. J. Dresden's trans., 1941, pp. 128-31.
16. *Ency. Brit.*, IV; W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus*, p. 184.
17. *RV*, VIII, 57.18.
18. II, 27.16.

horse in relation to himself thus: "May I car-borne pass like a skilful horseman: Uninjured may I dwell in spacious shelter". Another poet expresses his confidence in them by fancing wings to the horse in connection with the warfield: "Drive hither those, and these again bring hither: the war-drum speaks aloud as battle's signal. Our heroes, winged with horses, come together.... Let our warriors, Indra, be triumphant.[19] Even Indra, the invincible war-god of the Indo-Aryans, is made to sing the praise of horse through the medium of his appreciation of his own horses. Thus[20] Indra says: "Soon as they see the furious combat raging, men speak forth praises of my vigorous horses". While one singer thinks of the horse in the imagery of an arrow, remarking "Like a shaft sent for glory from the quiver, or swift steed winning cattle, winning hundred". Another uses horse as the standard of comparison even for Indra thus: "(Indra) Victor in fight, swift mover like a war-horse, pervading both worlds, rainer down of blessings". Another singer uses horse as a standard of comparison to express his admiration for Agni[21] thus: " ... he [Agni] champeth like a horse with bit and bridle". The neighing of the horse, embodiment of certain qualities of the animal led the Vedic peoples to see its replica in their own hymns; We read[22]: "Agni, the twany horses, loudly neighing, our resonant hymns that drop with oil, attend thee". With these notions current in Rigvedic society it would have been rather strange if we had not found a Vedic poet who spoke of the horse in terms of the successful completion of a sacrifice. Actually one singer of the Vasishtha[23] family pays handsome tribute to the spirit of dogged and one-pointed perseverance of the horse, when he sings. "Let sacrifice proceed like some fleet courser, with one accord lift ye on high the ladles". Another singer[24] highlights the spirited nature of horse by using Fire-God. His expression reads: "... he [Agni] champeth like a horse with bit and bridle".

Another Rigvedic singer drawing upon his minute observation of the ways of horses and mares stresses the softer and tender aspects in the context of the love of Pururavas for the divine woman Urvashi. His song reads (X, 95.9): "When loving these Immortal Ones [nymphs], the mortal has converse with the nymphs as they allow him, Like swans, like horses in their play they bite and nibble".

That the Rigvedic people had fully studied and known the anatomy of the horse has already been mentioned in connection with the oblations

19. VI, 47.31.
20. X, 27.3; 95.3; III, 19.3.
21. VI, 3.4.
22. *RV*, VII, 5.5.
23. VII, 43.2.
24. VI, 3.4.

of the horse flesh that were enjoined to be offered in Fire at the horse-sacrifice. Here mention of loving care indicative of both the study of the horse and of the sympathetic understanding of its nature needs to be made. We read at *RV*, VIII, 55.3: "Sakra [Indra], who like a curry comb for horses or a golden goad . . .". Sayana's comment on it "i.e., the purifier of his [Indra's] worshippers and well-skilled in horses", according to Griffith seems to signify that the words 'kijah' and 'mrikshah' imply some instruments connected with the selection and upkeep of horses". An Atreya singer [25] in his praise of Maruts, Storm-Gods, discloses the awareness of the Rigvedic society both of the physical beauty of the animal and of the importance of pedigree. He says of Maruts: "Like vigorous horses ye are beauteous to behold and for your glory show like bridegroom. . . . Like steeds of ruddy colour, scions of one race, as foremost champions they have battled in the van".

The word 'asvattha', the tree connoted by it, and the use of the image of that tree as the most expressive concretization of the riddle of the Universe, stand as an abiding witness to the deep and wide impress which horse, the animal of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans, made on Vedic and later Indian culture. As the authors of *Vedic Index* translate the word, 'asvattha' is 'horse-stand', a place or site or an object where or under which horses stand, i.e., are stationed or live. The Rigvedic society named the *Ficus religiosa*, "one of India's greatest trees" 'asvattha'; for "vessels made of the wood of the Asvattha are mentioned in the Rigveda (I, 135.8 and X, 97.5). The tree is constantly referred to later (*AV*, III, 6.1 etc)". Later still, the people of India began to call it 'Pippala' or 'Peepal' which is also its current popular name. It is a positive testimony to the interpenetration of the Rigvedic culture into the total complex of Indian culture that this word, too, should have been found used in the Rigvedic poetry. It is the berry of the tree, 'pippala', that is mentioned [26] as a sweet fruit and not the tree itself.

The Rigvedic passage in which the mention of the 'pippala' berry occurs forms part of the three stanzas of the Rigveda which have provided the *Upanishads* [27] with the actual text whereby to convey the inter-relation between the Individual Soul and the Supreme Soul, i.e., in a word the riddle of the Universe, to the inquiring mind. The three relevant stanzas of the Rigveda [28] read: "Two Birds with fair wings [The Supreme Soul and the Individual Soul] knit with bonds of friendship, in the same sheltering tree have found a refuge. One of the twain eats

25. V, 59.3-5.
26. *RV*, I, 164.20.
27. *Mundaka UP.*, III, 1.5.
28. I, 164.20-22.

the sweet 'pippala'-berry; the other eating not, regardeth only. . . . Upon its [of the tree] top they say the berry is luscious: none gaineth it who knoweth not the Father".

The Atharvaveda,[29] in which Asvattha, *Ficus Religiosa*, finds its earliest mention, declares it to be stationed in the third heaven" and as "the seat of Gods". The *Chhandogya Up.*[30] speaks of 'asvattha' as "somasavana" one of the items met with in the supernatural world, where only pious men reach after death. Another item according to the Upanishadic cosmography present there is the (fortified) city of Brahman named 'Aparajita'. The *Katha Up.*[31] dilates on the actual image of the spreading tree with its peculiarity of branches dangling down to the ground and rooting there. "This eternal 'asvattha' [the Riddle of the Universe] has roots up [in the other world] and branches down below [in this]. Know that to be the Essence, the Brahma etc.". And Lord Krishna through his *Bhagavadgita*[32] carried the image and the concept to a much larger world when he dilated upon them fixing up the Vedas, and the constituent elements of human personality into them. In addition he intensified the awe and reverence already felt in the society towards the tree which has led the scientists to distinguish the particular tree from others of its kind by adding 'religiosa' to 'Ficus'—by identifying Himself with 'asvattha', 'the best of all trees'.

The name of this philosophically representative tree-image being 'asvattha', horse, 'asva', the animal that the Vedic Indo-Aryans, must have brought with them is seen to have left its impress on Indian culture. In the early days of their intrusion into India, the Indo-Aryans must have found the majestically spreading-out tree quite a convenient place for their horses to be stationed under and they must have named the tree they found so useful to their principal animal of transport and of success in battles after its use as a stand for horses. That the Rigvedic poetry knows of vessels in daily use made out of the wood of that tree under that name means that the horse as the favourite animal of the Indo-Aryans must have been current among them quite some time before the composition of the Rigvedic hymns!

It would be of some interest to note here that perhaps the only well-known town, bearing a name based on Asvattha, is situated in what for all practical purposes may be called south-east Malwa or Malwa-intrusion into what is known as Berar. Asvaththanagara, identified by competent scholars with Astapura in Elichpur District, Berar, figures in a Vakataka

29. V, 4.3-4; XIX, 39.6.
30. VIII, 5.3.
31. II, 3.1.
32. XV, 1; X, 26.

queen's inscription [33] of the 5th century A.D. The interest implied arises out of Dr. H. D. Sankalia's [34] contention that he finds evidence—I must say I do not see it—of the presence or of the knowledge of the horse among the Navdatolians (south-east Malwans) of the Chalcolithic Age.

Quite reasonably one can expect from this involvement of the horse in the process of naming of things and objects its impress on terms for distance, horse being a means of transport for individuals. And we do find it in the word 'asvina' which denotes "the length of the journey made in a day by a horseman". However, we do not come across the word earlier than the *Atharvaveda*, the Rigveda not testifying to the use of the word 'asvina' cannot, however, be necessarily construed to establish its absolute absence in the early Rigvedic Indian society.

The exact distance connoted by the word 'asvina' does not appear to have been mentioned and the authors of *Vedic Index* think that it exceeded 'five leagues', as it is mentioned "immediately after a distance of three or five 'yojanas' ". As Dr. V. S. Agrawala [35] has pointed out, if we follow the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya for converting 'yojanas', five 'yojanas' would equal to 25.5 miles. He would go a step further, on the authority of the text of the *Atharvaveda*, and put the 'asvina' distance "somewhere between 6 and 8 yojanas". He points out that according to Patanjali, about 150 B.C., "an average horse" covered only 4 'yojanas' a day but "a superior horse", 'asvatara', could cover as many as 8 'yojanas'. The authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on the word 'yojana', which is a Rigvedic word, state that in the later Vedic literature a 'yojana' is made to equal four 'krosas', "or about" nine miles [though] eighteen [and even] two-and-a-half miles [are sometimes equate with it]". Thus the 'asvina' distance varied between 20 miles and 72 miles!

A still deeper involvement indicative of horse-consciousness is the use of the word for 'horse' as a part of an individual's name. And it is noteworthy that in all the names using the word for 'horse' as its component met with in the Rigveda it is 'asva' and not any other. This is in keeping with the slightly later mythological appropriation of the four principal Vedic words for 'horse'; for it implies 'asva' as the word for use by man for his purpose.

There are 240 purely Rigvedic personages noted in *Vedic Index*. Among them 13 have names based on the word 'asva', which means 'horse'. Thus persons with 'asva'-based names formed about 5.4 per cent. of the total named individuals in the Rigvedic society. Eight of the thirteen 'asva'-based names had 'asva' as the last component of theirs, while four

33. Sircar, pp. 415.
34. Chalcolithic Navdatoli, p. 385.
35. *India as known to Panini,* pp. 155, 220.

began with 'asva' as their first component and one was a straight-forward derivative from the word. This last name was 'Asvya'. The other twelve names are: (1) 'Aghasva', (2) 'Rijrasva', (3) 'Ninditasva', (4) 'Marutasva', (5) 'Vadhryasva', (6) 'Vrishanasva', (7) 'Vyasva', (8) 'Vaidadasvi' (descendant of Vidadasva), (9) 'Asvaghna'. (10) 'Asvattha', (11) 'Asvamedha' and (12) 'Asvasukti'.

Among the 425 personages recorded in the later Vedic literature—AV, YV, Brahmanas etc.—and listed in *Vedic Index*, I have come across only seven persons whose names are based on the word 'asva' 'Asva'-based names among the recorded individual of the later Vedic, i.e., post-Rigvedic, age thus formed only about 1.6 per cent, of the total number recorded for that age. This is a very marked contrast in naming system or fashion and deserves to be noted. The difference can be credited to the fact that quite naturally the individuals named in the later Vedic literature are predominantly from the teacher-priest-Brahmin section of the society. To assess, in some degree, the measure of difference in naming due to this fact, I noted down, i.e., wrote down in full, the names of 240 teacher-priest-Brahmins and of 56 king-prince sacrificers from among the whole list. In the former I find two individuals bearing 'asva'-based names, e.g., 'Asvasukti' and 'Vadhryasva Anupa'. and in the other group, the same number, e.g., 'Mandhatri Yauvanasva' and 'Asvapati Kekaya'. It seems very likely that some of the difference seen in the distribution of 'asva'-based names of individuals between the societies of the Rigvedic and post-Rigvedic Vedic, is due to the fact that in the recorded names there is a very much larger proportion of teacher-priest-Brahmins, who could not have the same passion for, or even comparable access to, horses and horse-owning!

If we turn to the dynastic lists preserved in the ancient Indian historical tradition, so carefully collected by Pargiter, and analyse the names of the 492 separate individuals—I have left out Manu and his Ila as mythical—we find 23 individuals having names ending in 'asva'. They form about 4.7 per cent. of the total, and approximate the percentage of 'asva'-based names among the Rigvedic peoples. We observe one notable difference. The Pauranic-listed kings do not show a single name which has 'asva' as its first component. Only three such names are known to Epic and Pauranic tradition. two of them being 'Asvapais'. One of the two Asvapatis, is the Kekaya king of the north-west, the father of Sita, and the other is the king of the Madras, the father of the equally famous lady, Savitri. The third epic personage, bearing an 'asva'-based name, is Asvaththaman, the heroic but intemperate son of Drona. The tradition mentioned by S. Chitrav regarding his name is that at birth the infant neighed like the divine horse Uchchaisravas, whereupon the particular name for the infant was fixed.

The Rigvedic Indo-Aryans were clearly great horse-riders. The presence of horse-based names among peoples who were occupying the eastern portion of middle regions of continental India at the dawn of Indian history, and according to tradition almost a whole millennium before that, is testimony enough for horse-riding having been a favourite practice and a fairly current phenomenon on the Indian soil already about 2100 B.C. The first king bearing a horse-based or 'asva'-ending name is Vishtara-asva, the Ikshvaku king of Ayodhya, who stands seventh in the dynastic lists of Pargiter. He must have lived 88 steps before the Bharata war. Accepting the very moderate computation of 12 years a step made by Pargiter, we get about 2006 B.C. as his time. Among the 20 steps after Vishtarasva, we find no less than 10 kings, bearing 'asva'-ending names. What a fancy for the animal those Ikshvaku people and their early kings had! King Haryasva II, the 27th in the Ikshvaku list, is separated by only one step from the two kings, Tridhanvan (Traidhatva of Vedic literature) and his successor Tryaruna, who are referred to as Aikshvaka in the *Panchavimsa Brahmana* and very probably in the Rigveda itself.[36] In Pargiter's chronological counting, Haryasva II, the 11th king of the Ikshvakus, to sport an 'asva'-ending name, must have lived in his Ayodhya about 1766 B.C.

The Ikshvakus appear to have had the greatest fascination for the horse which they showed in the relatively large number of their kings sporting 'asva'-based names. Twelve of their 91 named kings bore names ending in 'asva'. This gives us a percentage of 13.2 which compared with the percentage of 5.4 which the Rigvedic data gave for the Rigvedic people, is very high indeed. The fact that the 'asva'-based names among the Ikshvakus formed 52.2 per cent. of the total 'asva'-based names met with among 492 kings of eleven dynasties, highlights the horse-fascination of the Ikshvakus.

To give proper consideration to the feature of the dynastic lists, that the Iskshvaku list, which is the most complete, shows 11 out of the 12 'asva'-based names among the first 27 steps of the list, I shall base a comparison on the kings comprised in the first 27 steps. Leaving out Manu and Ila and counting only distinct individuals so as to avoid repetition of common ancestors and leaving out also the Videha and Vaisali dynasties which were Ikshvaku collaterals, I find that there are 80 distinct individuals in the 9 dynasties together. Among these 80 distinct individuals we come across only two 'asva'-based names. Adding the 16 kings of he Videha and Vaisali dynasties to the 26 of the Ikshvaku we have 42 kings among whom 11 have 'asva'-ending names as against two such kings among 80 individuals of the other dynasties.

36. See *Vedic Index*.

Equally, nay perhaps even more, important is another feature of the nomenclature of the Ikshvaku kings. I find that among the 62 named kings that came after the 27th, there is only one king with an 'asva'-based name. As against this the 230 kings of the other dynasties, excepting Videha and Vaisali, during the same period, contained 5, whose names end in 'asva'. What is much more significant is that there are 4 'asva'-ending names among the 70 kings of the Ikshvaku-collateral dynasties of Videha and Vaisali.

Further, of the 7 kings bearing 'asva'-based names among the other dynasties with 314 distinct individuals, two are from the Kanyakubja dynasty, the 26th and 29th. The great-grandfather of the 26th Kanyakubja king Jahnu was married to an Ikshvaku princess, Kesari, the granddaughter of the great king Yauvanasva Mandhata of Ayodhya. The 29th king was really named Kusika and was called Kusasva. He was married to an Ikshvaku princess by name Paurukutsi. Thus the 'asva'-ending names of the two Kanyakubja kings may be traced to Ikshvaku influence. Altogether, therefore, we have to conclude that the early Ikshvakus had very great fascination for the horse which they demonstrated in their 'asva'-ending names.

The Ikshvakus and their collaterals, the houses of Videha and Vaisali, among them show 178 named kings, leaving out, of course, Manu and Ila. Among them no less than 16 kings bear 'asva'-ending names. If we add the two Kanyakubja kings' names which end in 'asva', which have all the appearance of having been due to Ikshavaku marital connections, then we have 18 'asva'-ending names among 192 named kings of these four dynasties. These names account for 78.3 per cent. of all the 'asva'-ending names found among the 492 named kings of twelve dynasties. Thus among the named kings of the Pauranic dynastic lists the Ikshvakus and their collaterals and the maritally connected Kanyakubja dynasty stand prominent for 'asva'-ending names of kings. Fascination for the horse would thus appear to be the original trait of the Ikshvakus.

It must have been amply clear from all that I have said about the horse and the Rigvedic people in the last chapter and in this that the Rigvedic people were great horse-riders. Horse with them, unlike with other people like the Anatolian Indo-Europeans, the Mitanni-Indo-Europeans, the Ancient Egyptians and even the Indo-European Kassites of Mesopotamia of about the 17th to the 15th century B.C., must have been used as a mount before it came to be yoked to carry a chariot, either for war or for peaceful travel. However, as far as the evidence of the Rigveda goes the horse-chariot rather than the horse appears to have been the more important and the more desired-for object. That the chariot was a routine and familiar object and a type for well-ordered

or organized objects is to be inferred from the fact that the all-important Soma sacrifice is described in terms of the various parts of the chariot. The upper one of the two stones used for pressing out Soma juice is called a car-horse and the two arms with which the stone is handled are called the chariot poles.[37] The "morning sacrifice which travels to the Gods and obtains wealth for the worshipper" is called "the rich new car ['ratha', chariot]" and is said to have "four yokes, three whips, seven reigns to guide it". "The four yokes are the four pairs of stones for pressing out the Soma juice; the 'three whips' are the three tones of prayer; the 'seven reins' are the seven metres".[38] The image used is evidently that of a four-horse chariot according to the authors of *Vedic Index*,[39] 'four yokes' meaning four horses.

The Rigvedic poet could think of no better standard of comparison than the horse-chariot in motion to convey the image of the impetuously rushing rivers Vipas and Sutudri. He says[40]: "Forth from the bosom of the mountains, eager as two swift mares with loosened rein contending, like two bright mother-cows who lick their young-ling, Vipas and Sutudri speed down their waters". Another singer[41] speaks of Maruts, the Storm-gods, as swift steeds hasting to their journey's end; still another[42] likens Soma's flowing to a speeding chariot. One sage has likened the Storm-gods to "the noblest steeds longing to obtain the prize like bounteous charioteers".[43] Asamati, a munificent donor, is, to his protege,[44] like a chariot, i.e., bringer of wealth. One sage asks Gods to rescue him and his people from all distress just as a chariot rescues one from a difficult ravine.[45]

'Ratha', 'chariot', is quite often specifically mentioned among the favours desired from Gods or patrons as the case may be. Thus Syavasva[46] requests Maruts to bestow upon him not only cattle, heroes and horses but also chariots. Kakshivan,[47] describing the liberality of his patron, named Priyaratha, takes care to specify that the bounteous gifts included both chariots and horse. Gritsamada,[48] whose description of Indra appears quite individual, describing Indra's greatness, speaks of his control

37. *RV*, X, 101.10.
38. *RV*, II, 18.1 and Griffith's notes.
39. II, p. 202 fn.
40. III, 33.1.
41. V, 53.4-7.
42. IX, 3.5.
43. X, 78.5.
44. X, 60.2.
45. I, 106.6.
46. V, 57.7.
47. I, 122.7-8.
48. II, 12.7-8.

over not only horses, cattle and villages but also on "all chariots". And the principal reason for prizing chariots as a gift, it would appear from Bharadvaja's observation,[49] is that they were "ever the conqueror's strength".

The Vedic singer who spoke of Rathaspati, though he devoted only one stanza to him, quite clearly conceived of a deity presiding over 'rathas' or chariots, just as there were two separate deities, one for the agricultural field and the other for the dwelling, in Kshetrapati and Vastoshpati, almost fully fledged. This creation implies the great importance the Vedic peoples attached to the horse-chariot in their social life. We[50] read about Rathaspati: "Yea let the Asvins Twain be gracious unto us, even Rudras, and All-Gods, Bhaga and Rathaspati, ('the guardian of war-chariots')". That there was much wider significance attached to this God is clear from the mention in Gaya Plata's hymn[51] to Visvedevas, 'All-Gods'. It reads: "And let Brihaddiva, the Mother, hear our call, and Tvashtri, Father, with the Goddesses and Dames, Ribhukshan ["the architect-God"], Vaja [one of the Ribhus, the artificer-Gods], Bhaga [the Fortune-God], and Rathaspati, and the sweet speech (prayer) of him who labours (at the sacrifice) guard us well". In the *Atharvaveda*[52] chariot-makers are represented as being "on terms of friendly intimacy with the king" and as the representatives of the Artificer-Gods, Ribhus. Charioteers are there called "masters of the horse". Griffith[53] notes that in Vedic times charioteers were ranked among "royal officers of considerable importance".

The relatively high frequency of horse-chariot-ownership in the Rigvedic society is to be deduced from the singer's statement[54]: "Be thou [Agni] the Friend of each good chariot master . . .". Its supreme confidence in the speed and efficacy of the horse-chariot provides the reason for the extreme importance attached to it. The chariot of Asvins is said to be "speedier than thought".[55] Another seer sings[56]: "Upstanding in the car the skilful charioteer guides his strong horses on whithersoever he will. See and admire the strength of those controlling reins which from behind declare the will of him who drives". How highly the movement of the chariot and the vigour of the horses carrying it had impressed the Vedic society is further guaged from the singer's declaration in the

49. VI, 46.2.
50 *RV*, X, 93.7.
51. *RV*, X, 64.10.
52. III, 5.6-7.
53. *AV*, 5.6-7.
54 III, 14.7.
55. *RV*, X, 39.12.
56. VI, 75.6.

next stanza which reads: "Horses whose hoofs rain dust are neighing loudly yoked to the chariots".

The importance of the chariot felt by the Rigvedic society is further established by the large number of words connected with 'ratha', 'chariot', occurring in the Rigveda. In *Vedic Index* are listed 64 words connected with 'ratha', including 'ratha', but not 'rathakara', 'maker of chariot'. Of these 41 are traced in the Rigveda and the rest in later Vedic literature. That 64 per cent. of all the words connected with 'ratha' should have occurred in the Rigveda must imply deep and wide ramification of the 'ratha'-element in the social fabric, which employed most of the significant formations based on 'ratha'.

The authors of *Vedic Index* state that the word 'aji' which later came to mean battle, is constantly used in the Rigveda and Vedic literature in the sense of 'a race' and "only seldom" to denote 'a battle'. They observe: "Horse-racing was one of the favourite amusements of the Vedic Indian, [I should say of the Rigvedic Indian], the other being dicing". The race course [is] called 'Kashtha' (RV, VIII, 80.8) or 'Aji' ... (AV, 24.8). A formal race [horse-chariot] is a feature of the ritual of the Rajasuya or royal consecration". While the word 'aji' in the second passage is taken by other Vedicists to mean conflict, all agree that the word 'kashtha' in the first passage means only "the [race-] course". And the whole hymn, 80th of book VIII, as *Vedic Index* has it, is "a prayer for success in a coming chariot-race". In spite of the authors of *Vedic Index*, therefore, we are perfectly entitled to assert that horse-chariot-races were a favourite amusement of the Rigvedic people and that success in a race used to be specially prayed for.

I shall quote a few passages from the ten stanzas of that hymn to enable the reader to judge if the singer and his patron cannot be looked upon as the prototypes of the modern punters at the Mahalaxmi race-course, where only horses and not chariots run: "...[4] O Indra, help our chariot on, yea, Thunderer, though it lag behind: Give this my ear the foremost place. [5] He there! why sittest thou at ease? make thou my chariot to be first: And bring the fame of victory near. [6] Assist our car that seeks the prize. ... [8] Let not our portion be disgrace. Broad is the course, the prize is set, The barriers are opened wide. ..."

Passionate desire to win in chariot-races and the large gains through prizes won in them figure in analogies, metaphors or similies in the Rigvedic poetry. For a sample I present the substance of one hymn and the actual words in Griffith's rendering of one stanza of another. Hymn 74 of the X book addressed to Indra has a "coming horse-race" as its concern. The sage, as priest of a certain prince or institutor of a sacrifice, has invoked in it the Gods, known as Vasus, who had won races before, to favour his patron. Stanza 5th of the 78th

hymn of the same book reads: "They [Maruts] who are fleet to travel like the noblest steeds, long to obtain the prize like the bounteous charioteers, Like waters speeding on with their precipitous floods..."

Vajapeya, 'drinking of power or wealth' is a ceremony, though not mentioned or referred to or even hinted at in the Rigveda, second in importance to Asvamedha. Though it is described only in the *Brahmanas*, early and late both, it must have been in existence since long before the later Vedic age. It was a preliminary rite to the Rajasuya in the case of a Kshatriya or Rajanya, the nobleman, on the one hand, and to the Brihaspatisava in the case of a Brahmin or a priestly class person on the other. Vajapeya must, therefore, have been a much more widely performed ceremony than the Rajasuya and the Brihaspatisava ceremonies put together. There is further evidence to show that "once the festival was one which any Aryan [including the Vis] could perform".[57] Hillebrandt went "so far as to compare it with the Olympic games [of the ancient Greeks]". To the authors of *Vedic Index* "the rite seems to have been developed round a primitive habit of chariot-racing, transformed into a ceremony which by sympathetic magic secures the success of the sacrificer".

For our purpose what is important is that the performance of the Vajapeya can be assumed to have been fairly widespread in the Vedic society, whatever its purpose or the impelling force, and that horse-chariot-racing not only figured very prominently and quite abundantly in its ritual but also was its pristine central core. Chariot-racing among Rigvedic Indo-Aryans was thus both a kind of compulsive religio-social rite and an amusement or a game with, it appears, high stakes.

The basic importance of the 'ratha' in the Vajapeya ceremony stands out before any student who notes the occasions on which some part of 'ratha'-contraption had to be used in the ritual performance. (1) At the preliminary rite of enkindling Fire, the fee of the priest was a chariot which having been used was repaired; (2) at the construction of the altar, the oblations to be offered in the Fire were to be passed down the tip of the pole of the chariot; (3) at another stage of the ceremony, the Brahma priest had to roll the wheel of a chariot three times forward and backwards between the two Fires; (4) a post was to be put up very near the actual site of the altar, which it appears was to be the pole of a chariot, and a seventeen-spoked special wheel was to be set on it and was to be swirled round speedily with the Brahma priest of the ceremony seated on it.

For the chariot race to follow, seventeen chariots had to be kept ready. After the chariots were ready some one—was it the performer or the

57 *Vedic Index*, II, 281.

principal priest?—from the site discharged an arrow; and some one put up a sign-post at the spot where the arrow dropped. When the drums, they had to be seventeen, beat, the chariots started to reach the sign-post. The seventeen drums were kept on being lustily beaten till the end. The chariot that reached the sign-post first, of course, was considered to have won the race. One of the seventeen chariots had to have three horses to draw it, all the rest, it appears, having only two horses each. Even in the 'asvamedha', it should be noted, the sacrificial horse had to be yoked to a two-horse-chariot as an additional leader of the team and was to be sacrificed only after the performer of the sacrifice had driven his chariot upto a certain fixed spot and back to the sacrificial spot.[58] Such was the thorough involvement of the chariot in the religious, economic and sportive aspects of the life of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans!

The penetration of the 'ratha' in the social life of the Vedic peoples, especially of those of the later Vedic age is further demonstrated by the word 'rathahnya', which is parallel in formation to 'asvahnya' which we have already met with. The term occurs in the *Sat. Br.* and denotes a 'day's journey by chariot', i.e., the distance equivalent to what can be covered by a horse-chariot in a day. This implies that the horse-chariot had already come to be a means of transport, though not necessarily for hire. That chariot transport was an important aspect of the Rigvedic society may be inferred from Visvamitra's[59] praise of the rivers Vipas-Sutudri to implore them, for a safe ford over them for his chariots which were loaded with wealth. Not all priests or princes or both in union had the ability of a Visvamitra to find out a fordable site on rapid rivers is a fact enshrined in two words fortunately preserved for us by the great Panini. He has mentioned a river named Rathastha, i.e., one where the chariots had to halt, i.e., unfordable for a chariot. V. S. Agrawala[60] has identified the river with Ruhut or Ramganga and has also drawn our attention to another word preserved by Panini and one which more positively and even aggressively establishes the fact of the prevalance of chariot-transport in the Vedic age. That word is Pratyagratha. It denoted in Panini's days a *Janapada*, i.e., a people and their country. Its name implies that it was a place where the chariot-borne advance of the Indo-Aryans had to come to a halt. To Panini it was known as a monarchical State and neither as oligarchic nor as republican.

With so much ramification of the chariot in the life of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans we expect that as in the case of their horse-consciousness,

58. S. V. Ketkar, vol. 2, pp. 77, 132, 133.
59. *RV*, III, 33 and note.
60. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47, 60, 245, 427.

or rather even more so—for the contraption was an early triumph of man by his own skill and effort over distance though only relative—important, rich, noble individuals or persons of the elite group should bear names based on it, i.e., names of which 'ratha' formed a component. And we are not at all disappointed.

There are nine 'ratha'-based names of Rigvedic individuals. They are: (1) Bhajeratha (X, 60.5); (2) Brihadratha (I, 36.18; IX, 49.6); (3) Chitraratha (IV, 30.18); (4) Priyaratha (I, 122.7); (5) Ratha-proshtha (X, 60.5); (6) Rathaviti (V, 61.17-19); (7) Sauchadratha (V, 79.2); (8) Sru-taratha (I, 122.7; V, 36.6) and (9) Svanadratha (VIII, 1.32). There being 240 Rigvedic individuals among whom these names figured, the size of 'ratha'-based names in the Rigvedic society, stated in percentage-terms, is 3.75. Thus the percentage of ratha-based names, though noteworthy, is smaller than that of 'asva'-based names. This is not surprising, for the 'ratha' was a costly contraption and required the services of one hired person, the charioteer. For the few descriptions of driving in the Rigvedic and later Vedic age that we come across bespeak the presence of a charioteer, whose universal or near-universal presence alone could have given chariot-warrior the designation of 'Savyestha', 'one who stands on the left [of the charioteer, 'sarathi'] as in the Atharvaveda. In later Vedic literature three variants of the same word came to be coined or in use.[61] In the Rigveda itself 'sarathi' is mentioned at least six times (twice in the I and VI books and once each in the II and the X). In the total Vedic period, represented by Vedic literature, among the 665 individuals that I have spotted from *Vedic Index*, I have found, in addition to the above, only six individuals whose names are 'ratha'-based. They are (1) Apratiratha (*Ait. Br.*, VIII, 10; *Sat. Br.*, IX, 2.3.1-5); (2) Bhagiratha (*Jaim. Up. Br.*); (3) Another Chitraratha (*Panch. Br.*); (4) Ratha-juti (*AV*); (5) Ratha-prota (*YV*, *M.S.*); and (6) Rathapraushta. The percentage of 'ratha'-based named individuals is thus 2.26 per cent.

As against this show of stagnance or non-advance in respect of individual-naming on the basis of 'ratha', 'ratha'-involvement in the said fabric registered a new and significant extension. It is only in the later Vedic literature that we come across names of six months which employ 'ratha' as one of the components. Thus 'Rathagritsa' (skilled in chariot-fight) and Rathaujas (mighty in chariot-fight) were, according to the *Sat. Br.* (VIII, 6.1.16-21), the two spring months; 'Rathasvana' (chariot-sound) and 'Rathachitra' (glorious on the chariot) were the two summer months, Rathaprota (fixed on the chariot) and Asamaratha (of matchless chariot) being the two rainy months. These names being for

61 See *Vedic Index*.

only six out of the twelve months quite clearly must be relegated to the fanciful category. The Yajurveda gives a full list of twelve months, in which none of these fanciful names finds a place. They, therefore, serve to show how strong was the fancy for employing 'ratha' for naming among some elite people of the later Vedic age.

Turning to the dynastic lists of ancient Indian historical tradition for evidence of 'ratha'-involvement in the social life of the people representing it, I find that the names of 28 kings, out of the total 492 named ones, end in 'ratha', Chitraratha of the Yadavas, 19th in the lists, beginning the group. There is one more who is named "Rathavara" making the total of 29. This yields a percentage of 5.9 for the 'ratha'-based or rather 'ratha'-ending names of kings of the Puranic lists of the traditional dynasties. There are two individuals, Vishvamitra of the Kanyakubja line and Lomapada of the east Anavas who were otherwise known as Vishvaratha and Chitraratha respectively. Adding them to the total we get 31 kings among the 492 named ones in the lists whose names ended in 'ratha'. The percentage of 'ratha'-ending names among the kings of the dynastic lists thus comes to be 6.3. It is significant that the group of personages entirely of the Kshatriya class of ancient India contains a much larger percentage of individuals with 'ratha'-ending names than not only the totality of personages of the Vedic age mentioned in Vedic literature but also that among the purely Rigvedic personnel. A priori the Rigvedic age personnel not only must have been comprised largely of royal, noble or fighting individuals but also must have had in its non-royal or priestly component a preponderating element of the activist and fighting persons.

The difference in the percentages of 'asva'-based royal names and the 'ratha'-based ones in the dynastic group invites notice. It amounts to about 34 per cent. in favour of the 'ratha'-based names. This is not at all small. Such difference within the purely Rigvedic personages group is precisely in the inverse order, the percentage of the 'asva'-based names being larger. The percentage of 'ratha'-based names in the purely Rigvedic group is over 30 per cent. smaller than the percentage of the 'asva'-based names.

The distribution of the 'ratha'-based names among the different dynasties and in the three main chronological sections—denoted by Harischandra and Rama, two very famous kings and the Bharata war—is quite the reverse of that of the 'asva'-based names.

Among the 92 Ikshvaku kings, whereas there were 13 individuals bearing 'asva'-based names, there were only three kings—Bhagiratha, the 45th, Sataratha, the 57th, and Dasaratha, Rama's father, the 64th—whose names ended in 'ratha'. Among the 87 named kings of the allied dynasties of Videha and Vaisali there were only 4 kings with 'asva'-ending names, an equal number having 'ratha'-endings. The Anavas, the descendants of

Anu of both the sections or branches, north-western and eastern, among their 36 named kings beginning with Anu, the 7th in the dynastic lists, had nine kings with 'ratha' as the last component of their names. The percentage of 25 for 'ratha'-ending names of their kings stands out in absolute contrast with the total absence among them of 'asva'-ending names. One may add to this the fact that one of their kings, involved in the Ramayana story, usually known as Lomapada, and the bosom friend of the Ikshvaku king Dasaratha, listed as such by Pargiter was actually named Chitraratha.[62] If we include him among the 'ratha'-enders we will have 10 kings, out of the 36 Anavas, with names ending in 'ratha'. The Anavas, claiming more than 34 per cent. of the total 'ratha'-ending names cannot but be declared to have been most attracted to the chariot. For only 36 of their kings have figured in the lists which name a total of 492 kings. The Anava contingent of named kings in the total thus forms only about 7.3 per cent. Their percentage in the 'ratha'-based names, however, is found to be 34, i.e., more than four times the percentage their named kings form among the total of named kings. This fact tends to support Hillebrandt's suggestion, as reported in *Vedic Index*, II, 204, that the Anu tribe formed the basis of the Rathakara caste. Leaving out the question of the Rathakara caste, I should like to note here the Rigvedic view that the Anus were considered to be expert chariot-builders. In the fourth stanza of the 31st hymn of the I book of the Rigveda we read: "Anus have wrought a chariot for thy [Indra's] courser and Tvashtri, much invoked, thy bolt that glitters".

The first king in the lists who bears a 'ratha'-ending name, it is interesting to note, is Chitraratha of the Yadavas or the descendants of Yadu, whom we meet in the Rigveda as a member of the confederacy that opposed Sudas and came to grief. He stands 19th in the dynastic order. And it cannot but be intriguing to note that one Chitraratha who was an Aryan was killed for the sake of Turvasa and Yadu by Indra on the yonder side of the Sarayu river.[63] He could be only non-Yadava non-Turvasa Chitraratha. Another Chitraratha in the lists is the 57th king and figures among the east Anavas. His ethnic affiliation and geographical location would tend to fix him up as the Rigvedic Chitraratha. The assertion of the saving of Turvasa and Yadu made in the previous stanza need not necessarily be construed as having connection with Chitraratha's being killed which is mentioned in stanza 18. Pargiter has identified Vadhryasva and Divodasa of the Rigveda with the North Panchala kings of those names; and they stand 62nd and 63rd in the

62. *Chitrav*, p. 498.
63. *RV*, IV, 30.18.

dynastic lists. So Anava Chitraratha, according to Pargiter's quite reasonable chronological counting, must have lived about 1400 B.C.!

The descendants of only three eponyms, Anu, Puru and Yadu, are recorded for many generations in the Pauranic lists. The Anavas, though not recorded in the later Vedic literature, appear to have been important people in the Rigvedic society. Their 'Agni', 'Fire', was the only other Fire known by the ethnic name. The 'Agni', 'Fire', of the Bharatas, i.e., in effect the Pauravas, was the other Agni to receive an ethnic name, i.e., 'Agni Bharata'. Agni Bharata was much better known in the Rigvedic and the later Vedic ages than Anava Agni.[64] The Yadus or the Yadavas failed to make any impress on the Vedic society and have not received any notice in the Vedic literature. The Bharatas, the Purus and the Kurus have, on the other hand, claimed much attention from the later Vedic age.

As we have studied the attitudes of the Anus, so well-known to the Rigvedic society, and also of the Ikshvakus, who did not receive much attention from the Rigvedic sages, towards 'asva'-ending and 'ratha'-ending names for their kings, it would be worthwhile to review briefly the situation revealed in the royal nomenclature of the Pauravas and the Yadus or Yadavas. The Pauravas with the famous king Bharata Dauhshanti as the centre may be said to have moulded the western cultural tradition, just as the Ikshvakus did that of the eastern one, which remained conformist. Among the 134 Paurava kings, named in the dynastic lists there are only 4 'asva'-ending names and six 'ratha'-ending ones. The Paurava share in the 'ratha'-ending names is thus higher than their share in the 'asva'-ending ones, being 19.4 per cent. and 17.4 per cent. respectively. As the named Paurava kings form about 27.2 per cent. of the total kings of the lists, actual Paurava share in the 'ratha'-ending names is thus slightly larger than their share in the 'asva'-ending names. However both the shares are smaller than the proportionately proper ones.

The Yadus or the Yadavas are like the Anus or the Anavas in so far as they do not show a single 'asva'-ending name among their 84 named kings, i.e., nearly two and half times the number of the Anu or Anava kings. In the matter of 'ratha'-ending names they advance nearer the Anavas, by standing much further than not only the Videha-Vaisali folks but also the Pauravas. The Yadavas with 6 (six) 'ratha'-based names among their kings claim a percentage of 7.1, while the Pauravas with the same number among their 134 named kings yield only a percentage of 4.5. The Videha-Vaisali kings, of whom 86 are named in the lists, with 4 'ratha'-ending names amongst them, show almost the same percentage,

61. *Vedic Index,* 'Anu', 'Bharata' and 'Puru'.

i.e., 4.7, of kings whose names end in 'ratha'. The 178 kings of the Ikshvaku and the collateral lines of Videha and Vaisali taken together have seven (7) 'ratha'-ending names and yield the low percentage of 3.9. The percentage of 'ratha'-ending names even among the Kasi kings—tradition derives them from Pururavas and Nahusha and hence makes them collaterals of the Pauravas—who number 29 is higher than this. With two kings with 'ratha'-ending names the Kashi kings show a percentage of 6.9.

Altogether the conclusion that emerges from this comparative study is that it was the non-Ikshvaku folks that exhibited a fancy for 'ratha'-based names while the Ikshvaku folks, after their early manifestation of horse-consciousness, cooled down to a personal nomenclature of the usual type.

We find that though there are 29 named kings of the Ikshvakus in the dynastic lists who flourished between Dasarathi Rama and the Bharata war there is none among them bearing a 'ratha'-based name. This clearly implies that though the particular name-style had somehow got introduced into the dynasty with Bhagiratha, the famous son of Dileepa I, standing 45th in the lists, the etymological meaning of whose name it has not been possible to make out, it had not got a favourable reception. The next 'ratha'-ending name of an Ayodhya king is that of Sataratha—might it not have meant 'one who can fight single-handed one hundred chariot-warriors' rather than 'one having hundred chariots'?—who stands 57th in the lists. It is noteworthy that according to the Mahabharata account[65] he was called Idavida or Ilavila. And it was after this appellation of his that his son was named Aidavida. We are informed by Chitrav that Aidavida was (1) a metronymic of Kubera, the great Yaksha king; and (2) that of the Ayodhya king Dasaratha, the son of Sataratha. However, under Dasaratha, who stands 64th in the lists, he has described him properly as the son of Aja.

Dasaratha, happens to be the only king with a 'ratha'-ending name whose name has been specifically characterized in terms of 'ratha'. The Ramayana[66] describes him as 'atiratha'. One comes across the term 'maharatha' in later Vedic literature. The authors of *Vedic Index* inform us that in the *Yajurveda Samhitas*, a 'maharatha', i.e., 'a great chariot fighter', is "the hero who is prayed for in the ritual of the 'asvamedha' ". One of the objects to be achieved by the performance of an 'asvamedha' was thus to secure the boon of the birth of a 'maharatha' to the performer or in the performer's family. In the Great Epic,[67] a

65. Dronaparvan as referred to by Chitrav, p. 566.
66. I, 6.2.
67. *BG*, I, 4, 6, 17.

number of the warriors that stood opposed on the battle-field of Kurukshetra are qualified as "maharatha". The traditional or technical meaning of the word "maharatha" is "one who can fight against ten thousand bowmen". 'Atiratha', according to the commentary 'Tilaka' on the Ramayana passage, is "one who can fight against ten thousand 'maharathas', i.e., "one who can fight against one hundred thousand bowmen"! It is significant that Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsa* characterized Dasaratha as a 'maharatha' and not 'atiratha'. In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahabharata, however, many 'atirathas' are named!

After Rama, among the 29 named Ayodhya kings, there does not figure any 'ratha'-ending name. There is only one 'asva'-ending name, viz., Vyushitasva, the 81st in the lists. The source of information for this king's name, the Mahabharata, also mentions another king of that name as of the Paurava dynasty. Pargiter's dynastic lists, however, do not figure him in that line, and Chitrav, under Vyushitasva only speaks of the Paurava king of that dynasty. We may, therefore, take it that for all practical purposes the Ikshvakus after Harischandra named their kings without drawing on their old horse-fancy or on the acquired fascination for 'ratha'.

The eastern Anavas—Lomapada, the bosom friend of the Ikshvaku king Dasaratha was one of them—may be said to have been the neighbours of the Ikshvakus on their south-eastern side. Among their 24 named kings, between the 33rd and the 94th, figure no less than 8 kings with 'ratha'-ending names. The Kasi people were Ikshvakus' southern neighbours. Their regnal career ended with the 68th king in the lists. Only 19 named kings of theirs figure after 33rd in the lists. And among the 19, there was no king who bore a 'ratha'-ending name. The Panchalas were the western neighbours of the Ikshvakus and their named kings number, in the period under discussion, only 20. Among the twenty kings three (3) bear 'ratha'-ending names. The other Pauravas, whose geographical position lay beyond the Kasis and the Panchalas, had, among their 34 named kings of the same period, two (2) 'ratha'-ending names. Of the total twentynine (29) 'ratha'-based names among the 492 kings, 26 are found among the kings that followed the 33rd in the lists, in the period under review. Ikshvakus are thus seen to have had no attraction for 'ratha'-based names.

'Ratha' had made an impression on Indian culture, however. We find the philosopher Yajnavalkya[68] on one occasion, when Janaka requested him to instruct him in the higher knowledge, began his discourse with the king, using the analogy of 'ratha' as a suitable means of transport

68. *Brih. Up.*, IV, 2.1.

on a long and wide ('mahan') road. On another occasion giving his idea of spiritual achievement he[69] emphasized the incompleteness of life hereafter if there are not to be had chariots and chariot-races ('ratha'-yoga'?). In the *Katha Up.*[70] the image and the paraphernalia of a chariot are very forcefully utilized to bring home to one the need and the feasibility of controlling one's mental processes so as to advance effectively on the road to spiritual attainment. The individual soul is the owner of the chariot in the form of the body and the analogy is fully elaborated, bringing, in the reins, the whip and their appropriate and judicious use in controlling bad or vicious horses and to turn them into docile but efficient ones.

I have already mentioned how Panini has preserved for posterity the fact of chariots having to halt and to be abandoned at a certain site which, therefore, since before his time had come to be named Pratyagratha. The river on which this situation used to be observed was called Rathastha. "the stopper of a chariot". V. S. Agrawala[71] has also been quoted already as having identified the river with Ramaganga also known as Rohut, which is reminiscent of the Sanskrit Rathastha. Roads since before Panini were sometimes named after the main vehicle of transport used on them and Panini informs us that some roads were Rathapathas, i.e., roads for chariots. Chariots had thus continued to be means of transport on broad and long roads.

Chariot continued to be considered a valuable and covetable gift to such an extent that it was offered by rich, pious and earnest people to persons well-known for spiritual attainment. In the *Chchandogya Up.*[72] we are told that a liberal seeker after Brahma-knowledge, named Janasruti Pautrayana, took with him as presents, to be offered to one ascetic of high repute in order to persuade him to speak about Brahma, not only 6000 cows and gold ornament but also a chariot drawn by mules. A newly married couple had to proceed to their home, the home of the bridegroom's parents, in a chariot as in the pristine age Surya did as described in a hymn of the Rigveda.[73]

Chariot-warriors as one of the components of a full army in the field remained a distinguishing feature of India from the Rigvedic times down to about the end of the 6th century A.D. The Gunaighar, Tippera Dist., Bengal, copper plate inscription of Vainya Gupta, dated 507 A.D., is the earliest evidence of the disappearance of the chariot from the Indian army composition, that inscription mentioning the war camp as

69. *Ibid.*, IV, 3.10.
70. I, 3.3-9.
71. *Op. cit.*, p. 243.
72 IV, 2.1-2.
73. *Asvalayana Grihyasutra.*

consisting of great ships, the country being riverine, and elephants and horses but not chariots.[74] Only 90 years before this inscription of Vainya Gupta, a record of Kumara Gupta I, dated A.D. 415-16, had described the king as 'apratiratha', i.e., unequalled in chariot warfare (*ibid.*, p. 278), an expression which Kalidasa, only about fifty or sixty years before, had used in his *Sakuntala* to notify the great fighting qualities of Sakuntala's son, the great Bharata. And the Nanaghat inscription of Naganika, a Satavahana queen, of the latter half of the 1st century B.C., records the gift of a horse-chariot as 'dakshina' in one of her sacrifices.[75]

'Chariot' is 'ratha', right from the Rigveda onwards, and stood quite clearly distinguished from a bullock 'cart', which in the Rigveda was 'anas' and later 'sakata'. 'Bull' received the appellation 'anadvah' as the carrier of 'anas' but 'horse' remained unaffected by the use to which it was put. It received various other appellations than 'asva' which is cognate to terms for the same animal in most of the Indo-European languages. It received other purely Indo-Aryan names which were based on the speed and power of the animal among which may be mentioned 'vajin', 'haya', 'arvan', all Vedic. 'Turaga' and 'turangama' two words for the same animal coming into vogue later, emphasize the 'speed' aspect of the animal. The etymology of 'ratha' as given by Indian philologists is instructive. They derive the word from the root 'ram' 'to sport', 'to have pleasure' etc., 'ratha' meaning "something [vehicle] with which one sports or enjoys himself". This represents a great and welcome transformation demonstrating the peaceful process of civilization that came in after the early struggles. For in the Rigveda we hear more about the war-winning capacities and potentialities of the chariot rather than its peace or pleasure creating ones. We read[76]: "Horses whose hoofs rain dust are neighing loudly, yoked to the Chariots, showing forth their vigour. With their fore-feet descending on the foemen, they never flinching, trample and destroy them. Car-bearer is the name of his oblation, whereon are laid his Weapons and his Armour. So let us here, each day that passes, honour the helpful Car with hearts exceeding joyful".

The chariot becoming already a status-symbol even in the Rigvedic society indicates the source of transformation. The chariot in the early age appears to have been a one-horse carriage. One sage[77] in his appeal to Indra sings: "Men come not with one horse at sacred seasons; thus they obtain no honour in assemblies". The authors of *Vedic Index* have stated that "the normal number of horses seems to have been two,

74. Sircar, *Sel. In.*, p. 331.
75 Sircar, *ibid.*, pp. 278; 189.
76. *RV*, VI, 75.7-8.
77. X, 131.3.

however, chariots with three or even four horses yoked to it were 'often used' even in the Rigvedic age". And five-horse-drawn chariots are mentioned in the Yajurveda Samhitas. Prof. Ludwig[78] has interpreted the 16th stanza of 100th hymn of the I Book of the Rigveda to imply that the chariot of Rijrasva, a great favourite of Indra, had six horses, all individually named.

The Rigvedic chariots, could be differentiated not only with reference to the number of horses yoked to them but also on the basis of the number of wheels on which they moved. In 7 passages of the Rigveda the chariot is spoken of as "three wheeled", and in a few others as "seven-wheeled". In one passage of the Atharvaveda, the chariot is styled "eight-wheeled". The authors of *Vedic Index*[79] opine that these last objects "can hardly be regarded as actualities".

It is likely that chariots were distinguished on the basis of length and breadth, too, in view of the number of wheels having been so varied. In actual statement of the Rigvedic sages we know that one sage[80] refers to a chariot "having a long front part", "dirghapsas" as he says; and speaks of "a broad chariot" to convey the image of "dakshina", i.e., "the honorarium presented to the priest-sage by the performer of a sacrifice".[81] We have no specific idea of the dimensions of a chariot in the Rigvedic society, information about them being offered in definite terms in the technical literature of the later Vedic age.

The authors of *Vedic Index* inform us that according to the technical literature the pole of a chariot was 188 'angulas', i.e., finger-breadths, its axle 104 'angulas' and the yoke 86 'angulas'. They have not attempted to equate the dimensions in terms of 'feet' and 'inches'; but under "aratni" they inform us that the word "which primarily means 'elbow', occurs frequently from the Rigveda onwards as denoting a measure of length ('ell' or 'cubit') the distance from the elbow to the tip of the hand [the top of the middle finger?]". Under "ishu" they state that the Vedic peoples' arrow was "five spans ['vistasti's]" and equate it in English measure as "say three feet". 'Vitasti' or a span, according to all Indian authorities, is 12 'angulas' so that the basic measure is the breadth of a finger (V. S. Apte, dict., vide 'Angula') which is equal to 8 barley corns,[82] i.e., 0.75 inches. According to the almost universally accepted Indian tradition the Vedic arrow measured 3′ 9″ (three feet nine inches). The Vedic or the Rigvedic peoples' chariot was, according to the near un-

78. Griffith's note.
79. I, 252.
80. *RV*, I, 122.15.
81. I, 123.1.
82. See also Eggling on *Sat. Br.* X, 2.1-3; Arthasastra, II.20 and Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

animous Indian literary view, thus eleven feet nine inches (11′ 9″) long and six feet six inches (6′ 6″) broad.

Prof. S. Piggott [83] found "all of these [measurements] ... strangely large". Basing his calculations on "a large number of representations" of ancient West Asiatic chariots and on "the extant [ancient] Egyptian chariots" proposed to "adopt a value for the *angula* of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch". He would like all students of cultural anthropology and archaeology to think of "the Aryan pole" as having a length "of about 7 feet 10 inches". Seeing, however, that even this reconstituted "Aryan pole" is 4 inches longer than the assessed West Asian and 22 inches longer than that of the ancient Egyptian chariot, he presses into service the word 'prauga' and the feature of the Vedic chariot it denoted or implied. He suggests that the extra length of the Vedic pole resulted from the habit of the Vedic people to keep an unnecessarily longer projection of the pole in front of the horses! This is Piggott's own suggestion, interpretation or whatever one may like to call it; for the authors of *Vedic Index* do not lend him the slightest support. On 'Prauga', they note that the word which is equivalent to 'pra-yuga', straight-forwardly means that portion of the pole of the cart or the chariot which projected in front of the yoke, and only that without any other implications.

But Prof. Piggott's difficulties in pursuit of his specious pleading are not over and he has to fit the axle dimension into his suggested or "invented" 'angula'-dimension. He tells his readers that with it he gets the length of the Aryan axle as "about 4 feet 6 inches". This is very strange. Is it an error in calculation? For 104 'angulas' give us, on Piggott's 'angula'-dimension, 52 inches as the length of the axle, i.e., only 4 feet 4 inches. The fact is that even Piggott's European Iron Age and "today's standard gauge of carts in Britain" is 4 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8 inches. And what is worse still, the ancient Egyptian chariot had "a wide wheel-base of 6 feet 5 inches". The Piggottian Aryan axle or wheel-base comes out as 2 feet 1 inch shorter than the ancient Egyptian. Thus the Aryan axle or wheel base in Piggott's counting was only two-thirds that of the Egyptian. This makes Prof. Piggott's Vedic Aryan chariot in comparison with the Egyptian almost a length-without-width affair! The Vedic contraption which would have been 1.3 as long as the Egyptian would have been in breadth or width only $\frac{2}{3}$ of it, according to Prof. Piggott's suggested measurement and actual counting!

Prof. Piggott's suggested equivalence of 'angula'-breadth as 0.5 inches would make other natural measure-dimensions of the early Indian literature, which are quite consistent with one another and through time, ludicrous. 'Vitasti', a span, is 12 (twelve) 'anguli's, and 'aratni', i.e., the

83 *Prehistoric India,* 1952 reprint, pp. 279-81.

distance between the elbow and the tip of the hand, two spans or 24 (twentyfour) 'angulis'. In Wyld's *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* under 'Cubit' we read: "Ancient measure of length, as taken from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger; roughly 18 to 22 inches". The Vedic and Indian 'aratni' is thus the same as cubit. It also, according to the Indian value of 'anguli'-breadth, being 24 finger breadths, equals 18 inches ($24 \times \frac{3}{4}$), i.e., the lower of the two limits assigned to a cubit. In Prof. Piggott's amended or suggested valuation, on the other hand, it would measure only one foot. It is thus clear that we cannot follow Prof. Piggott and downgrade the dimensions of the Rigvedic or Vedic peoples' chariot.

The Rigvedic chariot was ordinarily designed to accommodate two persons, the driver (Sarathi) and another, the warrior or the traveller ('savyestha'). The charioteer stood on the right, the left seat being for the traveller. Both the occupants, it seems, could sit down in the chariot. Whether both of them were protected by a cover is not clear. For the analogy used in Rigveda, X, 176.3 as interpreted by Ludwig, quoted by Griffith, clearly implies that the driver of a chariot moving on the road was fairly well hidden from public view but not necessarily so the traveller, the other occupant.

This Rigvedic contraption, has proved to be one of the items, which have acquired the character of a permanent legacy of the Indian civilization. The word for street or road is but a derivative from a word for it and is based on the word 'ratha', 'chariot'. Hindi 'rasta', Marathi 'rasta' may be traced to the Sanskrit 'rathya', meaning "track made by or for a chariot (ratha)". The animal that was introduced in the country by the Rigvedic people and that inspired the making of a chariot, i.e., horse, too, has permanently established itself as another very important and specific feature of Indian civilization. Tumburu, the patriarch of the mythical race of Kinnars, horse-faced being, figures as one of the legandary master musicians that formulated and enriched Indian music. The same animal has scored perhaps greater significance in the Hindu component of the complex Indian culture. For Hayagriva, Horse-faced (necked) is one of the thousand appellations of Vishnu, one of the Trinity of Hinduism, recited by devout Hindus!

5

Vedic Religion and Worship : Rise of Vishnu

IN AN EARLIER chapter I have drawn the reader's attention to the fact that sacrifice to Gods had come to have the greatest importance even in the Rigvedic society. Sacrifice, as one Rigvedic poet observes, was so ancient an institution that the Gods themselves performed their sacrifice in accordance with its ordinances and created the first religious complex.[1] Commenting on Rigveda I, 36.5 Griffith observed: "The preservation of the whole world rests, according to the Vaidik view, on the sacrifices offered by men [though the sacrifices are offered by individuals for their own welfare and prosperity], as these give the Gods strength and enable them to perform their duties". Of the sixteen priests, required for a sacrificial performance according to the later highly developed ritual texts, at least ten are mentioned by name in the Rigveda,[2] though a group of seven alone is often mentioned or implied in direct or indirect reference to the institution of sacrifice and the procedure of worship. The poet who observed "Soon as the holy beings had discovered the thrice seven mystic things contained within thee [Agni]. With these, one minded, they preserve the nectar"[3] had in view twenty-one kinds of sacrifices and offerings and their consequence for the offerer in the form of long life and prosperity or even Godhood!

The Rigvedic poets could think of no hiatus between the origin of Indo-Aryan culture and the institution of sacrifice. They have attributed the first kindling of Fire, the first essential of a Vedic sacrifice, and also sacrifice to Asvins, Indra and some other Gods, and to Manu, the mythical progenitor of the Indo-Aryans. Thus a Kanva[4] poet sings about Fire (Agni) as "the Priest, adorable amid Gods, established as Invoker or Herald by Manu" or as another sage has it: "Manu appointed thee (Agni) as Priest". With this belief we can understand why

1. *RV*, X, 90.15.
2. Vide V.I. on Ritvij, Purohita.
3. *RV*, I, 72.6.
4. VIII, 34.8; I, 13.4.

another singer should speak of Agni (Fire) as "the eager Lord of men, friendly into Manu's race".[5] For it was by Manu's laws[6] that Agni, the Priest, was born "for holy work of those who yearn therefore. Another poet, one of the Atreyas, goes further and informs us that it had become a common practice among the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans to invoke Agni, in the name of Manu. We read: "We establish thee [Agni] as Manu or Manus used, as Manu or Manus used we kindle thee".[7] A Bharadvaja[8] sage speaks of a sacrifice addressed to the high Gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, Indra-Varuna, as offered "in Manu's wise accordant", and expects complete success for it. A singer of the Vasishtha family quite definitely states that men may "extol Agni at sacrifice for ever" as He was [first?] kindled by Manu.[9] There is, therefore an earnest wish expressed by a Kanva poet, evidently on behalf of the Indo-Aryans, to all Gods that they may so manage that the Kanva poets, patrons and people do not stray away from the religious path trodden by Manu.[10] Another Kanva singer[11] attributes to Manu special influence over Indra through whom Father Manu "made prayers efficacious with the Gods". Gaya[12] asserts that the first sacrifice to the Gods, Adityas [twelve], was offered by Manu, in which seven priests—only seven being named in the Rigveda in a body, the two or three others occurring separately and disparately—enkindled the Fire and conducted the sacrifice. A Vasishtha poet declares these Adityas or "all-Gods" as "Manu's Holy Ones", i.e., "deities whom Manu worshipped".[13] A not-much-known poet, whose only hymn in the Rigveda deserves quite well to be very famous and catching in modern society, as the refrain of eleven stanzas out of the total twelve, is "We ask for freedom and complete felicity" says: "The sacrifice is Manu, Providence, our Sire". Griffith's note on it runs: "We owe our existence and preservation to sacrifice, which is to us another Manu, the father of Aryan men"[14]

One Rigvedic sage attributes the institution of the three sacrificial fires to Pururavas. He says[15]: "Agni, then madest heaven to thunder for mankind, thou yet more pious, for pious Pururavas". Griffith's comment reads: "Pururavas as the son of Budha is said to have instituted the

5. VIII, 23.13.
6. I, 128.1.
7 V, 21.1.
8. VI, 68.1.
9. VII, 2.3.
10. VIII, 30.3
11. VIII, 52.1.
12. X, 65.7.
13. X, 65.14.
14. X, 100.5.
15. *RV*, I, 31.4.

"three sacrificial fires. Agni, to reward him, sent thunder the forerunner of rain". Another sage[16] involves Ayu with Manu in this affair of pristine sacrificial worship, the deity concerned being the great Rigvedic God Indra. He says: "Wherewith thou [Indra] also foundest lights for Ayu and for Manu's sake. Now joying in this sacred grass thou beamest forth". Yayati is brought into this picture of the earliest of sacrificial worship by two Rigvedic poets. One of them invites Agni to his hall of sacrificial worship as "erst to Manus, to Yayati, Angiras" he went.[17] The other perhaps involves Yayati even more intimately. His statement runs[18]: "May they who would assume kinship from far away, Vivasvan's generations, dearly loved of men. Even the Gods who sit upon the sacred grass of Nahusha's son, Yayati [the assertion of precise relationship may be kept in mind], bless and comfort us. For worthy of obeisance, Gods, are all your names, worthy of adoration and sacrifice". The last sentence is significant as it clearly shows that though the core of the Rigvedic religious complex was sacrifice to Gods, obeisance and adoration however made, too, formed part of it. Moreover, it establishes the fact of the name of a deity having come to be regarded as a significant entity in the total religious complex. It must also be pointed out in this context that the Rigvedic Indo-Aryan had already come to like his priests' recitation of the sacrificial texts as "rhythmic prayer".[19]

Sage Gotama[20] has involved in the establishment of the sacrificial complex, as of old times, along with Manu, "the sire of all", the mythical sage Atharvan and his more mysterious son Dadhyach.

The great importance of sacrifice as a mode of approach to the supernatural and as a form of worship in the Vedic society, has already been emphasized. I have also described very briefly the one sacrifice, the 'asvamedha', which has been considered the chief among all sacrifices, which were current in Rigvedic society. Besides the three other important ones mentioned but not described, viz., Rajasuya, Vajapeya and Brihaspatisava, there were others like Vajasravas or Visvajit and Sautramani which, too, had important social bearing and impact. I shall bring out these later in connection with sacrificial paraphernalia. I shall not touch the technical performance aspect for the simple reason that sacrifice as a form of religion and worship was on the way out by the end of the Vedic period, giving place to theism on the one hand and philosophy of the Absolute on the other. The important landmarks or milestones in this

16. VIII, 15.5.
17. I, 31.7.
18. X, 63.1-2.
19. IX, 113.6.
20. *RV*, I, 80.16; 84.13.

transformation are quite visible in the religious complex of the later Vedic society and are founded on Rigvedic deities. Before writing on these developments it is necessary to point out a number of features which characterized the sacrificial form of religious worship current in the Rigvedic society. For most of them have become constituents of the later theistic worship and quite a number of them figure as the core of most great religions.

First, offering (bali) of rice or cake or flesh, as the case may be, was a component of all sacrifices. It was put in fire in the Rigvedic sacrificial complex.[21] Second, prayer, hymn or song of praise was a necessary accompaniment of the sacrifice. One sage says about Agni, "May we with riches in possession bring thee continued offerings in abundance. Using both means [offerings and prayers] to draw thee to our worship";[22] another observes about Indra[23]: "Soma impressed never gladdened liberal Indra, no juices pressed without a prayer have pleased him. I generate a laud that shall delight him, new and heroic, so that he may hear us". Another singer goes a little further when he asserts not only that Indra "is not easily pleased with prayerless sacrifice" but also that he will "with song conquer the man who sings no hymn".[24] Third, adoration, i.e. paying homage through some kind of salutation to the deities accompanied the offering or was itself an offering to the deity. It is intriguing to know from a Bharadvaja sage[25] that the devotees of Indra embraced or used to embrace his feet. A Gritsamada sage, in more general terms but with a specifically endearing analogy, says almost the same even about Rudra, who was one of the minor deities in the Rigvedic pantheon.[26] "I bend to thee as thou approachest, Rudra, even as a boy before the sire who greets him". Adoration by kneeling, too, was not uncommon, it appears. For not only do we read "Let us approach thee [Agni] shining in thy dwelling, kneeling upon our knees, with adoration" but also "Nigh they [the Maruts] approached [Agni] one-minded with their spouses, kneeling to him, adorable, paid worship". Sarasvati, personified, the auspicious Lady, is not only approached with reverence, adoration and praises to be present at the sacrifice and to accept it but is also implored on their knees by her devotees.[27] Adoration with hands uplifted or raised was practised.[28] A Vishvamitra sage has

21. *RV*, V, 1.10.
22. *RV*, VII, 1.17.
23. VII, 26.1.
24. X, 105.8.
25. VI, 29.2.
26. II, 33.12.
27. VI, 1.6; I, 72.5; VII, 95.4-5.
28. III, 15.4; VI, 63.3.

spoken of it in case of Fire God, Agni, while a Bharadvaja sage referring to himself as a servant of Asvins says that he has approached them "with uplifted hands".

Fourth, the offering made to a deity as a sacrifice, known as 'havih', could be cake, milk or flesh as stated earlier. It is not known if any grass, like 'kusa' or 'durva', even was offered. Much less do we know if any flowers were used in a sacrificial or other worship. We have the authority of at least one passage in the Rigveda to assert that whatever the accompaniments of worship may have been, worship itself could be and was called 'pujana', i.e., a word derived from the root 'puj' and that 'pujana' and 'ijjya', a word derived from 'yaj' 'to sacrifice', were not the only terms which connoted worship. We read: "Famed for that radiance (sachigo) worshipped well (sachipujana) the juice is shed for thy delight. Thou art invoked Akhandala [Indra's appellation not figuring elsewhere in Vedic literature]." [29]

Apropos of the question whether flowers were used in Rigvedic system of worship, it is necessary to mention the fact that one Rigvedic deity, Asvins, is spoken of as "lotus-crowned" [30] ('puskarasraj'). "Pushkara" means blue lotus. That the Rigvedic people were fond of blue lotus (puskara) becomes evident from their singer's use of analogy based on it. Thus an Atreya poet requests Asvins to "stir the unborn babe" in the woman's womb "as the wind on every side ruffles a pool of lotuses" so that it may smoothly come out in the tenth month.[31] A Bharadvaja sage fancies the vault of the heaven to be a lotus flower and speaks of Fire as having been rubbed out of it.[32] A Kanva poet-priest, mightily pleased with the guerdon that he received from his patron for his professional services, speaks of the "ten bright-hued oxen" given by the donor as having "come forward like lotus stalks from out a lake upstanding".[33] Praise of guerdon, the gift at the sacrificial performance made to the priest, leads the panegyrist to speak of the reward which a liberal donor gets for his piety in very high-flown terms. Such a donor's "home", we are assured, is not only " a fragrant dwelling" but is "like a lake with lotus blossoms" and even like "the God's palaces adorned and splendid".[34] Agni is prayed to by another sage to refrain from causing any fire in his premises not in this negative manner but by positively requesting him "to let flowery Durva grass spring up [in his compound]" and to form "lakes

29. *RV*, VIII, 17.12.
30. X, 184.2.
31. V, 78.7.
32. VI, 16.13.
33. VIII, 1.30.
34. X, 107.9-10.

with lotus-blooms".[35] We may conclude that lotus flower in Rigvedic society was "often worn by men when anxious to appear handsome, as at a wedding and so on".

The rendering of the expression 'pushkarasraj' as applied to Asvins as 'lotus-crowned' is that of the authors of *Vedic Index*.[36] In their note on 'sraj',[37] they have translated the expression as "lotus-wreathed". In later Sanskrit literature, as V. S. Apte's dictionary vouchsafes, 'sraj' has more the connotation of a 'chaplet', as it was a sort of a garland worn on the crown, 'maala' more commonly meaning 'a garland worn round the neck'. The word 'maala' first appears in the description of the worlds available to men of right and pious living after their death occurring in the *Kaushitaki Brahmanopanishad*.[38] At the entrance to the Brahmaloka, we are told, stand five hundred Apsarasas, the mythical female beings of great beauty and high accomplishments, of whom one hundred carry in their hands garlands, 'maala', another hundred some fragrance, etc. The text in its preceding passage speaks of some females, evidently allegorical creations [?], having flowers in their hands, apparently intended to be thrown on or to be offered to the person reaching there.

It is clear from this Upanishadic text that flowers and flower-garlands had become quite a routine item in any honouring procedure. There is evidence to conclude that garlands or garland-flowers were highly coveted symbols of honour and highly desired elements in spacious and opulent pattern of living much before the time of the *Kaushitakibrahmana Upanishad*. For in the Chhandogya Upanishad,[39] we are assured that a person of certain spiritual attainments in his life hereafter could create any world where specific covetable objects or persons could be had. Thus if such a person desired to be in the world of fragrance and flowers, 'malya' as the text has it, he could have them for his full enjoyment by simply wishing for such a world. In this passage 'malya' which is quite clearly a derivative from 'maala', has been construed to mean a flower or garland of flowers. The procedure of receiving, or honouring people, with flower garlands, whether put round the neck or placed on the head, was well-established in Indian society and was highly prized by individuals.

The word 'maala' happens to form the basis of a Sutra by Panini wherefrom we learn that a person adorned with a garland, or "garlands" as V. S. Agrawala[40] has it, was called "malabhari", and that its feminine

35. X, 142.8.
36. Vol. II, p. 9.
37. Vol. II, 490.
38. I, 1.2-7
39. VIII, 2.6.
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

form was "malabharini". Panini further refers to "sragvi", garland-wearer" "used as the special epithet of a 'snataka' ", i.e., a person who had completed his Vedic studies and was now fit for marriage. It is to be noted that the 'snataka' was not called a "malabhari". We know that in Asvalayana Grihya-Sutra,[41] which was the law for the followers of the Rigveda, that a student who had completed his Vedic studies and had, on taking leave of his teacher, returned home was permitted or exhorted to adorn himself in certain specific ways. He was asked to wear round his neck a gold-bead tnd in his ears ear-rings. He was to cover his head with a head-dress. He was to wear a garland or wreath, taking care to see that it was called "sraj" and not "mala" when it was being tied to the accompaniment of a Vedic text. The thing asked to be worn was to be a "sraj" so much so that even if the tier were to call it 'mala' the wearer should call it "sraj" repeating the word so that the people present and the tier will hear its name to be "sraj" and not "mala". This rigid insistence of Asvalayana on the thing being worn to be named "sraj" explains Panini's statement that 'sragvin', 'sraj-wearer' meant a snataka, a Vedic student returned home after completion of his studies.

We cannot be sure as to whether the wreath, which, it thus appears, was habitually used by intending house-holders and house-holders, too, was worn round the neck or tied round the head like a chaplet. However, the specific injunction to wear a head-dress formed out of an uncut clothpiece, like perhaps the turbans of male figures of the house-holders we see in the sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi and other Buddhist sites, makes the suggestion of 'sraj' being a 'chaplet' unacceptable. Much less can we assert that garlands or flowers were offered to deities or Gods in that age. However, in the outfit that the royal dressers of the Ikshvaku family put on Atithi, the grandson of Rama, at his coronation as described by Kalidasa, we find a garland forming part of the total make-up of the head-dress of the King, though wearing a garland round his neck.[42] It appears that royal or wealthy men used flower garlands in the total ensemble of their head-dress, but since when, we are at present at a loss to know.

As we note the tendency of man to offer to his Gods whatever he considers desirable or necessary for him, there must arise a presumption in favour of some currency of the practice of offering garlands or flowers to Gods in the Vedic age. In the Ramayana[43] we are told by Rama himself, in justification of his offering to his deceased father's spirit very ordinary kind of food at the Shraddha ceremony: "Man's Gods like whatever

41. III, 9.9-16.
42. *Raghuvamsa,* XVII, 23 and 25.
43. *Ramayana,* II, 103.30.

kind of food man takes". I should expand that dictum and say "Man's Gods like whatever man likes in the domain of adornment, toiletry and other bodily requirements"!

We should expect the use of garlands or/and flowers in the adoration of deities from the very beginning of the anthropomorphic conception of them and even more when their anthropomorphic representations, idols, came to be made. This latter development appears to have occurred in Vedic religion long before Panini's time,[44] to judge by his aphorism which speaks of 'archa' an 'idol' or an 'image'. Baudhayana Grihya Sutra,[45] assigned to a pre-Buddhist date by its editor Shama Sastri, enjoins the use of flowers along with fragrant unguent, frankincense and light in the worship-complex, called Baliharana, offered to Vishnu. The offering of oblations in fire in the name of Vishnu were to follow after he was worshipped with the articles mentioned above. The articles, flowers etc. were offered as accompaniments of the recitation of the twelve different names of Vishnu stated in Baudhayana's text, followed by homage with the words "bow to" the specific name of Vishnu.

Similarly in the 'Ashtamivrata', 'the vow of the 8th', Rudra with his consort and son is prescribed to be worshipped. In the 'Utsarga'-rite the various sages, too, were treated with similar worship. Two leaders of Yakshinis, mythical semi-divine females, i.e., their representations, were offered both fragrant unguents and flowers ('malya').[46]

In another semi-religious rite laid down in *Baudhayana's Grihya Sutra* for being performed on the day after the 'garbhadhan'-rite, we come across not only with the use of flowers in worship but also with the word, 'nirmalya', which throughout later time has been the standard one for 'flowers' already used, particularly, for worship of deities.[47] The bottom of Ficus Indica was to be offered worship before other items of the rite could be proceeded with. It was to be covered with flowers, the word used being 'sumanas' and not the plebeian 'pushpa', an offering of food being made to the accompaniment of the recitation of a Vedic passage thereafter. Some fish were to be caught from a pond or pool of water and to be offered as food for cranes at the foot of the already worshipped tree to the accompaniment of another Vedic passage. At the end all the used flowers (nirmalya), used clothes and garlands were to be left on a branch of the worshipped tree.

Fifth element in the religious complex of the Rigvedic, society it is interesting to note, was 'purity', a concept difficult to define being really

44. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 362.4.
45. I, 11.
46. Ibid., III, 8, 9, 12.
47. I, 8.

speaking a mental condition but has, althrough human civilization, a certain physical aspect. Both aspects would appear to have been present in the Rigvedic complex. Thus the famous sage Vamadeva who figures in the most philosophical of the Upanishads, the *Brihadaranyaka*, as it were the very embodiment of the liberated soul,[48] says about purity achievable through sacrificial sessions: "Gods, doing holy acts, devout, resplendent, smelting like ore their human generations (purifying) their humanity as ore is purified by smelting".[49] Years ago Roth commented on the 136th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda thus (Griffith's quotation from Muir): "This hymn shows the conception that by a life of sanctity the Muni [the thoughtful or ascetic man] can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air etc." That the mental state accompanying the performance of sacrifice was an element in the religious complex stands out in the hymn addressed very significantly by Brihaspati to Jnanam, "knowledge", which reads: "When friendly Brahmans sacrifice together with mental impulse which the heart hath fashioned, They leave one far behind through their attainments. . . ." [50]

Sixth, more deeply mental attitudes in Vedic man's commerce with the supernatural, too, are present in the religious complex that stands out of the Rigvedic hymns. Thus we read[51]: "If we have sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend or comrade, the neighbour ever with us, or a stranger, O, Varuna, remove from us that tresspass. If we, as gamesters cheat at play, have cheated, done wrong unwittingly or sinned of purpose, cast all these sins away, like loosened fetters and, Varuna, let us be thine own beloved".[52] The faith in forgiveness of the deity and the desire to be in the deity's good graces apparent in the above Rigvedic passage addressed to Varuna appears quite clearly as faith in and surrender to the deity in a text which is a hymn to Indra. It runs: "Indra, through hope in thee alone even this sickle do I grasp. Fill my hand Maghavan with all that it can hold of barley cut or gathered up".[53] This is quite clearly an utterance of a farmer, i.e., of common man of the Rigvedic society and hence a good indication of the strength of such faith in God or Gods. Distinctly socially-oriented mental attitudes of ethical content too are enshrined in a number of passages. One such is: "Yea, many a woman is more firm and better than the man who turns away from Gods, and offers not. She who discerns the weak and worn, the man who thirsts and is in want,

48. See my *Religious Consciousness,* pp. 112-3.
49. *RV,* IV, 2.17.
50. *RV,* X, 71.8.
51. V, 85.7-8.
52. *RV,* VIII, 67.(78).10.
53. V, 61.6-7.

she sets her mind upon the Gods".[54] The incident recorded in the 80th hymn of the VIII book of the Rigveda, though an isolated one, deserves to be noted. It is clearly a prototype of the assurance which Lord Krishna gave, more than a millennium later, in the Bhagavadgita to Arjuna.[55] A maiden named Apala having found Soma beside a river pressed it with her both hands and dedicated it to Indra. Indra thereupon rewarded Apala with the fulfilment of her desires.[56]

In a more positive, almost militant in the socialistic or communist ironical style, too, has one anonymous sage—I say anonymous because tradition not knowing anything about him has very significantly attributed it to one Bhikshu 'beggar', a fictitious personality, an allegorical creation, expressed the concern of the Rigvedic society for socially-oriented sympathy and generosity. His utterance runs: "The Gods have not ordained hunger to be our death: even to the well-fed man comes death in varied shape. The riches of the liberal never waste away, while he who will not give finds none to comfort him. ... Bounteous is he who gives unto the beggar who comes to him in want of food and feeble. ... Let the rich satisfy the poor implorer, and bend his eye upon a longer pathway. Riches come now to one, now to another, and like wheels of car are ever rolling. The foolish man wins food with fruitless labour; that food—I speak the truth—shall be his ruin. He feeds no trusty friend, no man to love him. All guilt is he who eats with no partaker. ... The hands are both alike, their labour differs. The yield of sister milch-kine is unequal. Twins even differ in their strength and vigour: two even kinsmen differ in their bounty.[57]

Truth was appreciated so that we can trace the source of the national motto of the Sovereign Republic called India (Bharat), viz., "Truth alone stands victorious", in the Rigvedic passage: 'The prudent finds it easy to distinguish the true and false; their words oppose each other. Of these two that which is the true which is the true and honest, Soma protects, and brings the false to nothing".[58] The Rigvedic society was so far developed that one of its sage's heart's out-pourings turn out to be the proper guide for the UNO of the latter half of the 20th century. The passage which ends the Rigvedic text reads: "Assemble, speak together; let your minds be all of one accord, ... The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thought united. A common purpose do I lay before you. ... One and the same be your

54. *BG*, IX, 26.
55. Macdonell, p. 64.
56. *RV*, X, 117.
57. VII, 104.12.
58. X, 191.2-4.

resolve, and be your minds of one accord. United be the thoughts of all that all may happily agree".[59]

The Rigveda, though a collection of hymns for sacrificial ritual, composed at sacrificial sessions and/or designed to plead for prosperity or other blessings of mundane existence, strikingly enough contains according to compent Vedicists ten or twelve hymns which are distinctly tuned in another key. They may be called philosophical. Questioning, because one is not sure that one knows, is the mother of philosophy whether social or metaphysical. And in the Rigvedic society we find Dirghatamas, a sage highly respected and long-lived, with this attitude. In the longest, by stanza-number, of the hymns in the Rigveda. (I, 164), addressed to all-Gods, Dirghatamas, speaks of sacrifice as a divine institution (50), owns ignorance about the nature of the Creator and asks other sages to enlighten him if they know (6), as well as expresses his own view of the relation between the Individual Soul and the Supreme Soul (20-22).

Dirghatamas' ignorance and question are thus worded: "I ask, unknowing, those who know, the sages, as one all ignorant for the sake of knowledge, What was that One who in the Unborn's image hath established and fixed firm these world's six regions". Another passage of the Rigveda, which being attributed to Prajapati, the Creator in the view of the latest of the Rigvedic society, must be considered to represent the mental climate of the age even more authoritatively, breathes even stronger and deeper scepticism. It reads[60]: "Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was born and whence comes this creation? The Gods are later than this world's creation. Who knows then whence it first came into being? He, the first origin of this creation, whether he formed it all or did not form it, Whose eye controls this world in highest heaven, he verily knows, or perhaps he knows not"

The mood represented in the above passage in relation to the world and its creator appears in relation to the individual reality as well and that too as by Dirghatamas himself. He says[61]: "What thing I truly am I know not clearly; mysterious, fettered in my mind I wander". And this Dirghatamas observed after having categorically declared his view about the relation between the Supreme Soul and the Individual Soul in stanzas 20-22. His view is: "Two Birds with four wings, knit with bonds of friendship, in the same sheltering tree have found a refuge. One of the twain eats the sweet fig tree's fruitage; the other eating not regardeth only. Where those fine Birds hymn cease-lessly their portion

59. *RV*, X, 129.6.
60. *RV*, I, 164.37.
61. *RV*, VI, 47.18.

of life eternal, and the sacred synods, there is the Universe's mighty Keeper, who, wise, hath entered into me the simple. The tree whereon the fine Birds eat the sweetness, where they all rest and procreate their off-spring—Upon its top they say the fig is luscious: none gaineth it who knoweth not the Father".

That pantheistic view was getting upper hand in the minds of some of the sages is clear from the bold assertions or proclamations of Bharadvaja, Vamadeva and Dirghatamas. The Bharadvaja sage says about Indra, the most prominent God of the Rigvedic pantheon: "In every figure he [Indra] hath been the model: this is his only form for us to look on. Indra moves multi-form by his illusions, for his Bay Steeds are yoked, ten times a hundred.[62] Indra is said to present himself as Agni, Rudra or Vishnu or any other God of the pantheon. Dirghatamas more explicitly proclaims[63]: "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni and he is heavenly nobly-winged Garutman (Sun). To what is One, sages give many titles. They call it, Agni, Yama, Matarisvan". And Vamadeva[64] speaks in the language of a later pantheist who has realized himself. He declares: "I was aforetime Manu, I was Surya: I am the sage Kakshivan, holy singer Kutsa, the son of Arjuni, I master. I am the sapient Usana: behold me".

The questioning about the universe, self and the creation with some intuitive answers, however, imperfect, in time appears to have become the one end and purpose of life with a fair number of the elite of North India from the North-West to the borders of Magadha. Part of the intellectual seething is preserved in the Upanishads. This kind of intellectual pursuit was fostered by the theory and practice of the 'asramas' or stages of life that came to be established. These seekers after truth, the eternal behind or beyond the ephemeral or mundane could see no good in the kind of sacrifices conducted according to the Vedic ritual texts.

The oldest Upanishad, the *Brihadaranyaka*, attempts an allegorical sublimation of sacrifice,[65] particularly the 'Asvamedha'. It speaks of woman and the generative process in terms of the Vajapeya sacrifice.[66] The *Chchandogya Up.*[67] treats human life in terms of a sacrifice. Thus thirst and hunger and abstention from pleasures constitute the initiatory rites; eating, drinking and sexual enjoyment are participation in the chants and the recitation of appropriate formulae at the sacrificial procedure, and so on. The total life of an individual is divided into three main periods.

62. I, 164.46.
63. *RV*, IV, 26.1.
64. *Brih. Up.*, I, 1.
65. *Ibid.*, VI, 4.1-3.
66. III, 16 and 17.
67. *Mundake Up.*, I, 2.7.

First is that of learning occupying the first twenty-four years. During this period an individual in his sickness prays to Vasus appealing to them not to cut short his life in that period, which is only the first soma-pressing carried out at a sacrifice, so that he may live to offer the second pressing. The next period spread over 44 years is the period wherein all sickness can be countered only by appealing to Rudras, for it corresponds to the mid-day libation in a sacrifice and Rudras are the deities that are concerned with. The third period of 48 years—one Mahidasa who had lived for 116 years evidently had found this procedure and prescribed it—is the evening libation, sickness during which can be countered by earnest prayers and appeals to Adityas whose 'savana', libation, it is.

Brih. Up. and the little less old *Chhandogya Up.* between them may be said to have proclaimed the philosophy of Brahma, in the impassioned intuitive manner of an inspired teacher. The active participants in the process, both the Brahmin teachers and the Kshatriya questioners, hailed from the North-West to Bihar. The great enquirers, seekers after the truth and the eternal, the Kshatriya kings had not ceased performing Vedic sacrifices. As a matter of fact, it was mostly the gatherings that took place in connection with the celebration of sacrifices, the large gifts and guerdon which were expected at their end, that attracted the keenest of Brahmin teachers that elicited the philosophical dicta we have in the Upanishads.

As this questioning activity grew and the older generations of the pious Kshatriyas and of the tradition-trained Brahmins grew thinner, some of them got bold enough to throw the complex of the Srauta sacrifices into the limbo. And we find one teacher proclaiming, "The floats in the form of Sacrifices are surely infirm".[68] What an irony that the Rigvedic society's faith in sacrifices should have been expressed in the imagery of a ship! We read in the Rigveda,[69] "Make pleasant hymns—build ye a ship equipped with oars for transport". "They who could not ascend the ship of sacrifice sink down in desolation, trembling with alarm". What the society of the Rigvedic age had thought to be a ship with oars capable of saving its occupants against all storms on the sea of life was declared at the end of the Vedic age to be a mere float incapable of saving anyone holding it!

The trend of thought that was attempting to sublimate the institution of the Srauta sacrifices appears to have culminated in identifying Yajna with Vishnu and Vishnu, the Rigvedic God, ally and brother of the greatest God of the age, Indra, with Yajna.[70] In the process Yajna had

68. X, 101.2 and 44.7.
69. *Sat. Br.*, Maitri Upanishad, VI, 16.
70. I, 22.16-21; II, 1.3; III, 6.4, 54.14; IV, 3.7; V, 87.4; VI, 12.2; VII, 100.1 and 4; VIII, 9.12, 29.7.

got anthropomorphized; and we find the intellectuals of the Vedic age, those who composed *Brihaddevata* and the *Sarvanukramani*, ascribing the 130th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda, one of the three or four hymns which deal with Creation, to Yajna. He is said to be the son of Prajapati.

The Brahmana dictum *Yajno vai Vishnuh* raises the question about the representation of Vishnu who is a Rigvedic deity of quite some importance and exclusively Indo-Aryan one. Though a solar deity, Vishnu with his epithets of "Urukrama", "wide-strider", and His three steps, so celebrated in the Rigveda,[71] was deeply concerned with Soma, the life-spirit, so to say, of Vedic sacrifice. A Rishi[72] tells us: "Strong in their native strength to greatness have they grown, stepped to the firmament and made their dwelling wide. When Vishnu saved the Soma bringing wild delight, the Maruts sat like birds on their dear holy grass". Another Rigvedic singer[73] assures us that Maruts were "strong Vishnu's band". Indra is said to have "quaffed the poured out Soma-juice, all that he would" with Vishnu.[74] Soma Pavamana, Soma deified, himself assures all that the juice is "sweet to Indra and Vishnu".[75] And addressing Maruts, Gritsamada calls upon them but only to the oblation paid to Vishnu, the Speeder-on [Vishnu's exclusive epithet].[76] Ludwig, commenting on it, quite correctly sees in this the fact of Vishnu being the representative of sacrifice (see Griffith's footnote).

Vishnu's concern for and even control over Soma places him in a superior position among Vedic deities. Dirghatamas, a sage who has been almost proverbial for a long life of over hundred years and a self-made man, had gone a long way in praising Vishnu. He says that Vishnu is (1) "the primeval germ of Order even from his birth", (2) "has power supreme and might that finds the day", and that "the Sovran Varuna and both the Asvins wait upon the will of Vishnu who guides the Marut host"; and Indra and Vishnu are friends to each other as "godly to the godlier". Vishnu further is "Maker, throned in three worlds" helping the Aryan man. He is known to bestow due share of blessings on the performer of sacrifice. Pronouncing even his name brings down grace of the Mighty One". Anyone who "brings gifts to him, the Ancient and the Last [may we not see in this expression the later 'Anadiananta' "without beginning and without end?"] together with his spouse" and proclaims "the lofty birth of him; the Lofty One shall verily surpass in glory

71. I, 85.7.
72. VIII, 20.3.
73. II, 22.1.
74. IX, 56.4.
75. II, 34.11.
76. I, 156.2-5.

even his peer".[77] Vasishtha declares[78]: "None who is born or being born, God Vishnu, hath reached the utmost limit of thy grandeur. The vast vault of heaven hast thou supported and fixed earth's eastern pinnacle securely. . . . Both these worlds, Vishnu, hast though stayed asunder and firmly fixed the earth with pegs around". In his mystic mood, the aged sage Dirghatamas[79] proclaimed Vishnu's role as the preserver of the Universe, in words which quite explicitly portray Vishnu as the Supreme God: "Seven germs unripened yet are heaven's prolific seed: their functions they maintain by Vishnu's ordinance Endued with wisdom through intelligence and thought, they compass us about present on every side".

There are at least three stanzas in the three hymns of Dirghatamas (I, 154, 155, 156) addressed to Vishnu which evoke the Epic-Puranic and Vaishnavite theology of later times. He not only speaks of Vishnu as the Ancient and the Last, as mentioned above, but asserts that Vishnu ordains together with his Spouse"—Lakshmi[80] is thus projected! He asserts that the three steppings over the realms of earth were taken by Vishnu "for freedom and for life"[81]—the usual purpose of Epic Vishnu's incarnations. Lastly Dirghatamas foreshadows Vaikuntha[82] of the Epic-Brahmanic theology when he says: "May I attain to that his well-loved mansion where men devoted to the Gods are happy. For there springs, close akin to the Wide-Strider, the well of meath in Vishnu's highest footstep".

The same Rishi speaks of Vishnu's feat of bringing the great Gods Dyaus or Heaven and Earth to the sacrifice and thus lowered the dignity of Dyaus and depressed Agni in the sacrificial hierarchy to the third place, the order of precedence being Vishnu, Dyaus and Agni. He declares that the three steppings of Vishnu were taken by Vishnu, "preserver, inoffensive, bounteous and benign" to secure "freedom and life".[83] Sage Rijisvan Bharadvaj presents Vishnu's three steppings exploit in more explicit terms of divine concern for and grace to mankind thus[84]: "He who for man's behoof in his affliction thrice measured out the earth-regions". And Bharadvaja himself asserts the supremacy of Vishnu over other deities of the Vedic pantheon, except Indra. He declares that Indra-Vishnu have always conquered and that they neither in combination nor singly have been conquered by anyone. Their victory in the battles

77. VII, 99.2-3.
78. I, 164.36.
79 156.2.
80 155.4.
81. 154.5.
82. I, 155.2-4.
83. VI, 49.13
84 VI, 69.8.

"brought into existence the world with all its creatures", the three divisions [of the text] being heaven, firmament and earth.[85]

Vasishtha, emphasizing Vishnu's expansiveness enabling him to "grow beyond all bound and measure with his body" to know the highest regions of the earth, declares "Men come not nigh his majesty". His view of Vishnu's covering the earth with one step is that thereby Vishnu secured it as "a home to Manu", i.e., for mankind. In Vishnu, Vasishtha further assures us "the humble people trust for safety". It is the poor and the weak that sing Vishnu's praises.[86] Vasishtha appears to allude to Vishnu's power and practice of talking different forms to help his votaries. The 6th stanza of the 100th hymn of the VII book, speaking of Sipivishta, tradition asserts, refers to one occasion in a battle when Vishnu assuming some "artificial shape" saved Vasishtha. Griffith sees in the passage "the germ of the later incarnations of the God which occur in the Satapatha, Brahmana and the Puranas".

Vasishtha[87] has suggested, quite clearly, that Vishnu plays an important role in the human reproduction-complex. Addressing a hymn of praise to Visvedevas he ends it with: "May this our song of praise reach you, O Maruts and Vishnu, guardian of the future infant. May they vouchsafe the singer strength for offspring". The notion of Vishnu's being the prime creator of the world was evidently taking deep root and sending out various offshoots so that we find a short hymn of 3 stanzas in the X book of the Rigveda,[88] an open prayer to Vishnu to help the formation of the female womb as a breeding place for children. "May Vishnu form and mould the womb", so opens the hymn. Other gods, Tvashtar the architect-god, Prajapati the Creator, and Dhatar the preserver, are also invoked to play their specific roles in the total process of successful human reproduction. A lunar Goddess and a river-Goddess, too, are exhorted to help in the process. The fruition of a very important, though complementary role, that of the male, is entrusted to the care of the handsome male gods, the Twins, Asvins. The idea that the cooperation of the deities mentioned for guarding the various aspects of the total process and of securing fruition in the majestic preparation for it by Vishnu appears to have become so rooted and axiomatic that tradition has not found a human seer of the hymn but has presented it as the outpouring of either Vishnu himself or of the architect-God, Tvashtar. Significantly, in the hymn[89] on Fathers or Manes the singer or the speaker states that he has gained "son, progeny" from Vishnu.

85. VII, 99.1; 100.4.
86. VII, 36.13.
87. 184.
88. X, 15.3.
89. VI, 4.21-23.

The whole hymn of three stanzas was, it appears, very soon being used as a charm in the rite of what is known as Garbhadhana, the rite of consummation of marriage. The oldest of the Upanishads, the Brihadaranyaka,[90] prescribes the recitation of the whole of the 184th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda with the addition of invocation or involvement of three other Vedic deities, Agni, Vayu and Indra in a formulary of its own; at the time of copulation, evidently the first after marriage. From the fact that a number of other directions and prescriptions mentioned as guaranteeing the procreation of specific types of sons preceding the prescription at the actual copulations, one concludes that the whole magico-religious rite of Garbhadhana was already formulated. The conclusion is strengthened when one finds that immediately after the prescription of the recitation of the above-mentioned formula for copulation, the rites to be performed on the newly born babe are described. The sacred texts on domestic rites, like the *Baudhayana Grihya Sutra*, ascribable to a date about a century or two later than the *Br. Up.*, prescribe the use of the Vedic hymn only. Thus Vishnu along with two other Rigvedic deities got fixed up as the God concerned with the creation of man!

Vishnu's identification with Yajna gave rise to a number of epithets figuring among the thousand epithets of His, the recitation of which has been considered to be an act of great piety and devotion among the Hindus. Vishnu is Yajnatman, Yajnapurusha, Yajnesvara, Yajnakrit, Yajnapati, Yajnabhartri, Yajna and Suyajna. As we have seen above, Vishnu's identification with Yajna was a phenomenon of the later Vedic age. It is intriguing to find that at least in one place in the Rigveda[91] Indra is spoken of as Suyajna. In view of the close relation of the two deities, Vishnu and Indra, in the Rigveda and the subsequent displacement of Indra by Vishnu the expression Suyajna used of Indra gains significance and may be treated as an epithet and not a merely qualifying expression.

Thus the Rigvedic Yajna, the main institutional mode of approach to the divine, current among the Rigvedic people, has remained enshrined in the person and form of Vishnu.

Vishnu's advance to Supreme Godhood may be said to have been present in an embryonic form even in the Rigvedic age. Though a subordinate deity in the Rigvedic pantheon considered from his receipt of the share of the total hymnal activity, he appears in such close association with Indra, the national God of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans, that Vishnu is referred to not only as Indra's ally but also as his "intimate friend".

90. II, 21.4.
91. Based on Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 17.

In the hymns which are solely addressed to Vishnu only Indra and no other God sometimes figures. Vishnu is frequently found in the Rigveda allied with Indra in his fight with Vritra, victory over whom was an extremely important event for the Rigvedic society. Vishnu's three steps are described as having been taken for relief of man and for stretching out the worlds for his existence. Of all the Gods of the Rigveda Vishnu appears to have impressed the people as the one who has or who can take many forms. Finally the highest of his three steps, which is described as an eye fixed in heaven, is also "his dear abode, where pious men rejoice", and where there is "a well of honey" and "the gods rejoice". The preacher of the Katha Upanishad [92] identifies this highest step of Vishnu with the end of the journey", i.e., salvation, which can be achieved only through complete control of the mind and senses. The Atharvaveda has singled out Vishnu as Indra for special treatment. The single hymn, which is addressed to Indra and mentions Vishnu as often as him and glorifies the great deeds of Vishnu, forms one book, XVII, of the collection! The Yajurveda specifies Aditi as Vishnu's consort.[93]

With this elevation Vishnu appears to have been taken for granted. There is no special text, like the Svetasvatara Upanishad for Rudra/Siva, glorifying him or describing his further advance towards Supreme Godhood. The *Yajurveda* and the *Brahmanas* between them, can be said to have foreshadowed four of the ten incarnations which Vishnu is said to have taken, according to the full-fledged Vaishnavite theology and mythology. But as Macdonell [94] has observed they are not specifically assigned to Vishnu in the Vedic literature.

It is interesting to find that, owing to Vishnu's having been conceived of as a form or aspect of the Sun, Vishnu is said to have set in motion like a revolving wheel his 90 steeds (days) with their four names (= seasons).[95] In a hymn addressed to Mitra-Varuna, the Sun is described as "a wondrous weapon", "chitram ayudham",[96] while in a hymn to Surya and Mitra-Varuna-Aryaman the Sun is itself spoken of as the "well rounded wheel (samanam chakram) that rolls on".[97] In an Indra hymn—Vishnu's relation to Indra may be borne in mind—the Sun is spoken of as a wheel which it is implied Indra hurled at Sushna, the demon of draught.[98] The special weapon of Vishnu in post-Vedic literature is 'wheel' which

92. I, 3.9.
93. *Vaj. Sam.* XXIX, 60.
94. *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
95. Macdonell, p. 38; *RV*, I, 155.6.
96. *RV*, V, 63.4.
97. VII, 63.2.
98. I, 175.4; Macdonell, p. 31.

was named 'Sudarshana', 'good-looking'. Vishnu's vehicle in the same literature is the eagle, 'garutmat'. The Sun, conceived sometimes by the Rigvedic poets as a bird, has received the epithet of 'garutmat' and 'suparna',[99] so that Epic-Brahmanic Vishnu's bird-vehicle is his Rigvedic heritage.

That Vishnu must have attained his standard position of Supreme Godhood before 500 B.C., or at the end of the Vedic age is attested by Kutsayana's hymn in the Maitri Upanishad (V), a work which, according to Max Muller, is pre-Paninian in date. The Supreme there is stated to have three forms or to be 'trimurti', the three forms being Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. The text further specifies them. "The part which is characterized by darkness is Rudra, that part which is characterised by passion is Brahma and that which is characterised by goodness is Vishnu".

Panini's sutras[100] and Patanjali's comment thereon clearly imply the existence of Vishnuism with Vishnu as the Supreme God with whom Vasudeva Krishna was identified. However no trace of Vishnu worship in actual practice and Vishnu images, whether as seals or stampages or carvings, any lithic representation, of any Vishnavite deity or any symbol, before the second century B.C. is found! This is the more decisive against the probability of popular currency of Vishnavite theology much before the time of the Bhagavadgita because, as Patanjali has vouchsafed, Siva images and their worship were quite, or even very, popular in the Mauryan age, i.e., in the fourth-third centuries B.C.[101] All the same, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the elite had raised Vishnu, by the end of the Vedic period, into a Supreme God of the kind that is conceived in all great religions. And this achievement in the Vedic age distinguishes the Indo-Aryan religious complex from the other ancient Indo-European religious complexes. Neither Kassites, nor the Mitanni nor again the Hittite pantheon, as far as they are known, contained such a deity or its likely prototype. The ancient Greeks had no such God in their mythology, their Zeus being quite different from Indo-Aryan Vishnu. The Zend-Avesta of the ancient Iranians has no deity comparable to Vishnu. Vishnu of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans is a national creation par excellence, developed by the intellectuals on the Indian soil.

Vishnu's identification with Yajna anthropomorphized has given to him the epithets of Yajna and sometimes also Suyajna, both of them figuring in the standard one thousand names of Vishnu in the later ages. A silly story is narrated in connection with Yajna or Makha anthropomorphized.

99. Macdonell, p. 39.
100. IV, 2.35; 3.98; Agrawala, pp. 361-62.
101. Agrawala, pp. 362-4.

In the Panchavimsa Brahmana and the Taittiriya Aranyaka we read that once Agni, Indra, Vayu and Yajna began a sacrifice in common, with the stipulation that whoever achieved spiritual success among them shall share it with others. It so happened, as one can understand quite logically, Yajna succeeded before all the others. He, however, declining to share it with others, fled from them. There ensued a battle with Yajna defending himself and his right against the other three. The three Gods found it impossible to overcome Yajna. This puffed up Yajna who stood resting his head on the upper end of his strung bow with its lower end firmly planted on the ground. The Gods saw their opportunity. They persuaded white ants to bite off the string of the bow. As soon as the white ants did their work, the head of Yajna resting on the upper end of the bow was chopped off by it in its outward rebound.[102] It is stated in the Yajurveda that Gods persuaded Asvins to join the head of Yajna to the body, offering them specific right to share regularly in the offerings made at sacrifices. It is quite clear from the narration of this story[103] in the Panchavimsa Brahmana and the Satapatha Brahmana and the Taittiriya Aranyaka that Yajna, "sacrifice" was none else but Vishnu himself. Chitrav, who has summarised the data from the Puranas finds that their stories are more or less similar but that some of them add the detail that the face reset by Asvins on Yajna-Vishnu's body was that of a horse, traces the sources of the Hayagreeva incarnation of Vishnu to this Vedic tale.

I may draw the reader's attention to the fact that Yajna-Vishnu had as his weapon a bow and that, too, a very long bow, for when strung with one end resting on the ground, its other end reached the chin of Vishnu. In the Rigveda, with the possible exception of the wheel, there is no mention of any weapon with Vishnu. It is noteworthy that in later Epic-Puranic culture it is the Rama incarnation of Vishnu that is, par excellence, represented as the wielder of the bow. It is no mere accident that the very first sculptural representation of Rama shows him as carrying a bow. The scene, which forms a panel adorning the Dasavatara temple at Devgarh in Jhansi District, is reproduced by Ananda Coomaraswamy as picture No. 167 in his book *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. The temple is assigned to about A.D. 600. This sculptural representation of an Indian bow outside the cave-art happens to be the earliest (?). Later it will be seen that Rudra is the only God that Rigveda has spoken of invariably as a wielder of the bow. The association of Rudra with the bow was so invariable that in the Atharvaveda[104] not only Rudra is

102. *Tait. Sam.*, VI, 4.9.1 as referred to by Chitrav under Hayagreeva; *Panch. Br.*, VII, 5.6; Tait. Ar., IV.2.
103. *Panch. Br.*, VII, 5.6; *Sat. Br.*, XIV, 1.1; *Tait Ar.*, V, 1.1-7.
104. IV, 28.2; VI, 93.1-2; XI, 2.7; XV, 6.

described as "the mighty archer, the slaughter of Ardhaka (Andhaka)", but Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra and Isana, too, are spoken of as the Archers, Bhava and Sarva even figure as "famed as the best and skilfullest of archers".

The bow of Vishnu must have been, perhaps, of the kind called by Panini [105] and in the Bhagavadgita [106] 'mahesvasa' or 'paramesvasa', 'big bow'. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala has referred to Kautilya's specification of the length of a bow, which is "five cubits or seven-and-half-feet" and has equated it with the 'mahesvasa'.

While some of the incarnations which later mythology and theology has predicated of Vishnu are foreshadowed or suggested in the literature of the later Vedic age, it is very interesting to note that the fundamentally cosmic form of Vishnu is considered by some competent students to have been implied in a hymn of the Rigveda itself. Thus, J. N. Banerjea, the author of the book *Development of Hindu Iconography*, regards the Seshasayanamurti of Vishnu-Narayana—Narayana is the cosmic form of Vishnu—as "a mythological elaboration of the Rigveda X, 82.5 and 6".[107] The stanzas mentioned are thus translated by Griffith: "That which is earlier than this earth and heaven, before the Asuras and Gods had being, What was the germ primeval which the waters received where all the Gods were seen together? The waters, they received that germ primeval wherein the Gods were gathered all together. It rested set upon the Urborn's navel, that One wherein abide all things existing". It can be seen that what the Rigvedic sage thought was that the primeval cause in the form of an egg or germ rested on waters and that the creation proceeded from that. Later theologists and mythologists have read into the sage's statement much more to arrive finally at the concept of Narayana as resting in deep meditational sleep in the ocean, supported by the great snake.

It appears that the earliest portrayal of this form of Vishnu, commonly known as Seshasayin, "lying on the serpent Sesha", occurs in the Aranyaka or Vana parvan of the Mahabharata.[108] Vishnu lying on the serpent—it was supporting the earth—slept, i.e., went into deep yogic concentration. While he was in that condition a lotus plant grew out of his navel, within the flower of which Brahma was born. This form of Vishnu, though as represented in the Mahabharata account accomplished the difficult task of disposing of the two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, must have appealed to the minds of the Indian elite of the age as it recalled the Rigvedic

105. VI, 2.38; Agrawala, p. 424.
106. I, 4 and 17.
107. *Loc. cit.*, p. 235.
108. *Mbh.*, III, 194.

statement of the primeval germ resting on water. Manusmriti [109] seems to have retained, in somewhat confused manner, the Rigvedic tradition in so far as it is at pains to explain the origin and the significance of the epithet Narayana, which is applied primarily only to Vishnu. In this effort the text speaks of waters as not only the first creation but also asserts that "nara" is another world for 'apah', 'water'. In that first creation, the waters, there arose a golden egg, i.e., a golden egg lay on the waters. And from that golden egg all other creation resulted. As this primeval cause was subsisting in 'nara', it is suggested or implied, it naturally came to be named 'Narayana', i.e, one whose residence is water. The act of creation by this Primeval Being could be accomplished only through austere Yogic concentration.

At this stage some elite or a group of elites must have thought of 'Yoganidra' 'deep sleep like Yogic concentration', as the proper attitude, as almost the complete theory and practice of Yoga and of the acquisition of supernatural powers through it had already been current as witnessed by the doctrine of the 'nadis', 'veins', as adumbrated in the Brihadaranyaka and the Chandogya Upanishads [110] and further attested in the Svetasvatara Upanishad. And we find Hari-Krishna described in the Bhagavadgita as 'the great lord of Yogis', 'mahayogesvara.[111]

Kalidasa, the trully national mind that he was, gathered all the pieces and most competently and lovingly arranged them in a graceful pattern to conjure up an image of the primeval form of Vishnu, which ever since has remained the prototype of all artistic effort in the line. Kalidasa, as is well-known, was a devout Saiva. All the three plays of his are prefaced by beautiful verses invoking Siva in the all-embracing form of his. His semi-epical work entitled *Kumarasambhava*, 'the birth of Kumara', i.e., Skanda, may be said to contain an anthology of panegyrics of Siva, representing a successful exercise in presenting the brighter side of Siva personality. With all this partiality for Siva he took the opportunity, afforded in the natural flow of the story of the Ikshvaku family, to lavish his highest literary skill, to utilise his deep and profound knowledge of the mythology, theology and philosophy of his time to present the image of Vishnu's primeval form. There is truly only one occasion in the story when Vishnu has to be brought in and that is the circumstances of Rama's birth. But even there the difference between the description made by Valmiki in his *Ramayana* and that by Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsa* is so striking that one cannot but conclude that the significance of Seshasayi form of Vishnu that was being realised in

109. I, 8-10.
110. IV, 3.20; VIII, 6.1-2; respectively.
111. *BG*, XI, 9.

Kalidasa's time was quite unknown and perhaps foreign to Valmiki and Ramayana times.

In Valmiki's *Ramayana*[112] Vishnu whom the gods meet and entreat is Vishnu riding his Garuda (eagle) while in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*[113] Vishnu on whom the gods wait, is Vishnu, Seshasayin, who goes into Yoga sleep periodically and was just awake from his Yoga sleep when they arrived at his abode. In about 26 verses, which together may be characterized as a Vishnu-Seshasayi stotra, in very felicitous words, Kalidasa has described the physical scene and the religious and philosophical meaning of the form. Vishnu lying on the bed of the great serpent with Lakshmi shampooing one of his feet placed on her lap, a lotus-stalk jutting out of his navel and holding Brahma in the full blown lotus, and attended by all Weapons as Ayudha purushas and by Garuda, the eagle, as the vehicle, is described as having got awake just then from his Yoga sleep and therefore in the most gracious mood.

The poet's vision of Vishnu Seshasayin in the wider context of upholding the whole of the Indian sub-continent, and consequent imagery and postulation of the particular form abiding at the southern tip of the country, where Rama crossed over to Lanka, was persistent, it would appear. For describing the bridge built over the sea by the monkey-followers of Rama, Kalidasa fancies it to be the great serpent Sesha rising out of the bottom of the earth for Sarngin, "Bowman Vishnu" to use as his bed.[114]

Rama on his return journey from Lanka is represented in Valmiki's *Ramayana*[115] as mentioning the bridge built by Nala and some rock thrown by Hanuman for his army to step on. There is also an assertion about Mahadeva having shown favour to Rama when he had arrived there at the bridge-point in his march on Lanka. This appears to be a sort of an after-thought. For in the two chapters, 21 and 22, of the VI book, where we are told about Rama's having secured a safe spot for constructing a bridge over the sea from the Sea-divinity, there is nothing about Mahadeva at all. On the other hand, we are presented with a demonstration of Rama's being the Supreme God in the way the sea-divinity is shown to cower before him and entreat him to calm down!

Kalidasa has used the occasion of the return from Lanka not only to apprise Seeta of the close relationship between the Ikshvakus and the ocean, through the reference to Sagara and his horse sacrifice but also

112. I, 15.
113. X, 7.32.
114. XII, 70.
115. VI, 123.16-21.

to project his vision of Vishnu Seshasayin as upholder of the country, having taken his abode there at the junction of the oceans. Pointing out to Seeta, Rama is made to observe, "Here on this ocean rests Purusha Vishnu (Adi Narayana) in deep 'yoga', after withdrawing the worlds at the end of the Kalpa (one Creation?), being praised and sung by the first Brahma, sitting on the lotus grown out of His navel.[116] Naturally the poet has left out his endearing feature of the picture that of Laxmi shampooing the feet of Vishnu, as Seeta, her counter-part, herself was present with Rama.

It is noteworthy that the magnificent and graceful portrayal of Seshasayi on the temple at Deogarh in Lalitpur, Madhya Pradesh, datable to the 6th century A.D. is patterned almost exactly on the literary delineation of Kalidasa. A full-page reproduction of the grand sculpture is given in Pl. XXXII by T. A. Gopinatha Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.[117] Two sculptures, both from south of the Narmada, datable about a century or so later than the Deogarh one, portray the same form of Vishnu. However, they are not patterned after Kalidasa's delineation of the form. In both, Laxmi is lacking. They are from Aihole in Bijapur District and from Mahabalipuram near Madras. They are figured in Rao's book in pls., XXXIII and XXXI.

It is intriguing to find that in this form Vishnu later became the tutelary deity of the dynasty that ruled over Travancore till 1947, when on Indian independence the State was merged into India as one of its component States, and that the Maharajas carried on the administration of Travancore State in the name of Seshasayana Vishnu or Vishnu Anantapadmanabha. The picture of this deity painted by Raja Ravi Varma in the 19th century was patterned after Kalidasa's literary delineation!

Thus Rigvedic deity Vishnu, an associate of Indra and an aspect of the Sungod, developed down the early ages into Vishnu the Supreme God, in whose image Manu conceived every king to be, and in His Primeval form not only sub-dued and duly used the great cosmic serpent connected with waters, instead of killing it as Vedic Indra did, but also extended His dominion to the extreme southern tip of India, fulfilling Kalidasa's prophetic vision through the former dynasty of Travancore!

116. XIII, 6.
117. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-6.

6

Vedic Religion and Worship: Rise of Siva

ANOTHER God who stands out very prominently, even more so than Vishnu, in the later Vedic age, is Rudra or Siva. He is so designated here to emphasize the fact that he is commonly known as Siva but his attributes and activity are generally described under the name Rudra. And Rudra figures in the Rigveda as a deity of much less importance than Vishnu, his share in the sacrificial offerings being included in that of the Maruts or made in their company and along with them.

There are only three whole hymns addressed to him in the Rigveda.[1] At the outset I must point out the curious fact that Rudra-Siva, who, as the sequel will show, is a specific creation of the Vedic Indo-Europeans on the Indian soil, figures, along with Vishnu, the other such development as already made out, in a context which it is hard to parallel for any other two deities figuring in the Rigveda. We read in the 5th stanza of the 40th hymn of the VII book: "With offerings I propitiate the branches of this swift moving God, the bounteous Vishnu. Hence Rudra gained his Rudra-strength". Sayana has justified this glorification of Vishnu by quoting a scriptural or sacred text, not traced to its source, which proclaims: "Vishnu is all the Gods". So Rudra is Vishnu-sponsored and as Agni, or Agni under the appellation of Rudra, is said to have been fixed as Vishnu's loftiest station.[2] Maruts are in the Rigveda, the sons of Rudra and are often called Rudras or sometimes Rudriyas;[3] and yet we find them connected with Vishnu as "swift Vishnu's band" in a stanza in which they are spoken of as Rudra's sons.[4] Vishnu's juxtaposition with Rudra and the latter's similarity with the former because of the band of Maruts being associated with "swift Vishnu", however, cannot conceal, much less obliterate, the differential attitude

1. I, 114; II, 33; VII, 46.
2. *RV*, V, 3.3.
3. Macdonell, pp. 74, 78.
4. II, 34.11; VII, 20.3; 40.5; VIII, 20.3.

of the Rigvedic peoples in respect of these Gods. We read in a hymn[5] addressed to Visvedevah: "Rudra by day Rudra at night we honour with these our songs, the Universe's Father, Him Great and lofty, blissful, undecaying let us call especially as the Sage (wisdom-giving Soma) impels us" and "Who for man's behoof in his affliction thrice measured out the earthly regions, Vishnu—Who one so great as thou affordeth shelter, may we with wealth and with ourselves be happy".

The image of Rigvedic Rudra presented in the last passage from the Rigveda is further confirmed in other passages. I shall notice here only three[6] of them: "He through his lordship thinks on beings of the earth, on heavenly beings his high imperial sway"; "That mind of Rudra, fresh and strong, moves conscious in the ancient ways". The third, which is, as it were, a commentary on VI, 49.10 proclaiming Rudra as Universe's Father, reads: "The strength of Godhead never departs from Rudra. ... There is none mightier than Rudra". The sentiments and language of a Gritsamada[7] sage in his hymns to Varuna are not much different from those of stanza 10th of the 27th and stanza 1 of the 28th hymn. In the former, Varuna is king of all, both gods and men, in the latter he is the great king overall. The sentiment in VI, 46.2 is paralleled by that the sage expresses for Varuna in VII, 87.6 and is more descriptively presented in VII, 87.5. This last reads: "On him three heavens rest and are supported, and the three earths are there in six-fold order". That Rudra should be spoken of in the terms mentioned above, which are not much different from those that are employed to describe the majesty and lordship of Varuna, is clear proof that Rudra was a fully accepted God of Rigvedic vintage. For Varuna along with Indra are the two greatest Gods of the Rigveda.[8]

In two different passages in the II and V books, it is asserted that "not even Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra can resist" Savitri's will and independent dominion.[9] This grouping of Rudra with such great gods of the Rigvedic pantheon as Indra, Varuna and Mitra is done in another passage more emphatically than here, and that, too, to proclaim these gods' role in the grant of immortality. The joyous Kings of Immortality are Parijman (Vayu), Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna. The sage after announcing this asks "What else is Rudra, praised of men? the Maruts, Bhaga and Pushan".[10] A Kanva sage[11] fixes Rudra as "con-

5. *RV*, VI, 49.
6. VII, 46.2; VIII, 13.20; II, 33.9-10.
7. II, 27 and 28.
8. Macdonell, p. 20.
9. II, 38.7-9; V, 82.2.
10. X, 93.4.
11. VIII, 13-29.

scious in the ancient ways", while singing of the ancient sacrifice performed by the Gods. In an Indra-hymn, where both Mitra and Varuna as well as Dyaus are mentioned, for whim the sage sings the hymn, Rudra, who is characterized as 'Svayasas', 'glorious in himself', figures along with them.[12] Bharadvaja in a hymn dedicated to the All-Gods, 'Visvedevah', addressing his prayer for abundant food begins the enumeration of Gods with Rudra and Sarasvati and follows with Vishnu and Vayu and four others including Parjanya.[13] In another hymn to the All-Gods (Visvedevah), Rudra figures as one of the Gods invoked in the very first stanza along with Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman, Vayu, Pushan, Sarasvati, Adityas, Maruts, Soma, Daus, Aditi, and Brahmanaspati.[14] In still another 'Visvedevah' hymn, we have actually an invocation for protection made to Gods, who are beyond foes, and Rudra, fierce, (Ugra), with Maruts figures in it with Adityas, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman and Agni.[15] On the other hand, Asvins and even Mitra-Varuna are addressed as Rudras.[16]

Whatever his status in the pantheonic hierarchy of the Rigveda, it is quite clear that Rudra was a fully accepted member of it. Thus in the 29th hymn of the VIII book which presents the main characteristics of Visvedevah, Gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, without naming the Gods and, therefore, assuming the universal rccognition of the specific characteristics, Rudra figures among Soma, Agni, Tvashtar, Indra, Pushan, Vishnu, Asvins with Surya, Mitra-Varuna and Agnirases, between Indra and Pushan. Rudra there is characterized as the one who "bears a pointed weapon, is fierce (ugra), bright (sun), has healing medicines", while Pushan, the pastoral God, the protector of beats, is described as the one who "thief-like watches well the ways . . .".

However, Rudra stands apart from not only the majestic Gods, Indra and Varuna, but also from Vishnu and almost all the other Gods, excepting some minor deities, in this that he has a violent and destructive aspect which often creates trepidation and strikes terror in the minds of the singer-poets. Therefore a goodly portion of the total hymnal endeavour of the singer-sages is devoted to appeasing and mollifying the terrific and destructive aspect of the God. Of all the Gods of the Rigvedic pantheon Rudra thus stands out as the double-faced God par excellence. As Macdonell observes[17]: "Malevolence is frequenly attributed to him; for the hymns addressed to him chiefly express fear of his

12. I, 129.3.
13. VI, 50.12.
14 X, 65.1.
15. X, 126.5.
16. V, 70.2-3; 73.8, 75.3; VIII, 22.14, 26.5.
17. *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

terrible shafts and deprecation of his wrath". It will be clear I, hope, from my description later that the adverb 'chiefly' in the above quotation needs to be dropped out. Gods may be requested or asked to divert their wrath from the worshipper, including the members of his family and even his belongings, animate or inanimate, without attributing to them malevolence proper. Thus, even such a highly moral God, the upholder of the Order, Varuna "is besought to divert his wrath from his worshippers" [18] by a sage of the Vasishtha family, which has contributed almost half of the total hymnal tribute exclusively to Varuna in the Rigveda. The family's devotion or attachment to Varuna is further testified by the fact that of the 40 or so hymns in which Varuna is addressed jointly with other deities no less than one-fourth are by the Vasishtha. Varuna and his frequent associate Mitra "afflict with disease those who neglect their worship".[19] Further, Varuna, too, can take away or prolong life and drive away death.[20] Prithvi and Dyaus are called upon by a sage to save "them" from the "rule of malignant Niriti".[21]

Kutsa,[22] a great favourite and almost an associate of Indra, addressing Rudra Kapardin, "one with the braided hair", calls upon him to see that it is all well with our cattle and our men" and that "in this village all be healthy and well fed." This close connection of Rudra with the village, i.e., the piece of land, settlement, and it's inhabitants may be noted. It tends to suggest that Rudra in his complex form is a local divinity, the deity of a site or spot. Kutsa speaks of Rudra, as the Bounteous one, Ruler of valiant men, as the wise, the wanderer, the impetuous one, and then appeals to him to see that "their families secure bliss and through his "favourable Grace" are protected from "the anger of the Gods". Then (5th stanza) speaking of Kapardin as 'red and dazzling' and as "the wild boar of the sky", Kutsa calls upon him "with reverence" to "grant them protection, shelter and a secure home", mentioning in particular "his hand filled full of sovran remedies". "The might of Rudra" Kutsa praises with a hymn which he describes as "more sweet than sweat". Addressing Rudra as "the Immortal One", "Amrita" he asks him to grant them usual food and to refrain from harming any human being, young or old, or injuring cows or studs. To clinch his appeal in an effective manner, as prayers to God commonly do, Kutsa promising to offer oblations to Rudra mentions his "favouring benevolence" and expresses a desire for his "saying help". Kutsa again im-

18. VII, 84.2.
19. Macdonell, p. 26; *RV*, I, 122.9.
20. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
21. *RV*, X, 36.2.
22. I, 114.

plores Rudra to be gracious and "to vounchsafe to him his doubly strong protection ('dwibarhas sarma')". Slaying of men (heroes) by Rudra is mentioned only as his activity "in the fury of wrath" (8th stanza).

While Kutsa has refrained from referring to Rudra's body or to his weapons, apart from a reference to his "dart that killeth men or cattle", Vasishtha begins his hymn to Rudra with his description as "one whose bow is firm, whose shafts fly swiftly, whose weapons are sharp-pointed, who is self-dependent, who is unconquered, and who is wise and a conqueror". Then Vasishtha speaks of Rudra's imperial sway, "samrajya", over all and invites him to his home bringing his medicines with him to "heal all sickness". Rudra's bright arrows flying on earth are again mentioned. Addressing him as "very gracious God", he has mentioned "his thousand medicines". Rudra is asked not only not to inflict harm on "them" and on their progeny but is also prayed for giving them *the strength and will to conduct sacrifices and acquire fame among the living.** It is noteworthy that the direct reference to his infliction of misery, distress and death is made when the sage thinks of Rudra in his wrath. He says[23]: "Slay us not, nor abandon us, O Rudra; when thou are angry".

One studying the Rigvedic delineation of Rudra cannot fail to notice a difference in the picture framed by sages of the Kanva family and that by Gritsamadas and even that presented by Vasishthas. There are a number of indications in the Rigveda that point to the Kanva family having been much more involved with the elite of the North-West, a testimony to which has survived in Panini's Sutra, VI, 1.153. The standard later exposition of the Sutra states that Prakanva from Praskanva, the name of a great sage of the Kanva family, was a country. It has been identified as the region occupied by a people named by the Greek historian, Herodotus, as "Parkanioi". Agrawala following Sten Konow has equated it with Ferghana, lying north of Kamboja. It is the so-called roof of the world being about 12000 ft. above sea level and studded with higher hills. As pointed out, Bharadvaja has addressed a short hymn to Soma-Rudra, the only one of its kind in the Rigveda. And it cannot be without significance that a region named Bharadvaja, presumably after the family, is mentioned by Panini and in the Mahabharata too. It is identified with Garhwal district of U.P., and is the home of such snow-clad giants as, Badrinath, Kedarnath, Nandadevi, Trisul, etc., the heart of the Himalayas. The provenance of these two families of sages, which, more or less, identify Rudra with Soma, is

* Italics mine and are intended to draw attention to Rudra's not being hostile to sacrifice as an institution.

23. VII, 46.4.

significant in view of the fact that Soma, the plant whose juice was so important in Vedic sacrifice, has been described in the Rigveda to be of Himalayan habitat and is so conceded to have been by competent Vedicists.[24]

Ghora Kanva dwells almost exclusively on the gracious, and beneficent aspect of Rudra conceived as the presiding deity of medicinal plants. It is in harmony with the view of Rudra taken by the sage that he should bring in both Mitra and Varuna as associates or companions of Rudra, when asking Rudra to remember the sage. He proclaims Rudra, who in his refulgence shines splendourously like the sun to be not only the good God but the best among them. He is the Lord not only of balmy medicines as stated by other sages, but also of hymns.* Rudra is not only strong but also "most bounteous and excellently wise". The sage, therefore, avows to sing a hymn "dearest to his (Rudra's) heart". He asks Rudra to grant "health and well-being to their steed, kine, ewes and rams" and to men and women.

Addressing Rudra as Soma the sage asks him to confer on them "the glory of a hundred men, the great renown of mighty chiefs". This request is almost unique in the Rigvedic poetry, having been made neither to Rudra anywhere nor to any other God of the pantheon. But it is made to Rudra as Soma.[25] This facet of the introduction of Rudra in the Rigvedic pantheon is represented very well by Bharadvaja in the 74th hymn of their family book, the sixth. The hymn is addressed conjointly to Soma-Rudra. Therein, Bharadvaja, too, asks for "excellent and happy glories". He clearly reveals further a facet of Rudra which is a rather rare element in the Rigvedic religion. He not only asks for the usual favour of Rudra's medicines for removing sickness from his household, bringing blessings to all including the quadrupeds, but also pleads that Rudra may be pleased to free "them from sins committed" and from those still "inherent in them". His final appeal is for "release from the noose of Varuna", the punisher of moral offenders, and thus to keep "them free from sorrow". The whole appeal introduced by a reference to Soma Rudra's "Godlike sway" is in later terminology Rudra's mild form, and to the offering of a sacrifice and ends it with insistence on Soma-Rudra's "kind and loving" nature, though armed with "keen, shafts and weapons".

It is interesting to note that, in both the hymns, I, 43 and VI, 74, in which Soma is associated with Rudra, the deity should have been asked to secure the hymner and his people freedom either from malignities with specification or from "Nirriti", whose "malignity" is mentioned in

24. Agrawala, pp. 50 & 61; Macdonell, pp. 110-113.
* Hymns had a close relation with sacrifice.
25. I, 43.1-7, 9.

another hymn.[26] In two passages of the X book,[27] the "Press-stones", the stones between which Soma is pressed, are requested to keep Nirriti distant. In VII, 104.9 Soma is invoked to send malignant and malevolent people to Nirriti. Thus, Soma appears to have control over Nirriti or malignity.

As opposed to Vishnu's being known as 'Yajnakrit' Rudra-Siva has received the epithet of 'Yajnahan', "destroyer of Sacrifice". It is, therefore, particularly significant to note that both Bharadvaja and Ghora Kanva, directly or impliedly assert Rudra's or Soma-Rudra's intimate relation with sacrifice. Bharadvaja in the very first stanza of his short hymn, the 7th hymn of the VI book, having only 4 stanzas, not only states that he has invoked Soma-Rudra to receive his sacrificial offerings but also has asked him to bring blessings by placing "seven treasures" in every house. It appears to me that the reference here is to sacrifice for whose performance seven priests, enumerated in Rigveda, II, 1.2 are necessary. Ghora Kanva more explicitly has spoken of Rudra as "Lord of sacrifice" ('Medhapati') and of hymn ('Gathapati').[28] Kutsa, too, has spoken of Rudra as "a perfector of sacrifice", "Yajnasadha".[29] Vamadeva has sung an extraordinary hymn (*RV*, IV, 3) addressed to Agni. The hymn is extraordinary because as Ludwig pointed out it breathes the spirit of the Atharva Veda[30] which speaks of "Agni Kravyad", "Fire, the corpse-eater", i.e., "Agni in his most terrific form, the God of Death who stupefies men with his thunderbolt.[31] Identifying Agni with Rudra or Rudra with Agni, he addresses him as "Rudra, Lord of Sacrifice ('adhvara rajan'), Priest ('hotar') and truthful Sacrificer ('satyayaja').[32]

It is seen that Rudra's positively beneficent and passively benevolent aspect is very much more brought into light in the four hymns dealt with—the two purely Rudra-hymns and one partially Rudra and one Soma-Rudra—than his destructive and evil-doing one. It is also seen that the latter aspect is preponderatingly brought out through positive appeals for freedom and security from his shafts. Only rarely, once or twice, is Rudra's favour solicited by asking him not to kill heroes or sons or progeny. Once his dart is described as 'Goghna' and 'purushaghna', 'cow-killer', 'man-killer'. When we turn to the hymn which Gritsamada has addressed to Rudra, II, 33, we find the atmosphere more charged with fear of Rudra's strike. The very first stanza ends with the

26. X, 36.2.
27. 36.4 and 76.4.
28. I, 43.4.
29. I, 114.4.
30. XII, 2.9.
31 Griffith, on *AV*, XII, 2.9.
32. *RV*, IV, 3.1.

expression of the wish to live long enough to leave progeny; then enmity and hatred against the hymner and his people are asked to be removed; the possibility of angering Rudra with ill praise and wrong worship is feared; malice of enemies is feared and Rudra is asked to keep the hymner and his people safe from it; then Rudra is asked to "turn his missile aside and spare us" and the wish is expressed that "the great wrath of the impetuous One avoid us".

On the background of such content the reference to "the splendid name of Rudra", to his cutting down of friends to pieces, or the praise of his graciousness and the characterization of it as "a shade in fervent sunlight" or the intensely tender metaphor of a son bending before his sire who greets him, to describe the hymner's attitude towards Rudra's approach sound like so much wishful flattery, gimcrack. The promise or offer of adorations, praises and gifts rather confirms the feeling. Rudra is asked to be praised no doubt but at the same time it is blandly stated that "the young, the famous, fierce [God] slays like a dread beast of the forest". In this connection Vamadeva's [33] characterization of Rudra as "nrighna", "man-killer", though he is thinking of Rudra as Agni, inspite of his describing him as the honoured one who gives oblations [blessings or gifts"] is not reassuring. And the sage himself, as it were, justifies our judgment when he asks "Where is that gracious hand of thou, Rudra, that deals in healthy medicines" (7th stanza). In the next stanza the sage has added another fear-inspiring epithet to characterize Rudra. That epithet is 'Kalmalikin', "burning" as Sayanacharya renders the expression, adding "Rudra is Mahadeva's lightest or fiery name". The following stanza enshrines not only two other epithets, "Ugra", "fierce or brilliant" and "Isana", "ruler", but also opens a fresh but mystifying vista of the God in the expression "multiform", "pururupa".

Rudra happens to be one of the very few Gods of the Rigveda whose lineaments in human terms are somewhat specified. But Rudra appears to have surpassed all the others in so far as his hairdo goes, which is in style the same as that of the God Pushan and not peculiar to him alone as Dr. R. N. Dandekar [34] implies. Even the Tristu people are described as "kapardins", wearing their hair in the same style as that of Rudra.[35] Not only are Rudra's arms and hands mentioned but his lips, too, have received due notice. He is described as "susipra", "one with beautiful lips or chin or jaw". He is described as wearing golden ornaments on his body, his neck being bedecked with a colourful

33. IV, 33.6.
34. *Journal of the University of Poona*, 1953, p. 97.
35. VII, 83.8.

necklace. His body colour is brown, ruddy.[36] He is also "svachit", i.e., "fair-complexioned" as Griffith following Sayanacharya renders it (*RV*, II, 33.8).

Rudra with this much of description surpasses Vishnu of the Rigveda or even of later Vedic age in the matter of personalization. Only Indra[37], besides Rudra has his chin or jaw described by the Rigvedic sages, Indra being called 'susipra' just as Rudra is and 'sipravan' or 'siprin', 'one having a (strong) chin or jaw. Rudra is 'self-glorious', 'svayasas'.[38] Varuna and Indra are often described as self-dependent,[39] i.e., 'svarajas' but apparently not as 'svayasas'. In I, 129.3 we have both Indra and Rudra mentioned in the verse and yet the adjectival word 'svayasas' goes only with Rudra. Rudra in X, 92.9 is described as 'svavan', "self-poised", 'self-composed' or 'self-possessed'. As no other Vedic deity is known to be so described we may legitimately see in the expression the source of 'Bhava', which, only a little later in the cultural history, is attested as one of the epithets applied to Rudra. Rudra is also characterized as 'Sivah', auspicious'.[40] Indra[41] appears to be the only other Rigvedic God who is described as "Sivah". Though Rudra is described as the "ruddy boar of heaven" and "destructive like a terrible beast" yet he is both "intelligent" and "wise" as well as "beneficient" and "bountiful". Above all Rudra's "wrath is fleeting" as the sage Kakshivan declared, "bringing sacrifice to bounteous Rudra".[42] The climax is met with in the following assertion of Bharadvaja[43]: "Rudra by day, Rudra by night we honour with these our songs, Universe's Father, Him great and lofty, blissful, undecaying, let us call especially as the sage impels us." Rudra's description as Universe's Father, "bhuvanasya pita", had its reverberations long and distant. For in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., Kalidasa, is the introductory bow at the commencement of his semi-epic poem *Raghuvamsa* describes "Parvati and Paramesvara", i.e., Siva's consort and Siva (Rudra of the Vedas), as "jagatah pitarau", "Universe's Parents"!

Rudra in the Rigveda and also the Atharvaveda is par excellence the possessor of balmy herbs, sovereign remedies against many a disease, not only of humans, but, it appears, of animals and beasts too. In VII, 5.6 a Vasistha sage has addressed or characterized Rudra as the Healer

36. II, 33.5, 8, 9, 15; I, 114.5. Macdonell, p. 74. Macdonell's statement at p. 55 that 'susipra' epithet is "almost peculiar to Indra" requires modification.
37. II, 12.6; III, 32.3; VI, 17.2, 44.14; VIII, 1.27, 32.24, 33.7, 55.2, 82.12.
38. I, 129.3; X, 92.9.
39. Macdonell, p. 24.
40 X, 92.9.
41. VI, 45.17; VII, 19.10.
42. Macdonell, p. 75; *RV*, I, 122.1.
43. *RV*, VI, 49.10.

Rudra. An Atreya sage, too, using the same epithet speaks of him as the "Lord of every balm that heals".[44] Gritsamada[45] has staked his living for hundred years on Rudra "most saving medicines" and proclaiming him to be the best of physicians has asked him to "incite our heroes with strengthening balms". Another sage speaks of him as the "lord of hymns and balmy medicines", another asserting that his "hand is full of sovereign medicines".[46] While a Kanva sage is content to state that Rudra has "healing medicines", a Bharadvaja sage directly calls upon Rudra to "provide all needed medicines" and a Vasishtha one asks him "to heal all sickness in our families", asserting that Rudra has "thousand medicines".[47] Thus the image of Rudra that stands out in the Rigveda is that of a healer God who is or can be a great killer.

A still more outstanding attribute of Rudra, one that clearly sets him apart from the great Gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, is that his weapon is a powerful bow and sharp piercing arrow, and he is a master archer discharging his arrows swiftly, construably killing his targets unerringly. Only the Maruts, his sons as the Rigveda asserts, and Indra wield the bow; and that, too, very infrequently or rather exceptionally and rarely. We read: "Praise him [Rudra] whose bow is strong and sure his arrow", "Rudra has a bow which is firm and strong" (Rudra is 'sthiradhanvan'); "Worthy thou carriest thy bow and arrows... Turn thy strong bow from our princes".[43] He is invoked, being addressed as "strong", along with the typical mythical or astral archers, Krisanu and Tishya, and is described as "mighty" and "ruler of the brave".[49] Finally, I may mention that even the sublime and peace-loving Logos "Vak", is prompted to proclaim through her own helping activity the greatness, or rather uniqueness, of Rudra's bow. For she says, "I bend the bow for Rudra that his arrow may strike and slay the hater of devotion".[50]

In an important but rather laconic hymn,[51] the deity of which according to tradition is Kesins, the "Hairy Ones", evidently because all the four strophes of the first, and the 3rd strophes of the last two stanzas open with the word Kesin, Rudra figures in its last stanza as associating with them. The word Muni, which is, as in later usage, interpreted to mean an "ascetic in a state of ecstasy", occurs thrice and its derivative, "mauneya", "munihood" once in it. In the 2nd stanza we are informed

44. V, 42.11.
45. II, 33.2, 4.
46. I, 114.5; 43.4.
47. VIII, 49.4; VI, 74.3; VIII, 46.3.
48. V, 42.11; VII, 46.1; II, 33.10, 14.
49. X, 64.8; 92.9.
50. X, 124.6.
51. I, 23.

that Munis, called "Vatarasanah", "girdled with the wind", go or can go, with the wind's swift course, where the Gods have gone before. The expression Vatarasanah cannot be interpreted to mean naked for we are told in the same stanza that they were yellow and soiled garments. Roth's comment made a century ago, as quoted from Muir by Griffith, is so pertinent and succinct that its summary is enough to convey the importance and significance of the hymn: (1) The hymn testifies to the conception that by a life of sanctity a person becomes a Muni; (2) A Muni can travel anywhere among the wild beasts or among the celestial Gandharvas and Apsarases, from the eastern ocean to the western, assuming various forms; (3) A Muni can attain to the fellowship of Gods and "associate with them in the holy work of every God"; (4) A Muni wears his hair long and wears yellow and soiled garments. These Munis were, as stated above, called 'Vatarasanah'. The last stanza, in which Rudra figures as the associate of the Kesins, states that when a Kesin has drunk with Rudra "water" from the same pot he can use Vayu to bend the hardest thing, i.e., has or acquires extraordinary strength.

It may be mentioned that in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*[52] 'Vatarasanah' figures as one of the five groups of sages that emerged from the shaking body of Prajapati in the act of creation. They alone are described as "Urdhvamanthin" or "Urdhvaretas", i.e., as one whose sexual impulse is under his complete and perfect control.

This glorification of Vatarasana Munis in the Rigveda, implying some kind of severe austerities and predicating of them the achievement of godly power as a consequence is also noticeable in a rather queer hymn whose main topic is the seduction of a Brahmin's wife. In Rigveda X, 109.5 we see the glorification of Brahmacharin, "religious student" as Griffith has it, or "student who has completed his Vedic studies and is observing the vow of chastity" as perhaps it ought to be understood. The passage reads: "The Brahmachari goes engaged in duty: he is a member of the Gods' own body".

'Tapas', 'religious fervour' as Griffith puts it or "penance or austerities" as it should better be rendered, is mentioned in the Rigveda at least in five hymns of the X book. Indra-Manyu is said to have killed Vritra and to have the power to kill foes and to help friends owing to his "penance", 'tapas'.[53] Hymn numbered 154th of the book, a funeral one, of which Yami the sister of Yama, the Ruler of the World of Fathers, is traditionally the composer, is quite positive evidence that "tapas", "penance or austerities" was considered to be a means of attaining heaven or quite high status in the other world. The word, whether by

52. II, 7.
53. 83, 84 and 167.

itself or as suffixed with some adjunct ['tapasvat', 'tapoja'] occurs at least six times in this short hymn of five short stanzas. That the after-death fate of those who practise penance or austerities here was conceived to be as glorious as that of warriors dying in battles is reliable testimony to the high value placed on the practice of penance or austerities in the Rigvedic society. Hymn 183 of the X book is traditionally construed as a dialogue between a sacrificer and his wife regarding procreation. The husband starts the talk with the statement that his wife was already mentally concerned with what resulted from fervour (tapas) and how it developed, meaning a reference to the Creation by Prajapati through Fervour, "tapas". The origin of Creation through Fervour, 'tapas' forms the subject of Rigveda, X, 190, i.e., the last but one hymn. It asserts that from Fervour, 'tapas', were first born both Eternal Law, 'rita', and Truth, 'satya', and that other creation emanated thereafter. We see that 'tapas' in late Rigvedic period, though not associated directly with Brahmachari or Muni, was quite definitely considered to be capable of bestowing extraordinary powers and benefit on any one who practised it.

To enable the reader to evaluate correctly I shall draw his attention to the existence of another "race" of ascetics known to the Rigvedic society. Two Kanva sages, Medhyatithi and Vatsa have testified to this, the former informing us that Indra had helped not only the sages Praskanva and Bhrigu but also the "Yatis", and the latter that the "Yatis" had praised Indra.[54] Griffith has correctly noted that the Yatis were "an ancient race of ascetics". In another hymn the hymner has gone further and has asserted that the Gods caused all existing things to grow as did the "Yatis".[55] Yatis in this passage figure as Creators! The continuity of the special kind of "endeavour"—'yat' means to strive—which was Yati's privilege, is demonstrated in the use of the words 'yat' and derivative 'yati' by Lord Krishna in the Bhagavadgita to describe his own 'Yoga'-philosophy and the philosopher 'Yogi'. 'Yati' occurs in the negative noun 'ayati'[56] and the verb is used in its participle-form in B.G. II, 60 and VII, 3. "Muni" too, continued down the ages to be used as frequently, if not more, as 'yati' by Lord Krishna.[57]

The Atharvaveda, which along with its many charms carries a number of hymns which bespeak continuation of many of the speculations of the hymners of the X book of the Rigveda, in the 5th hymn of its XI book has glorified the Brahmachari not only in greater detail but also in greater intensity. We find in the hymn 'fervour' or 'austerities', 'tapas', as the source of his power and greatness. In addition, we find there

54. VIII, 3.9; 6.18.
55. X, 72.7.
56. *BG*, VI, 26, 37.
57. *BG*, II, 56 and 69; V, 6; X, 37.

self-restraint as Brahmachari's possession and treated as a twin companion of 'fervour'. With these two means, 'fervour' and 'self-restraint', the Gods are said to have conquered Death and Indra to have brought "heaven's lustre to the deities". The Brahmachari through his 'fervour' and 'self-restraint' is said to be so great that not only has he participated in the act of Creation but he even "wields the radiant Brahma [mark the concept of neuter Brahma!] wherein all Gods are woven close together" (St. 24). What is particularly important for us, in the context of 'tapas' and its content and technique, is that the Brahmachari is said to "create breath, inhaling and exhaling", too, and is described as "practising his hot devotion [standing] in sea", as shining "brown and yellow-hued". These are the precise traits of ascetics and 'yogis', persons engaged in 'yogic' postures calculated to endow them with extraordinary occult powers.

Though in this hymn only two kinds of breaths are mentioned Atharvaveda [58] knows at least five: (1) in-breath; (2) out-breath; (3) spiration upward; (4) spiration diffused or 'general pervading air' and (5) 'downward breath'. In the Yajurveda,[59] nine vital airs or breaths, 'pranas', are recognised. The special significance of the recognition of five breaths or vital airs, the control of which in essence constitutes Yoga, one successful in complete control being called 'Yogi', is that hymn fourth of the XI book, with twenty-six stanzas, is devoted to Prana, Vital Air or Breath, as Prajapati or the Lord of Creation. It is further noteworthy that Atman or Living Being, is, in the fashion of the later Upanishad [60] said to lie embedded in the nine-petalled Lotus Flower [61] and Skambha, the mighty Being is said to be "on the water's" surface situated at the centre of the world, absorbed in Fervour, tapas".[62] Thus here is a pre-visage of the image of Vishnu Seshasayi as portrayed by Kalidasa 1000 to 1200 years later in his *Raghuvamsa*, deeply engaged in Yoga sleep and already adumbrated or implied in the Rigveda as pointed out in the chapter on Vishnu.

The careful cutting of the sacrificial animal had fairly early led the helpers at sacrifices to a very full knowledge of the anatomy of the animal body. The taste thus cultivated must have excited the curiosity, pure and simple almost, to study the anatomy of man quite early. Anyway we have a fairly complete and comprehensive description or listing of the parts of the human body in the Atharvaveda, the second hymn of the X book of which is acknowledged to have "enumerated many parts

58. XI, 8.4 and X, 2.13.
59. *Tait, Sam.; Vedic Index,* Prana.
60. *Chand. Up.,* VIII. 1-3.
61. *AV,* X, 8.43.
62. X, 7.36, 36-38.

of the human body with some approach to accuracy and orderly arrangement".[63] The same Veda records the vertebral column, the lumbar or thoracic portion of the spine; and the *Satapatha Brahmana* enumerates the transverse processes which together count up to "twenty-six vertebrae, the true number" according to modern Anatomy (*ibid*). The same text, it is instructive to note, dilating on the conception of Mahendra, speaks of the "Madhya Prana", 'Chief Vital Air', as enkindling others through the sense organs, and of the 'pranas' as a whole group as 'Rishis', 'Sages'. It further asserts that "the invisible Prana incarnated in the body, is Indra".[64] Prana as an anatomical constituent of the head along with 'eye', 'ear' and 'speech', occurring in the *Maitrayani Samhita* of the Yajurveda implies not only interest in 'prana' as an important element but also the probability of the doctrine that one of the one-hundred-and-one 'nadis', veins and arteries branching off from the heart penetrating to the crown of the head being believed in, as the slightly later Vedic text, the *Katha Upanishad*[65] declares.

That the 'nadis', veins and arteries, were distinguished as an anatomico-physiological element of the human body much earlier is rendered probable by the mention of 'nadi', vein, in the Atharvaveda.[66] The *Brihadaranyaka Up.*[67] mentions the number of one type, the 'Hita', 'beneficent', of 'nadis', starting from the heart and ending in the rectum, to be seventy-two thousand and specifies both their diameter and their colours. The *Chhandogya Up.*[68] without any reference to the number of 'nadis' but harping on their colours, propounds that some of them at least somehow mysteriously reach up to the Sun world. The 'nadi'-theory of the *Katha* recurs in the *Tait. Up.*[69] with the introduction of the uvula as the organ through which the 'nadis' proceed to the suture of the skull. The *Prasna Up.*[70] appears to combine the nadi-doctrine of the *Brihadaranyaka*, the *Chhandogya* and the *Katha* upanishads; for it states that the one hundred 'nadis' lying in the heart are themselves groups of nadis, the total of all of them coming to be the same as that mentioned in the *Brih. Up.*, viz., 72000. It further speaks of the distribution of the five 'pranas' among the 'nadis' and in particular specifies the 'nadi' and the 'prana' that can lead to salvation. The passage of the *Katha Up.* referred to above makes it quite explicit that if one's

63. *Vedic Index:* Sarira.
64. *Sat. Br.* VI, 1.1-2; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-97.
65. II, 6.
66. VI, 138.4; X, 7.15 & 16.
67. II, 1.17-20; IV, 3.19-20.
68. VIII, 6.
69. I, 6.1.
70. III, 2-12.

life-breath can be made to depart through the 'nadi' that penetrate to the skull-suture one is sure to achieve utter salvation. The stage was thus well set for the cultivation and practice of what is called 'Yoga'.

From the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*,[71] which glorifies Rudra, characterized as 'Maharshi', 'Great Sage', and sings his greatness under various epithets like Maheswara, Siva, Hara, we can see that the description of physical postures known as Yoga were already formed. We are proudly informed of the psycho-physical benefits and powers that are believed to result from the practice of Yoga.[72] Panini's work testifies to the full currency of 'tapas', 'Yoga' and asceticism from sometimes at least before him. As V. S. Agrawala[73] has concluded, the use of the word 'Yoga', taken with such words as 'danta', 'santa', 'tapasvin', 'sami', 'viveki' and 'tyagi', "points to Yoga as a system of spiritual description having been known".

To resume our study of Rudra-Siva, from among the hymns of the Atharvaveda[74] which carry on the speculating tradition of the Rigveda, I shall here refer to only one, the most significant for our study of the development of the Rigvedic Rudra into the Epic, Rudra-Siva. The hymn numbered seven of the X book may be called the Skambha hymn, as the Supreme Being whose concept is described in the hymn is called Skambha in it. Skambha means 'pillar' or 'post', the same as 'stambha', for which another Rigvedic equivalent is 'sthuna' and also 'sthanu', these latter two words being formed from the root 'stha'. Sthanu happens to be one of the epithets of Epic Rudra-Siva, occurring perhaps for the first time in the *Sauptika Parvan* of the Mahabharata[75] or in the Ramayana,[76] and made famous by Kalidasa who invokes Siva under that name at the outset of his play *Vikramervasiya*.

It is further of interest to note in this connection the origin or justification of Siva-phallus worship offered in the Dronaparvan of the epic a book well known for varied glorification of Siva.[77] Siva as the Supreme archer and master of military science and art in epic tradition figures as the teacher of Parasurama; and Drona received his military training from Parasurama. Bhishma, too, was a disciple of Parasurama and Arjuna acquired some special missiles from Siva, by practising penance and propitiating him. If Siva is lauded in extravagant terms in the book we need not wonder at all. However this natural situation is overpassed and we are not only exhorted on the need and extreme utility of reciting

71. II, 8-15.
72. II, 13-15.
73. *Op. cit.*, p. 382.
74. X, 7.
75. X, 7.2-6.
76. I, 22.11; 23.10.
77. *Mbh.*, VII, 166, 72; 173, 84-89.

the Satarudriya, a section of the Yajurveda devoted to the laudation of Rudra under various names and forms, which include quite a number of very unsavoury and nondescript ones, but are instructed on the origin and status of Siva-phallus worship. Quite justly and very appropriately Dr. Sushil Kumar De,[78] the editor of the 'Parvan' in the critical edition of the Great Epic published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, has observed, "This is perhaps the earliest recorded reference to the linga-worship in which the Epic Siva is conceived as a phallic deity". The epic coins an etymological-looking explanation of the epithet 'Sthanu' thus: "Siva is called Sthanu because his phallus stands erect ('sthita')"; Siva, it further states, likes, therefore, to be worshipped in the form of the standing up phallus"!

That the explanation of the epithet 'Sthanu' as applied to Rudra and Siva offered in the passage above referred to is not a correct one but is specially devised to fit in with the then current practice of phallus-worship among the elite is amply proved by the fact that in the garland of thousand names of Vishnu we find not only Sthanu but also "Sasvat Sthanu", "eternal sthanu", "Sthavara Sthanu", "stable Sthanu" as his epithets.

There was almost a spate of explanations or justifications of the Siva-phallus worship, which, it appears, was on the way to becoming a very common practice during the later years of the period in which the present Mahabharata was being compiled. For there is still another and very much more aggressively self-violent explanation of the origin of "linga"-worship offered in the Sauptika parvan itself and that too through Krishna himself.[79] Krishna has to explain to his audience how it was that single Asvathaman, the son of Drona, could in one night dispose of an extra-ordinarily large number of the warriors and near-relatives of the Pandavas. He accomplishes his task by laying it to the credit of Siva's great power and his special favour on Asvathaman. In that connection he tells them how Rudra when irrate had cut off his own phallus, 'linga', and had pelted it at the first creation or Creator (?) and how it stood erect in the ground. Creator, 'Pitamaha' or 'Brahma' having created Rudra had asked him to proceed with creation forthwith; but Rudra having thought it necessary to fortify himself through austerities resorted to penance. He tarried so long that Brahma having got tired of waiting created another Creator (Rudra ?), who proceeding with his task of creation forthwith completed it soon. In the meanwhile the elder Rudra, who had gone into austerities, returned. Finding all well and hearty the first Rudra got irrate and did what is narrated above. Feel-

78. *Ibid.*, 172.86-90, 173.84.
79. *Mbh.*, X, 17.

ing frustrated at his being cheated out of his creative role Rudra departed to the mountain Munjavat to practise austerities.

In this episode we are presented not only with the origin of Siva-phallus worship but also with another important facet of Rudra-Siva complex, viz., Siva's being thought of and presented as an ascetic immersed in austerities and Yogic meditation.

This ascetic facet of Rudra-Siva complex was already projected in a mystic manner in the person and activity of Eka Vratya in the XV book of the Atharvaveda. Eka Vratya, is described as a roaming individual who roused Prajapati to action, i.e., as the Supreme Being who set the activity of creation into operation. He became not only the Chief of Vratyas, i.e., persons who lived a life of discipline not covered by the Brahmanical pattern, but also Mahadeva and Isana. His identification with Rudra becomes still clearer when we are told about his having held a bow in hand. His having stood apart standing erect for a whole year (3rd hymn) pre-visages the situation posted partly in the Mahabharata account mentioned above and more or less completed in another episode narrated in the same book, the Sauptika[80] parvan, viz., that regarding the bow. His identification with Rudra under the new epithets of that God which figure in the 2nd hymn of the X book of the Atharvaveda and also in the Satarudriya section of the Yajurveda is made in a round about manner in the 5th hymn of the Vratya book of the Atharvaveda.

No student of Vedic literature can fail to notice the important fact that the Atharvaveda[81] records the rise or incorporation of deities not known in the Rigvedic pantheon, many of which are abstract notions of psycho-metaphysical import like 'Kala', 'Time' and 'Kama' "Passion" or "Desire". One deity, deification of Sacrificial Residue, glorified in XI, 7, is of special significance. The second hymn of the XI book is a praise of and prayer to Rudra directly and to Him under three of his new epithets, Bhava, Sarva and Pasupati, anthropomorphyzing Rudra. Rudra is not only a mighty archer, but has thousand eyes, is long-haired with long-haired followers, drives in a chariot drawn by brown horses. His bow is of gold and his shafts fly forward and far. In addition he bears a club as his weapon, Cough and Fever being his other weapons. He has "dogs with mighty mouths, hounds terrible with bark and howl, who gorge unmasticated food".[82] It is noteworthy that Rudra's dogs do not appear to be known in the mythology about Siva gleaned from the Epics and the Puranas.[83]

80. *Mbh.*, X, 18.
81. IX, 2; XIX 52-54.
82. XI, 2.30.
83. Vide Chitrav's *Prachina Charitrakosa,* "Rudra".

Siva's bow, mentioned earlier, is described as so big that the kings of the time were scared away at its sight in despair of their being unable to string it up. Rama treated it very lightly and broke it in two while stringing it as Ramayana narrates.[84] The Mahabharata[85] apprises us of the fact of the bow having been created by Rudra himself to attack the Gods who had forgotten to assign him a sacrificial portion. The epic informs us that it was five 'kishkus' long. According as one equates a 'Kishku' the bow would have been 10 to 14 feet in length.[86] The Atharva-veda in describing Rudra as the chief Vratya or Ekavratya as holding "a bow, even that Bow of Indra"[87] had clearly provided the later tradi-tionalists with the idea of the hugeness of the bow of Rudra; and in the sixth hymn of the same book of that Veda the bow endowment of Rudra is particularly emphasized. In it we are told that Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Rudra and Isana, all epithets of the one God Rudra-Siva, were able archers. These are six of the eight principal epithets of this God. The hymn mentions Mahadeva, out of the two remaining epithets, the other being Bhima, but says nothing about the bow in relation to him. Of these epithets those that figure most in the Atharvaveda and Bhava, Rudra, Pasupati and Sarva.[88]

Though five of the separately named seven aspects of Rudra, viz., Bhava, Pasupati, Sarva, Ugra and Rudra are described as archers in the abovementioned hymn[89] yet we find the same hymn ascribing the big bow of Indra to Ekavratya, i.e., Rudra.[90] In hymn 2 of the XI book in which only Rudra, Bhava and Sarva and passingly Pasupati figure, only Rudra stands as the bowman and is even likened to a hunter and Rudra is called "the mighty archer".[91] The 28th hymn of the IV book is a "hymn of praise and prayer to Bhava and Sarva; and both of them are described as "famed as the best and skilfullest of archers... the strike of whose destroying weapon not one among the Gods or men can escape". Of the two charms against poison, contained in hymns 90 and 93 of the VI book, one with three stanzas speaks only of Rudra and "the arrow that left his bow" and of "worship to the archer Rudra". The other hymn, the 93rd with three stanzas, invokes not only Bhava and Sarva, the Destroyer, but also All-Gods, Maruts, Varuna, Agni, Soma, Vata and Parjanya, in the last stanza. In the first two stanzas Sarva is

84. I, 66.9.
85. X, 18.
86. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
87. *AV*, XV, 1.
88. A rough count of epithets occurring in six hymns; IV, 28; VI, 93; X, 1; XI 2 and 6 and XV 5 yields the respective numbers as 17, 12, 9 and 8.
89. *AV*, XV, 5.
90. *Ibid.*, 1.
91. XV, 70.13.

called the "tawny archer" or merely "archer" but both he and Bhava are offered worship and called on to prevent the poison.

The Yajurveda—*Vaj. Sam.* and *Tait. Sam.*—evidently have in view only Rudra as archer, his bow being glorified and paid homage to. The *Tait. Sam.*[92] invokes the bow of Rudra in the ritual of the "Piling of the Fire Atar", five times, Rudra being mentioned ten times in the passage. The Satarudriya litany of the *Tait. Sam.*[93] begins with a homage not only to Rudra's wrath but also to his arms, to his bow and to his arrows, both these latter being described as kindly, as the aspect of Rudra of "auspicious look" appealed to being the beneficent and kind one. He is described as "the liver on the mountains" as the "haunter of mountains" and also as the "guardian of mountains", the "turbaned wanderer on on the mountain". Homage is paid to the bow and also to "Rudra with bent [strung] bow". Both Bhava and Sarva, on the other hand, are paid homage to without any mention of bow or arrow and that, too, only once or twice and in the company of Rudra. The XVI book of the *Vaj. Sam.* forming the Satarudriya litany begins more or less in the same manner. Only reference to Rudra's bow is rather indirect, his shaft, and particularly shaft ready to be shot taking its place. And his mountain connection stands out more prominently and at the very outset. He, as Nilakantha, is prayed for unstringing his bow and the unstrung bow as "stringless bow" is referred to as Kapardin's bow. The reference to bow, the appeal to unstring it and the description of unstrung bow and to the fierce weapons of Rudra, Nilakantha, Devesa (?), Kapardin, Midhvas occupy seven stanzas. Bhava and Sarva are paid homage only once, Rudra, Pasupati, Nilagriva, too, figuring along with them. In the next stanza homage is paid to "him with the braided hair", to "him with shaven hair", to "the thousand eyed", and to "him with a hundred bows", to the "mountain haunter", to "Sipivishta" and "to the most bountiful, armed with arrows". In the tale of incest by Prajapati as narrated in the *Maitrayani Samhita* of the Yajurveda, Rudra figures. When Prajapati approached his daughter Ushas with lustful intention she transformed herself into a gazelle. Rudra was incensed at this action of Prajapati and aimed his arrow at Prajapati. Prajapati mollified Rudra and prevented him from shooting by promising Rudra to make "lord of beasts".[94] In the Brahamanas, the Aitareya and the Satapatha, though the asterism Rohini takes the place of Ushas in the tale of incest by Prajapati, Rudra figures as the chastiser. Not only does Rudra discharge his arrow at Prajapati but the arrow actually gets stuck into Prajapati's body and Rudra comes to be known as Mrigavyadha,

92. Keith's trans. p. 446, V, 5.6.
93. IV, 5; Keith's trans. p. 353.
94. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

equated with the bright star Sirius in the constellation Orion, its belt, the three stars, representing the three piece arrow of the Vedic story.[95]

We may conclude from this statement about the bow, direct or indirect, that the elite who sponsored the Atharvaveda had among them groups that worshipped deities more or less akin to Rudra of the Rigveda, named Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Isana and Mahadeva. While incorporating these deities into the Vedic pantheon the sponsoring elite were desirous of raising their God Sarva, who as his name indicates was the destroyer par excellence, to equality with or even to higher status than the Rigvedic Rudra in the matter of wielding the bow. But they could or would not reduce Rudra. In the event Sarva figures as an archer second to Rudra though superior to Bhava. Other elites not committed to the Atharvavedic culture complex, it appears, ignored the claim of Bhava and even Sarva to the position of master archer and continued to treat Rudra as the lonely master archer. The *Satapatha Brahmana*[96] clinches the issue by blandly stating in almost the same terms as those used in the case of Sarva's might as an archer in the Atharvaveda[97] that "Even the gods were afraid of the strung bow and the arrows of Rudra lest he should destroy them".[98] The action of the elites kept the later Vedic Rudra in his Rigvedic position as the great archer and enabled the tradition to be incorporated in the Epic Siva. A *Brahmana* passage quoted at *Tait. Aranyaka*, I, 6, in connection with some recommendation or regulation regarding Pravargya rite substantiates the fact of the common acceptance of Rudra's having a huge bow. One end of the strung bow when the other rested on the ground reached so high that Rudra is described as having rested his neck on it. The string having gone off Rudra's head was cast away. It is further stated, in the usual mysterious fashion of the ritual literature, that one who knows the origin of the rite to have been this does not suffer from Rudra's wrath.

The position of the hymn of the Atharvaveda[99] which glorifies and deifies the Residue of Sacrifice deserves to be carefully noted in view of the fact that in the later Vedic age Rudra had come to be recognised as the rightful claimant of whatever was left at a sacrifice as A. B. Keith[100] has observed. The assignment of the Sacrificial Residue to Rudra, even if it were not deified and glorified as it is in the Atharvaveda, need not have led to a belief that he was denied a share in the regular sacrificial oblations. Both in the *Tait. Sam.* and in the *Vaj. Sam.* of the Yajurveda

95. *Ait. Br.* III, 33.
96. IX, 1.1.1-6 and Macdonell, p. 76.
97. XI, 2.2 and 5.
98. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
99. XI, 7.
100. *Rigveda Brahmanas*, p. 25.

we find not only Rudra but also Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati and Mahadeva assigned specific parts of the sacrificed animal.[101]

A. B. Keith[102] comparing the Vedic sacrificial practice and the Greek ritual observes: "It is characteristic of the offering that the blood is assigned to the Rakshasas and not used in worship of the high gods as normally in Greek ritual. In the *Taittiriya Samhita* in one passage (I, 4.36) it is assigned to Rudra, but this is unusual, though very probably the fear of the blood is a later development". Macdonell[103] has referred to an *Ait. Br.*[104] passage which states that the blood of the sacrificed animal is to be poured out to demons as their share of the sacrifice. It may be pointed out that even in the passage mentioned by Keith, Rudra receives blood after first sharing some organic or fleshy part not properly identifiable, as he invoked twice. In the same passage to at least four of Rudra's other aspects or Rudra under four of his epithets, Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati and Mahadeva, some specific parts of the animal are enjoined to be offered. At the Rajagaviya 'homa', according to the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*,[105] the same distribution is prescribed. It is in keeping with this that in the Grihyarite of Spit-ox in honour of Rudra the prescription laid down by Asvalayana[106] allots the blood of the sacrificed bull, running on the ground, to serpents. According to the *Paraskara Grihya Sutra*,[107] the blood of the animal was to be offered to the "hosts of Rudra", "Rudraganas". With the glorification of the sacrificial Residue one cannot suggest or hold that Rudra was a deity kept outside the institutional practice of sacrifice in early and late Vedic society.

The Satarudriya litanies of the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* and of the *Taittariya Samhita* of the Yajurveda, which are more or less similar, add between them some very queer features and reveal some bizarre aspects of the Rudra image as conceived among the elite guardians of the Yajurvedic school of Vedic tradition. They repeat most of the contents of the Rigvedic tradition about Rudra, the former adding very little either to the auspicious and benevolent aspect or to the violent and destructive one. The latter banking much more on the first aspect punctuates the appeal very carefully, feelingly and frequently, for laying away his weapons etc., in short, for mercy.

The new aspects revealed in both tend to approximate Rudra to Vasto-

101. I, 4.36 and XXXIX, 8-9 respectively.
102. *Tait. Sam.*, trans., p. cvi.
103. *Op. cit.*, p. 76.
104. II, 7.
105. III, 21.
106. IV, 8.
107. III, 8.

shpati, Lord of the Dwelling.[108] Rudra is also approximated to the Rigvedic Kshetrapati.[109] This is in keeping with the total attitude of the *Tait. Sam.* to Rudra as a deity of localities, sites, places, in short as a local deity, there being at least twenty references to this aspect of the deity in it as contrasted with only one or two in the *Vajasaneyi-Samhita.*[110]

Another new feature, quite significant in the context of Epic-historic Siva being conceived as living on cremation grounds, is Rudra's association with Yama, the God of Death in Epic and Puranic mythology. A *Tait. Sam.*[111] passage reads: "Homage to him who dwelleth with Yama," while the *Vaj. Sam.*[112] has: "Homage to him who is allied to Yama". In the Rigveda, Yama is said to have his two dogs that are guardians and messengers and Yama is besought to deliver the dead man to them so that they can take him to join the fathers.[113] The Atharvaveda[114] as we saw, provides Rudra with mighty howling dogs that eat up without masticating, i.e., that are very terrific and horrid. The Yajurveda image of Rudra presents him not only as a mountaineer and a hunter but also provides him quite logically with dogs as homage is paid[115] to Rudra as master and leader of dogs.

The association with charioteers, carpenters, potters and Nishidas and Punjishthas predicated in both the Samhitas[116] shows Rudra as a deity of the common people, artisans, autochthones and mixed groups. The invocation of the deity as the Lord of robbers is a special feature of the image, presented in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita*,[117] in a more blatant form than in the *Taittiriya*[118] text. And it is the most bizarre aspect which fortunately does not inhere in Epic-historic Siva.

Another strange-looking facet of Rudra presented in these texts, however, is like a preview of Epic-historic Siva. Both the texts pay homage in almost identical words, to him as "the deformed" as well as the "omniform".[119] Epic-historic Siva has three eyes and is called "Virupaksha" on that account, as well as 'straight-forwardly "Trilochana"!

Lastly Rudra's association with Soma brought out in these texts is

108. *Vaj. Sam.* XVI, 39 and *Tait Sam.,* IV, 5.7 and 9.
109. *VS,* XVI, 33 and *TS,* IV, 5.20, 6.
110. XVI, 37-38.
111. IV, 5.6.
112. XVI, 33.
113. Macdonell, *op. cit.,* p. 173.
114. XI, 2.30.
115. *Vaj. Sam.* XVI, 28 and *Tait Sam.* IV, 48.
116. *VS,* XVI, 26-27; *T.S.,* IV, 4 and 20.
117. XVI, 21, 22, 25.
118. IV, 5.4.
119. *VS,* XVI, 25; *TS,* IV, 5.4 ff.

a sort of an extended commentary on his Rigvedic invocation jointly with Soma.[120] In the Yajurveda,[121] Rudra is addressed as Lord of Soma juice and entreated not to destroy children or beasts nor to strike anything with sickness. Homage is paid to Soma and to Rudra in one breath.[122] Later Soma came to be identified with Indu, the moon; and we may not unreasonably trace Epic Siva's image as Chandramauli or Chandrasekhara to the early Vedic trend to associate Soma with Rudra. Even in Vedic literature, quite explicity the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda, the *Ait. Br.* and the *Sat. Br.* Soma figures as identified with the moon. As regards the situation in the Rigveda, Macdonell[123] observes: "A large number of scholars agree that even in a few of the latest hymns of the Rigveda (in the first and tenth books) Soma is already identified with the moon. ... The Soma nature of the moon being referred to [therein] as a secret known to Brahmans only, shows that it cannot yet have been a popular notion ... Hillebrant, however, in his *Vedische Mythologie* ... [even] asserts that in the whole of the IX book [of the RV] Soma is the moon".

Two of the three or four demon-killing exploits, for which Epic-historic Siva is famed, figure as Rudra's achievements in the Vedas. The *Atharvaveda*[124] speaks of Rudra as the "slaughterer of Ardhaka [Ardhaka]". The Yajurveda in its *Tait. Sam.*[125] records another famous exploit which is sung in the panegyrics of Epic Siva. The Asuras, demons, we are told, were fighting the Gods stationing themselves in three citadels, one of iron, another of silver, and the third of gold. The gods unable to defeat them by themselves commissioned Rudra, as he was the "cruel" god, to storm the citadels, providing him with a special arrow, compounded of Agni, Soma and Vishnu". Rudra agreed to do the job on receiving his charter as the "overlord of animals" (Bhutapati). He then shot the arrow and "cleft the three citadels and drove the Asuras away". This episode clearly underlies the mythology that Epic tradition has woven round Siva as Tripurantaka, Destroyer of Tripura.

The six new appellations occurring in the Atharvaveda, which are mentioned above as epithets of Rudra, were in reality some specific aspects of the deity as conceived among some tribes which it was the desire of the elite to incorporate in a deity of the Rigvedic pantheon when integration and incorporation of these tribes under one administration and as members of one socio-economic community had begun

120. *RV*, I, 43; VI, 74.
121. XVI, 47.
122. *VS*, XVI, 39, 47; *TS*, IV, 5.8a and 10a.
123. *Op. cit.*, pp. 107, 112-13.
124. XI, 2.7.
125. VI, 2.3.

in the middle Vedic age. Perhaps they represented so many deities. These six deity-epithets added to Rudra soon must have acquired high respectability and almost universal acceptance. For we find a tale in the *Kaushitaki Brahmana*[126] that Agni asked of Prajapati and got, eight names among which figure all the seven, viz., Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra (deva), Mahadeva, Rudra and Isana, under which the Atharvaveda glorifies Rudra. Asani, 'lightning' the eighth is the only one which is absent from Rudra's epithets. It is well known that in early Vedic literature Agni is often identified with Rudra or Rudra with Agni.[127] And in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita*,[128] Agni, Bhava, Sarva, Isana, Mahadeva, Ugradeva are enumerated as names of one god. The names under which the animal sacrifice called 'Spit-Ox', "sulagava", of which I have spoken in another chapter, was offered to Rudra were exactly the very eight which are said to have been acquired by Agni from Prajapati, according to *Paraskara Grihya Sutra*.[129] But according to the *Baudhayana* and *Hiranyakesi Griha Sutras* the oblations in this sacrifice were to be offered to, (1) Bhava, (2) Sarva, (3) Isana, (4) Pasupati, (5) Rudra, (6) Ugra, (7) Bhima and (8) Mahadeva. Thus Bhima supplanted Asani of the Agni names listed above. Though in the Sulagava sacrifice as presented in the *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra*[130] twelve names of Rudra figure, among which occur Mrida, Hara, Siva and Samkara, Rudra got provided with only eight names, which paraphernalia later led to Rudra's being dubbed 'Ashtamurti', "Eight-formed". It is under this epithet, of 'Ashtamurti' that Kalidasa made his invocation to Siva at the beginning of his plays, *Shakuntala* and *Malavikagnimitra*.

The significant piece of information provided by a passage in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[131] that the epithet Bhava was current in the Vahika region, i.e., in Western Punjab and further west, and the epithet Sarva in the Prachya country, i.e., east of the Kurukshetra or Delhi region, renders it quite reasonable to conclude that many of the seven epithets of Rudra were ethnic versions of the one Regvedic deity, Rudra.

Before dilating on this Ashtamurti concept even briefly—for our study it cannot be anything but very brief as the whole lies much outside the end of the Vedic age with which alone this book is concerned—I must proceed with the study of Rudra's image facets presented in the Sutra period, the latest Vedic age. Panini, within whose wide and intensive ken many of the important cultural traits of the time, though not strictly

126. VI, 1-9.
127. Macdonell, p. 75; *AV*, VII, 87.1; *Tait Sam.* V, 4.3; 5.7.4; *Sat. Br.*, VI, 1.3-10.
128. XXXIX, 8; Macdonell, p. 75.
129. III, 8.
130. II, 7; II, 3.8; IV, 9 respectively.
131. VI, 1.3-18.

of grammatical import, fell and assumed shape, has recorded the fact that besides Rudra, there were recognised Bhava, Sarva, and Mrida as deities, probably as aspects of or as akin to Rudra. Panini mentions Bhava, Sarva, Rudra and Mrida along with Indra and Varuna. We see from the list that besides the Rigvedic deity Rudra figure the Atharva-vedic Bhava and Sarva. Mrida, too, is an epithet of Rudra-Siva but is not traced in earlier Vedic literature unless *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra* in which it occurs, is considered to be so. V. S. Agrawala counts Mrida amongst Vedic epithets of Rudra but has not provided a specific reference and I have not been able to find any. Panini has recorded the development in the line of goddess-recognition. The consorts of all the four Rudra deities including Rudra, viz., Bhavani, Sarvani, Mridani and Rudrani are mentioned in addition to Parvati, an altogether new goddess.[132] Uma Haimavati, a highly resplendent woman, is mentioned in the *Kena Upanishad*[133] without any connection with Rudra-Siva but as an allegory. However, R. G. Bhandarkar[134] thinks she was already looked upon as Rudra's consort. Neither Sarva, nor Mrida nor even Bhava figures as an epithet of Rudra in the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*,[135] which is in express glorification of Rudra and saturated with both Yogic lore and its laudation and devotional theism centred round Rudra-Siva. We do not come across either Uma or Parvati or Rudrani or any other goddess nor even the epithets of Sarva or Bhava. On the other hand, we find mention of two 'bodies' or forms of Rudra, "Siva or Aghora", 'auspicious' or "non-terrific" and another, i.e., the terrific one. All this is exactly like what occurs in the Satarudiya and therefore early Vedic. Rudra is asked to show himself in his auspicious non-terrific form which dispels sins and produces the highest well-being. Rudra is called Isana, Mahesvara, Girisa, Girisanta, "mountain dweller", and Siva, all epithets either early Vedic or derivable from Vedic names of Rudra. The new epithets, which are quite significant for our present study of the development of Epic-historic Siva from Rigvedic Rudra, are Maharshi (great sage) and Hara, Siva.

One 'Sutra' of Panini[136] explains the formation of names of images of Gods which, correctly interpreted in the light of Patanjali's comment on it, provides us with the important information that idols of some deities had already begun to be worshipped. They were set up in public temples; they were used in domestic worship; thirdly they formed the means of livelihood of their owners, when set up in privately owned

132. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
133. III, 12.
134. *Vaishnavism*, etc., p. 111.
135. I, 10; III, 6; and IV, 12.
136. V, 3.99.

temples or carried about by them; and fourthly there were images of deities offered for sale in the open market. The deities are not actually mentioned by Panini. The illustrations of his rule are provided by Patanjali and he mentions Siva, Skanda and Visakha. The images, 'pratikriti' or 'archa' as Panini and Patanjali call them, of Siva, for example, under actual worship would be named Siva, while those offered for sale would be designated Sivaka.[137] Patanjali further vouchsafes to us the interesting information that such images of Siva, Skanda and others not specifically mentioned though implied, "were manufactured on a large scale by the Maurya kings, in their greed for gold".

Patanjali's revelation about the manufacture of the image of deities implying widespread currency of idol worship suggests that idol worship must have begun much earlier. This inference is supported by the literary evidence in the case of Jainism at least. For Kharvavela of Orissa in the 2nd century B.C. records in his inscription that he brought back the image of Jina which the Nandas, the pre-Mauryan kings of Pataliputra, had removed from his capital.[138]

From the "Ganapatha", which is believed to be Panini's, we learn that both Siva and Skanda were worshipped as *Devatadwanda*, i.e., jointly with other deities, Siva with Vaisravana otherwise known as Kubera, a Yaksha, and Skanda with Visakha. Patanjali duly points out that these joint-deities do not figure in the Vedic pantheon as joint, i.e., Siva-Vaisravana was a post-early-Vedic creation for worship. Therefore the expression unlike Indra-Varuna is without the lengthening of the first word. The literary evidence is had in the "Agrahayana"-rite as described in the *Apastamba Grihya Sutra* [139] contrasted with the "Sulagava" sacrifice as found in the *Hiranyakesi Grihya Sutra.*[140]

In the *Hiranya Grihya Sutra* the Sulagava ox, a cow in all probability fructified by it and their calf themselves are conceived as Isana (Rudra), Midhushi,—'Midhusa' is not infrequently used in relation to Rudra in the Vedas, Midhushi therefore may stand for Rudra's consort—Rudra's wife and Jayanta apparently their son. In the Agrahayana rite of the *Apastamba Grihya Sutra* the same three deities occur but in their representations, i.e., images which are prescribed to be moved, during the process of the ritual, from one hut to another. Kshetrapati, too, figures in his representation, he being quite evidently identified with Rudra. What particular features or attributes distinguished the two male gods we do not know; nor do we know anything about the lineaments of any of the four deities. But we can presume that these deities, "bucolic"

137. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 115 and Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-4.
138. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 212; Dr. Shashi Kant: *Kharvavela and Asoka,* (1972), p. 17.
139. VII, 20.
140. II, 3.8.

as Coomaraswamy [141] calls them, were worshipped in their representations as human forms and not in their symbols.

We can quite reasonably conclude from this discussion that the earliest recorded worship of Rudra-Siva-Isana, outside the Vedic complex of sacrificial worship, was centred round a human representation of the deity and not any symbol of it. The lineaments, and the accompaniments of the representation are unfortunately not available till about two or three hundred years after the image came to be first conceived and formed. The earliest representations so far available are not earlier than about 200 B.C. Three coins from Ujjain figured in J. N. Banerjea's, *Development of Hindu Iconography*,[142] 2nd edn., pls. 1, 7, 8 and 13, datable to the 1st or 2nd century B.C., have the earliest human representations of Siva. One of these, No. 8, is believed to be three-headed, while No. 13 has the bull along with the human representation. As for the so-called three-headed Siva on one of these, the reader should be apprised of Coomaraswamy's [143] comment on it; "Strong evidence would be needed to prove the existence of a polycephalous type at that time". The earliest South Indian Siva representation, which has been in actual worship, is the Linga from Gudimallam, a fine reproduction of which figures as No. 66 in pl. XVIII of Coomaraswamy's book *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. It is ascribed to the 1st century B.C. The phallus is realistic in its upper end; it rises behind a fine two-armed single-headed male figure, the figure being carved out on the linga stone. It should be carefully noted that though the genitals are fully visible through the dhoti worn, the penis is portrayed as completely quiescent and drooping low down! Fully phallic representation of Siva, with the 'yoni' or pedestal as the base for the phallus, did not appear till very late!

One more effluent of the Rudra-Siva concept merging into the ocean of Epic-historic Siva is the substitution of Maruts as the Rigvedic companions of Rudra by the newly formed concept of Rudras as separate from but having many of their traits. Rudra to the Rigvedic sages was the father of the Maruts who are quite often referred to as Rudriyas. Perhaps Rudra grew out of the Maruts towering over them and was considered to be so great in the context as to deserve the status of the father. Maruts, after all, were quite often the assistants of Indra, so much so that Indra was known as "Marutvat" "accompanied by Maruts" and also "Marudagana", "attended by the Marut host".[144] As we saw above they were also spoken of as a band under Vishnu. This conception of Rudra, as the leader, or the greatest, of the Maruts and like Indra 'Marutvan' [145] may be said to have been given concrete

141. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 43.
142. Pp. 117-18.
143. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 67.
144. Macdonell, p. 57.
145. *RV*, II, 33.6.

form by a Vasishtha sage when at the end of his hymn to Maruts he sang: "Tryambaka we worship, sweet augmenter of prosperity", adding as his request and wish, "may I be released from death, not rift of immortality".[146] 'Tryambaka', is understood by Vedicists even in this context to be an epithet of Rudra, The meaning to be attached to this expression is almost certainly "one having three mothers" or perhaps "sisters", for in the *Taittiriya Sam.* of the Yajurveda one comes across a description of a special offering that was to be made to Tryambaka in a particular season. The rite begins with an invocation to Rudra, of whom protection for self, for cattle and for the sacrifice is asked, as "Rudra alone yieldeth to no second", i.e., the utter supremacy of Rudra over all Gods is very clearly asserted. The offering is made to both Rudra and his "sister Ambika". The next incantation assures Ambika that the rite-performer has "appeased Rudra, the God Tryambaka". The final appeal which is for freedom from death and acquisition of immortality is addressed to "Tryambaka, the fragrant increaser of prosperity".[147] The *Kaushitaki Brahmana*[148] which specifies north-east as Rudra's quarter states that offerings made to Tryambaka in the north delight Rudra. The Mahabharata[149] in its glorification of Rudra-Siva in the Dronaparvan, speaking of Rudra-Siva as "Visvesvara", "Lord of the Universe" and as Tryambaka, explains the latter term. It says: "When the Universe's Lord absorbs the three Goddesses, Dyaus (Sky), Apah (Waters) and Prithivi (Earth) he is known as Tryambaka". Rudra-Maruts relationship is reflected or pre-visaged in the nature of Maruts which as described by the Rigvedic singers in some parts is identical with the violent, and destructive aspect of Rudra. A brief description of the Rigvedic Maruts, bringing out in particular the similarities between them and the Vedic Rudra as well as the Epic or historic Rudra-Siva must be presented in order to elucidate the theogenic development.

Maruts are beauteous, brilliant, shining, decorated with garlands and necklaces.[150] They have golden chins or jaws, 'hiranyasiprah' (II, 34.3). They are archers (I, 64.10; VIII, 20.12). They wear deer skins on their shoulders (I, 166.10). They are described as "ahimanyavah", as furious like serpents or as having the fury of serpents as well as beauteous like serpents or having the lustre of serpents, "ahi bhanavah" (I, 64.8-9; 172.1). As against this description of the Maruts in terms of serpents must be placed the description of Visvedevah as either "changing shapes like

146. VII, 59.
147. A. B. Keith's trans., p. 118; I, 8.6.
148. II, 3; V, 7.
149. VII, 166-73.
150. I, 64.4; II, 34.2; V, 53.4; 11; V, 55.1; VI, 66.2.

serpents" or "having the wiles of serpents" ("ahimaya": I, 3.9; VI, 52.15, X, 63.4). They are like black-backed swans or like iron-tusked boars or again like lions. Though they are fierce and of terrific aspect and terrible like wild beasts, they are playful like children or calves.[151] Like wild elephants they eat up forests, like lions they roar, and are like antelopes and spotted deer in appearance (I, 64.7-8). They are spoken of as "purifying" and "auspicious" and are called upon to protect the hymner or his people from Nirriti (VII, 57.5) or appealed to in the name of their father Rudra, the bounteous (VII, 58.5). Their possession of balms and medicines of all kinds is clearly mentioned and they are asked to favour the people with them (V, 53.14; VIII, 20.24-26).

It is noteworthy that though the Maruts are declared to be the sons of Rudra and are many times referred to as Rudriyas in some Rigvedic passages, they are mentioned as distinct from Rudras, both figuring in the same passage as separate entities. Thus in X, 66.4 we read of Vasus, Adityas, Dyavaprithivi, Indra, Vishnu, Savitar, Dyaus and also of Rudras and Maruts, while in X, 92.6 only Rudras and Maruts figure.

This incipient separation from or rather creation of Rudras from the group called Maruts who were regarded as Rudra's sons, deserves to be carefully noted. For it was later stabilized; its course was marked by the emergence of Rudra as Great God with some attributes which bespeak Greatness but others rather bizarre, frightening and even repulsive, unusual in Great Gods of any religion. It bears testimony to the fact that diversity-formation and myth-making were in active process all the time though we are privileged to have information about only a few of the successful products. Thus one of the Rudras, believed to be eleven in all, came to be identified as Sanikara, and as the greatest among them. Lord Krishna dilating on the nature of his Universal Form identified himself with him as "I am Sankara of the Rudras".[152]

Some ethnic groups, though their overall culture was not very different from that of the dominant ethnics whose culture breathes through the Rigvedic hymns, which had some cultural heritage of a different vintage, joined the total mainstream that came to be formed in the later Vedic age. Their religio-social practices and their acting as leaven in the dense atmosphere of the earlier people's culture tinged with the fear felt in jungles and dread of jungle-beasts and reptiles must be credited with some contribution to the bizarre religious complex enshrined in Rudra-Siva and the various sectarian cults that later still developed within it. This synthesis or syncretic development must have taken place perhaps in the mountainous region of the Pamir and more so in the Garhwal

151. Macdonell, p. 79.
152. *BG,* X, 23.

district of U.P. The latter region is the home of the great snowclad peaks of the Himalaya, one of which is significantly named Trisula, the weapon that Siva is said to carry. There, too, the Ganga starts and can be pictorially represented as issuing from the mooncapped or snow-capped head of Siva. And Soma plant too grew there or on the Pamirs. Soma having been already identified with the Moon, Soma as of Rigveda, VI, 74, could be later represented as Rudra-Siva with the moon on his head.

We have moved far out of the Vedic age and must leave out all further development in art, archaeology and literature. I shall only present very briefly a picture of the Siva image as it appeared to an exceptionally receptive mind, that of the greatest poet of India, and an elite of the highest rank in the classical age of the country, viz., Kalidasa. It will enable the reader to envisage further development and also the actual pattern of the religious consciousness of large sections of Indian society through all these sixteen hundred years or so. It will help him to rate properly the writing and talks of many people, Westerners or others, about phallicism and its so-called degrading features.

I shall briefly state the development of eight-formed or eight-imaged Siva whom Kalidasa invoked at the beginning of his two plays *Malavikagnimitra* and *Shakuntala*. Agni, as noted above, secured eight names for himself. Rudra, too, with appropriate modification, had received eight names more or less in the same age-bracket. The number eight appears to have assumed importance when eight quarters, four principal ones and four immediate ones, came to be recognised. We know that six or at the most seven points were thought of in the Rigveda and Atharva-veda,[153] which culmination had, already, before the time of the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*,[154] formed the basis for elaboration based on them. We read about "ashtaudisyah"; the Dyaus has eight sons and eight guardians. There are eight Fires "clothed in quarters", Aditya is eight-manned; the Sun discs are eight. Regarding eight Suns it is stated that the sages actually saw seven Suns. The eighth Sun named Kasyapa stays permanently on Mt. Meru and could not be seen by them. The Sun we see is named Arogya. The *Satapatha Brahmana* which speaks of Agni's acquisition of eight names states that the visible forms of Agni corresponding to his eight names are: Agni = Rudra; Apah (Waters) = Sarva; Oshadis (Plants) = Pasupati; Vayu (Wind) = Ugra; Vidyuta (Lightening) = Asani; Parjanya (Rain) = Bhava; Chandrama (Moon) = Mahadeva and Aditya (the Sun) Isana. In the *Kaushitaki Brahmana* we have the eight epithets of Rudra slightly differently equated with the elements

153. Macdonell, p. 9.
154. I, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15 and 18.

Beginning, very correctly in the light of the cosmology and cosmogony developed by then with Apah, we have Agni, Vayu, Oshadhayah. It may be mentioned here for better comprehension of the identification being in terms of the Rigvedic deities that the 97th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda is devoted to the praise of Oshadhi, personified as divine and addressed as mothers and goddesses, and in the *Yajurveda* an animal sacrifice is prescribed to be offered to them for specific benefit [155]—Aditya, Chandrama, Annam (Food). The deity of the 187th hymn of the I book of the Rigveda is Annam, 'Food', and Indra, the Rudraic equivalents being Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Mahadeva, Rudra, Isana and Asani.[156]

The account of Siva's eight 'bodies' ('tanu') or "forms" ('murti') as presented in the *Puranas*, Vishnu, Padma etc., is marked by the introduction of the eighth epithet of Rudra, substituting Bhima in place of Asani among the epithets, and by some very significant innovations and some meaningful reallocation of elements in the equivalents. So Prithivi is Sarva; Apah is Bhava; Surya is Rudra; Vahni or Agni is Isana; Vayu is Pasupati; Akasa (Ether or Space) is Bhima; Soma (moon) is Mahadeva, and Yajvan, i.e., a person consecrated for the performance of a sacrifice is Ugra. It is seen that seven of the eight epithets are conceived as being assigned on the basis of the cosmological equivalence of Rudra-Siva. Which particular epithet is based on which particular element is not at all important for us. The fact that the epithets had come to be conceived as epitomizing the cosmic nature of Rudra-Siva is quite enough for us to judge the development of the concept of Epic-historic Siva and to conclude that the significant part of it was the result of the growing metaphilosophical thought being incorporated to expand the concept so as to present the deity as Supreme God and not a sectarian one. Of the eight forms referred to in the Anusasana Parvan of the Mahabharata [157] and specified by Kalidasa in the invocatory stanza of his play *Shakuntala* seven are the same as these.

The eighth form, whatever epithet may be equated with it, may be presented in this scheme, viz., that of a person consecrated for sacrifice, identifying every ordained sacrificer with Siva, completely identifies Siva with the Vedic sacrificial institutions. In this context I should mention that the lexicon named Yadava quoted by the great commentator Mallinatha at *Raghuvamsa*, II, 35, straight names the form 'Somayagi', 'Soma-sacrificer', leaving no doubt about the nature of the sacrifice and emphasizing its Vedic nature. That this form of Siva, as one of the eight, so devoutly eulogised and appealed to by Kalidasa to bless his readers,

155. *TS*, II, 1.5; Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
156. Kamalesvara Bhattacharya in *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, 1953, pp. 233-41: "The Ashtamurti Concept of Siva in India, Indo-China and Indonesia".
157. XVI, 34.

was the one meant by him, too, is quite clear from his statement in the 66th verse of the 3rd chapter of the same semi-epic, though in his invocation he has simply 'Hotar', 'sacrificer'. Raghu's father Dileepa was engaged in performing his hundredth horse-sacrifice. The horse for it was stolen by Indra and Raghu challenged him. Indra, in the contest that ensued, was so far pleased that he offered to help Raghu in all ways except letting go the horse. When Indra promised that without the actual sacrifice of the horse Dileepa may be awarded all the benefits accruing from a horse sacrifice and asked Raghu to carry that message to his father Dileepa, Kalidasa represents Raghu as having put it to Indra that the said mission had to be performed by Indra himself as Dileepa being a consecrated person and consequently being a form of Siva was unapproachable by him. The logic is said to have worked, making Indra do the mission of informing Dileepa of his ultimate good fortune.

A rough count of the epithets which Kalidasa has used in his three works, *Kumarasambhava*, *Meghaduta* and *Raghuvamsa*, in which I collected 190 instances, reveals that Kalidasa has employed 31 epithets. He has used Hara 19 times; Isa or Isvara and Sambhu 16 times each; Trilochana or Virupaksha and Smarari 12 times each; Chandramauli or Chandrasekhara, Girisa and Pinakin 11 times each; Sankara 10 times, Mahesvara 9 and Sulin 8 times; Pasupati 6 times and Bhava, Rudra and Vrishanka 5 times each. Among the thirty-one epithets collected Sarva occurs quite clearly only once.[158] Apte's dictionary has referred to *Raghu*, XI, 93 as another place where the word "sarva" means Siva. However, the propriety of this meaning in the particular context is not clear to me; and the great Mallinatha, who has duly equated Sarva with Isvara (Siva) at the former place, though the content being quite clear no such commenting aid there was necessary, has kept silent at *Raghu* XI, 93. This utter neglect of Sarva by Kalidasa means that this epithet of Rudra-Siva which made its first appearance in the *Atharvaveda* had, by his time, come to be relegated to the background and was almost non-current. It may also be pointed out that lexicons record Sarva also as an epithet of Vishnu and is duly noted by Apte in the above-mentioned place.

We have seen above that the epithet Sarva was current, as the *Satapatha Brahmana* assures us, among the eastern people and we would expect Kalidasa, deeply immersed in the history and doings of the great eastern dynasty of the Ikshavakus, or Raghus as he would have it, to record the use without any inhibition or even lethargy. On the background of this history of this epithet of Rudra-Siva, which so clearly emphasizes the God's destructive aspect, it is very intriguing to find the

158. *Kumara*, VI, 14.

God under this epithet grouped with Indra, Soma, Nastya (Asvins) and another not identified God, and proclaimed to be 'daeva's or demons in the *Avesta*. Prof. Zaehner,[159] who identifies "Zairi" and "Saurva" of the Avestan list with 'Soma' and 'Sarva' observes: "Sarva is one of the names of the most sinister of the Vedic gods, Rudra, the divine archer who deals out death and disease". It is clear from the Avestan grouping of this God with Soma, Asvins and Indra, that whatever Prof. Zaehner or Vedicists may say about Sarva-Rudra's sinister and death-dealing nature, to the Iranians of about the 6th or the 7th century B.C. he was apparently not much more so than not only Indra but also the physician-healer-gods, Asvins and the exhilarating deity Soma. This raises the probability of the tender and softer aspect of the God Rudra-Siva being coeval with the violent and destructive one. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that though we do not come across any personal name in the Vedic literature, early or late, based on Vishnu, the other great God that arose out of the Vedic pantheon, we find one based on Rudra, Rudrabhuti Drahyayana teacher, himself having been a pupil of Trata, being mentioned in the Vamsa Brahmana. Rudra was thus not shunned in the Vedic age, at least the later Vedic age. Nor was Sarva feared, for we find in the same *Brahmana* text, *Vamsa Brahmana*, a teacher and therefore most probably a Brahmin, bearing the name Sarvadatta Gargya-Gargya "the Gift of Sarva".[160]

The image of Rudra-Siva that appears to have emerged by about the first or the second century A.D. may be the one that Kalidasa has presented in the invocatory stanzas of his plays and his poems. Siva is clad in a hide and has his consort for half his body. This form of Siva is known as Ardhanarisvara. He is a 'yogi', Siva's 'tandava'-dance and many-armed form and his being clad in a freshly peeled off skin of an elephant for his dance, which is said to be an every-evening-occurrence, is projected in the *Meghaduta* and also in *Kumarasambhava*. His varied Ganas too are mentioned. His body is besmeared with ashes and he is adorned with a black serpent.[161] His third eye and its use in burning down Cupid, his wearing of human skulls, and his riding a bull, his residence in cremation grounds and his sporting the crescent moon on his head are mentioned in *Kumarasambhava*,[162] where too, through Uma-Parvati, Kalidasa has put forward an ennobling explanation of most of the bizarre traits and attributes of Epic-historic Siva. The total concept that Kalidasa has conveyed to his readers, and which we must assume to have been the concept under which Siva appeared to the elite

159. *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism,* p. 188.
160. *Vedic Index.*
161. *Raghuvamsa,* XIII, 57; *Kumara,* V, 78-79.
162. I, 54; V, 65-80; VI, 75; VII, 30-40.

and the common people of Kalidasa's time, is that of a Supreme God,[163] unattached to anything of worldly value, self-poised, self-contented and easily accessible to pious persons, his physical appearance being of a fair human being wearing matted hair in which crescent moon, river Goddess Ganga and even a human skull are comfortably accommodated. His ash-besmeared body is partially covered with a hide and adorned with a serpent, presenting to the naked human eye the spectacle of power, composure and grace in one view!

163. *Kumara,* VI, 23 and 25.

7

Epic and Historic Siva, an Indo-Aryan God

RUDRA or rather Siva, to use the most commonly used epithet of the God described in the last chapter, shows such diverse traits in his personality, and some of which are so opposed to those of Vishnu, the other great God of Hinduism, and contrary to those postulated of Supreme Godhead in great religions that western students of religions of India detected in him persistence of some non-Aryan, specifically Dravidian, godhead. The belief or the inference was quite clearly strengthened by the fact that the commonest type of Rudra-Siva image for worship in temples, the phallus, was, it appears, an object of worship among the peoples of this country whom the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans looked upon as hateful and antagonistic to them.[1]

The discovery of the Indus civilization brought new light on the question of Siva affiliation. Sir John Marshall who directed the excavations and studied the finds carefully in his three-volumed work advanced the view that Saivism was a faith believed in and practised in the Chalcolithic Age, the age of the Indus Valley Civilization, and might have existed even much earlier, so much so that it may be "the most ancient living faith in the world".[2] Commenting on the figure on a seal from Mohenjo-daro, fig. 17, pl. XII, vol. I, Marshall "recognising it as the pre-historic prototype of Siva as Yogindra and Pasupati, observed that the God is three-faced, seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of Yoga... From wrist to shoulder the arms are covered with bangles... over his breast is a triangular pectoral or perhaps a series of necklaces or torques ... and round his waist a double band. *The lower limbs are bare and the phallus (urdhvamedhra) seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waist-band.**

1. *RV*, VII, 21.5; X, 99.3.
2. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. I, p. VII, quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar in *Indian Culture*, 1935-6, p. 764.

* Italics mine. One should see the lie of the penis in the Gudimallam Linga (Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. XVIII) and that in Khitching Hara-Parvati (Banerjea, pl. XXXIX 2) to realise that Sir John had not clearly grasped the meaning of the term "urdhvalinga".

Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on his proper right, a rhinoceros and buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer with heads regardant and horns turned to the centre". Thus the God is *trimukha* like Siva portrayed in historic times with three faces, commonly known as Mahesa. His Yogi-like posture is another trait linking him with the historic Siva who "is pre-eminently the prnice of Yogis—the typical ascetic and self-mortifier". The four animals figuring in the seal 'refer' to Siva's aspect as the "lord of the beasts (*Pasupati*)".

D. R. Bhandarkar[3] is not prepared to support Marshall's hesitation about the seal-figure being an "urdhvalinga" and says that "a close examination convinces us that the figure has *without doubt* (italics mine) the *'urdhvalinga'*. He quotes a number of passages from *Vishnuhamoottara Purana*, the *Uttara kamikagama* as occurring in Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* and adds one from the *Matsya Purana* and from the daily prayer of Saivite Brahmins to the effect that Siva is conceived of as "urdhvalinga". He further draws his reader's attention to the fact that the above term is one of the thousand epithets of Siva listed in the Mahabharata.[4] To support the literary evidence, Bhandarkar adduces the archaeological or iconic evidence. He says[5]: "We find that a vast majority of the Siva images found in East India, in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa has the 'urdhvalinga'" and adds in the footnote: "Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's assurance that as for Bengal 'all the Siva images' [and not merely 'a vast majority'] have the Urdhvalinga". Bhandarkar, however, duly noted that outside the parts of India mentioned by him, i.e. over the much larger expanse of the country, "the characteristic [upraised phallus] is extremely rare". As a true enquirer he further observed: "This fact, though un-co-ordinated now, may later on prove to be very useful when we have better knowledge about the diffusion of the Mohenjo-daro culture".

Mentioning the large number of phallic representations unearthed in the Indus valley excavations he rightly concludes that phallic worship was a pronounced trait of the Indus Valley culture and advances the "conjecture that the worships of the phallus and of the god [the three-faced God with horned head-dress, seated in Yogic posture] on the seal were intimately connected already with the authors of the Mohenjo-daro culture".[6]

3. *Loc. cit.*, p. 765.
4. XIII, 17.
5. *Loc. cit.*, p. 766.
6. P. 767.

Prof. Stuart Piggott,[7] writing in 1950, was quite positive and even emendative. Observing in an indefinite and mystefying manner that "there is more than one representation on seals from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa of a male god etc." he says: "There can be *little doubt* that we have here the prototype of the great God Shiva as Lord of the Beasts and Prince of Yogis" and adds: "he may have been conceived of as four-faced, and with his four animals looks to the four quarters of the earth". Evidently he was not convinced that the male figure had a particularly noticeable sexual feature and has consequently refrained from mentioning the so-called "urdhvalinga" feature of it.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, writing in 1953 in the *Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities*,[8] quotes the same passage from Marshall's book which, as quoted by Bhandarkar, seventeen to eighteen years before Dandekar, I have transcribed above. He, however, very curiously, leaves out Marshall's hesitant clause, "but it is possible what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waist band", and concludes for himself and his readers: "Marshall rightly recognised in the figure a pre-Vedic proto-Indian representation of Siva". On the basis of his understanding of Marshall's statement as unqualified he proceeds to lay down his own conclusion thus: "The fact that the phallus on the figure of the Indus Valley seal is prominently exposed connected the Indus Valley not only with the epic Siva, who is often represented with the raised phallus, but ... also with the Vedic Rudra, though in this latter case, indirectly, that is to say, through the *vratyas* (some of whom are described as *samanichamedhra*) and the *brahmacharin* (who is clearly characterised as *brihacchepa*) ... It may indeed be presumed that, even in those early times, the principal Indus Valley god, Siva, was actually represented in two forms—that of the human male with raised phallus and that of the detached phallus by itself". Dr. Dandekar has failed to give a specific reference to the passage on the basis of which he categorically characterizes the *brahmacharin* as *brihacchepa* and assumes his connection with Rudra, exclusively. *Vedic Index* does not mention this feature either in its note on *Brahmacharin* or on *Vratya*.

Dandekar has, however, supplied the relevant reference and his special and spacious comment on the whole hymn in which the reference occurs on pages 99 to 101. It is clear that it is the 12th verse of the 6th hymn of the XI book of the Atharvaveda that he has drawn upon. Dr. Dandekar almost summarily brushes aside the views of Vedicists who have looked upon the hymn in question as a glorification of the Brahmacharin, i.e., the Brahmanical student ordained for studenthood. The

7. *Prehistoric India*, p. 202.
8. Pp. 136 ff.

authors of *Vedic Index* remark that the hymn gives "all the characteristic features of religious studentship . . . [they] appear in later literature . . . One of the duties of the Brahmacharin was chastity. . . . In certain cases the ritual required a breach of chastity, no doubt as a magic spell to secure fertility (Yajurveda: *Kathaka Sam.* XXXIV, 5; *Tait, Sam.*, VII, 5, 9.4)". Griffith commenting on verse 17th of the hymn in which the word *Brahmacharya* occurs says: "Religious study in general and specially self-restraint and purity [are] enjoined upon all religious students . . ." The verse in question reads in Griffith's words: "By Fervour and by self-restraint the king protects the realm he rules. By self restraint the Master seeks a Brahmachari to instruct". Griffith quotes from the *Tait. Br.*[9] the story of Bharadvaja in Muir's version. Bharadvaja having led a Brahmachari's life in three successive births, when asked what he will do if a fourth birth is granted to him, replied in no uncertain terms that he would utilize it to practice Brahmacharya. Such was the value placed on Brahmacharya as a desired end in the later Vedic age!" The twelfth verse in which the expression *brihacchepa* occurs is thus translated by Griffith: "Thundering shouting, ruddy hued, and pallied, he bears along the earth great manly vigour. Down on the ridge of earth the Brahmachari pours seed [retah], and this gives life to heaven's four regions".

Dr. Dandekar varies, fairly widely, his interpretation of the expression, as suits the context of his particular submission about its significance for his theory of the origin and nature of the god Rudra Siva within the space of twenty lines. Thus he first modifies his first rendering of the expression given above as he has to bring out its relevance to the several "cosmic functions" attributed to the Brahmachari in the stanzas "8, 11, 19-22". He therefore observes[10]: "As a result of their severe penances [the text speaks only in the singular number] were believed to be endowed with special virile powers. Not only this. As is usual [? why? authority?] in such cases [cases of special virile powers?] they [?] were further said to be responsible for several cosmic functions (XI, 5.8, 11, 19-22)". As a matter of fact Brahmachari is thought of in the hymn in cosmic aspect and stanzas 13 to 15 and 23 to 25 are no less cosmic in nature than the verses picked out by Dr. Dandekar. The last two read in Griffith's translation: "The Brahmachari wields the radiant Brahma wherein all the Gods are woven close together: Creating breath, inhaling and exhaling, voice, mind and heart, Brahma and holy wisdom. Bestow on us the power of sight and hearing, glory and food and seed and blood and belly".

9. *Tait. Br.* III, 10.11-3.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

One stanza, the 17th, which I have quoted earlier speaks of self-restraint and its great power to effect or secure objectives. In the very next verse we read that by self-restraint a maiden can find a youth "to be her wedded lord" and "the ox and horse seek to win fodder for themselves". In the next verse the power of the Gods to defy death is credited to fervour and self-restraint, and we are assured that it was by self-restraint that Indra brought "heaven's lustre to the deities". Dr. Dandekar sees in "the reference to a girl winning a husband through brahmacharya [self-restraint as Griffith has it]" suggestion of "a fertility rite in which Rudra played an important role". He substantiates his view thus: "Without some such assumption the stanza would loose almost its entire significance. But by far the most striking evidence in this connection is the characterization of the *brahmacharin* as the possessor of great penis (*brihacchepa*) and the sprinkler of the seed (*retah sinchati*, XI, 5.12). There can be hardly any doubt that it must have been the concept of Rudra-Siva which was intended to be indicated by these descriptions".

It is seen that Dr. Dandekar has interpreted the expression *brihacchepa* in its literal meaning as he desires to establish the plausibility of his view that the passage[11] envisages or suggests a fertility rite in which a maiden and Rudra, who is nowhere in the entire hymn mentioned by any of his epithets, come into action and thereby to ascribe the attribute of 'brihacchepa' to Rudra. As regards the sprinkling of 'retas' which in its context is said to have fructified into the four regions of the universe is made to be a magic handmaid of the impregnation of the maiden. And all this arbitrary and roundabout procedure, with its rending of textual contexts, does not explain the second half of the stanza in question, viz. the 18th quoted above!

Brahmacharin is quite clearly the student who, after his initiation rite goes to live at the preceptor's to acquire learning as the third stanza of the hymn declares, the fifth asserting that the Brahmacharin, it appears the one who has completed his studies, and has not yet married, was born from 'tapas', 'fervour' or 'religious ardour' even before Brahma (XI, 5). In XIX, 19.7 we read that Brahma, as figuring among other Gods like Mitra and Surya, and invoked along with them for protection, is stated as being associated with Brahmachari. The Brahmachari claims that he is endowed with power by Mrityu, the God of Death (VI, 13.4). He is described as practising penance standing in the sea and also as creating breath, inhaling and exhaling, i.e. as I take it practising 'pranayama', 'control of breath', so prized an exercise in the developed Yoga system (XI, 5.24, 26). He is quite conscious of his purity and chastity and expects Gods to help him as and when he invokes them (VII, 109.7). And

11. *AV*, XI, 5.18a.

above all the Rigveda[12] already declares that the Brahmacharin is part and parcel of God. It is noteworthy that this Rigvedic stanza is incorporated in the AV (V, 17.5)!

We have, therefore, no alternative but to reject Dr. Dandekar's contention that the cult of the Brahmacharins was orgiastic or anything like that or that Rudra was intimately connected with it. The belief in the extraordinary nature and power of a Brahmachari is of Rigvedic antiquity and not a purely Atharvavedic feature. The Brahmachari "goes engaged on duty: he is a member of the God's own body. Through him Brihaspati obtained his consort, as the Gods gained the ladle brought by Soma" says the Rigveda".[13]

Sir Mortimer Wheeler in his book *The Indus Civilization*,[14] the first edition of which appeared in 1953 and the third in 1968—I am using the third—too, like Sir John Marshall mentions three seals from Mohenjo-daro which bear "a remarkable figure" "as to the divinity" of which "no doubt arises". In two instances out of the three, it is a three-faced figure bearing "a horned head-dress with a vertical central feature". The arms are laden with bangles like the left arm of "the dancing girl", one of the few bronze sculptures discovered there. Accepting Marshall's view of the figure on the seal, he dubbed it "a prototype of Siva in his aspect of Pasupati, Lord of Beasts". He thought the figure of the deity to be "replete with the brooding, minatory power of the great god of historic India". So convinced was he of the figure being a prototype of Epic Siva that he remarked "Here if anywhere may be recognized one of the pre-Aryan elements" surviving the Aryan inroad to contribute a prominent element in the "so-called Aryan culture of the post-Vedic period". He markes no reference to the style of sexual aspect of the figure. We may conclude from his silence that Sir Mortimer is not convinced that the representation of the God is ithyphallic!

In 1968, too, Drs. Bridget and Raymond Allchin's book *The Birth of Indian Civilization*[15] was published. It is very refreshing to find in it, in such an easily accessible publication, a statement about the total number of seals discovered in the excavations of the Indus civilization. The authors tell us that the number of seals "so far discovered must be around 2000". B. Hrozny[16] htd put the number at 2500. Readers should do well to remember this number, while evaluating the significance of there being only three, at best five, pieces bearing this figure of so-called proto-Siva, attaching due importance to the fact that even in this small number there are not even two which agree in all details with each other!

12. X, 109.5. 13. *Ibid.* 14. Pp. 105, 109.
15. *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, p. 306.
16. *Ancient History*, (1953), p. 194.

Drs. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, after mentioning with respect the view of Sir John Marshall observe:[17] "We are of the opinion that the stone cult icons, and therefore probably also the temples, were dedicated to the same deity. One of the most significant representations is to be found on a *series of seals* [italics mine]. These show seated in a Yogic posture . . . ; he is ithyphallic, *he has perhaps three faces* [italics mine]. . . ". It is clear from this quotation that the Allchins are doubtful about the so-called three-faced or three-headed nature but are certain about the ithyphallic nature of the representation of the Indus Valley proto-Siva!

Dr. Walter A. Fairservis Jr. gave us his views on early Indian civilization in 1971 through his well-planned and finely brought out book *The Roots of Ancient India.* With praiseworthy considerateness he has reproduced about 50 seal-designs or the design-sides of seals and has succinctly provided his valuable comment on them[18]. Dr. Fairservis, who speaks of Harppan civilization, begins his comment on seals relevant to present purpose by stating that "the number of scenes [on these seals.] in which attitudes or acts of adoration or sacrifice occur" is striking. Describing the particular seal I have so far dwelt on, it is No. 17 on p. 276, he observes: "This [the central figure] shows what appears to be a deity wearing a *buffalo-horn headdress* [italics mine], numerous bracelets, and a V-shaped collar or necklace. His face is furrowed or painted, and he is in the same attitude as the figure in the previous seal. [The seal is No. 16 on p. 256 and the attitude is described as "a dancing or perhaps mudraic position"]. On either side, however, are wild animals . . . . . This figure also occurs by itself. An unusual example seems to show the same individual [?] looking upward". It must be carefully noted that for Dr. Fairservis there does not exist in the representation, either three-facedness or ithyphallousness. He finds that the horns of the headdress are those of buffalo and the pose or attitude that of dancing or something like dancing. Quite correctly, and it appears to me deliberately he has refrained from bringing in the Epic Siva of India. I say deliberately because in the next paragraph after the quoted text he deals with seals that have "considerable interest because of their similarity to the Gilgamesh motif of Mesopitamia". Then he comments on seals suggesting "something out of the Upper Paleolithic or Masolithic of Europe", thereafter on seals showing individuals as bull-leaping in the Cretan fashion and suggesting some Cretan contact.

Dr. J. N. Banerjea, in his desire to make the second edition of his successful book *The Development of Hindu Iconography* up-to-date, cast

17. *Op. cit.*, p. 311.
18. *Op. cit.*, pp. 274-282.

his nets far and wide in the sea of Harappan civilization, much more seriously than he had done in the 1st edn., with distinct gain to a clearer understanding of the situation about Epic Siva and his so-called Harappan proto-type. Though the 2nd edn. was published in 1956 I am bringing in its contribution on the subject last because Dr. Banerjea's position is not that of an archaeologist much less that of an excavating archaeologist.

Dr. Banerjea speaks of "many hundreds of sealings" as having been unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.[19] Describing the seal dealt with above, he tells his readers that "it bears a three-faced horned figure [one with horned headdress?]", that its posture is what is known as Kurmasana [tortoise posture] in Yogic terms, and that its neck ornament is similar to "the *graiveyaka* ornament" in the neck and over the chest of the Indian Yaksha figures of the Sunga [last two centuries B.C.] and the post-Sunga period. To him "the lower limbs seem to be bare" and "the figure *appears to be ithyphallic* [italics mine]. He states Marshall's conclusion that "the figure is a prototype of the historic Siva-Pasupati" but duly notes in the footnote that "We miss in the assembly of animals by the side of the God Siva's bull, Nandi". He has adduced in favour of the identification of the figure with Siva a quotation from the Mahabharata,[20] which, he submits, posits horns for Epic Siva, stating all the same Hopkin's view that the passage in question "may refer to the crest of the image of Siva" and not to horns. To buttress his view that the Mahabharata passage is properly construed when it is made to yield the meaning that ascribes horned condition to Siva, he informs us that "the horn as an instrument of music is very often placed in one of the hands of the *popular* [italics mine] representations of Siva in Bengal".[21*]

Dr. Banerjea considers the composite animal figures seen on many seals, some of which Dr. Fairservis has more recently affined to the Mesopotamian complex, as "reminiscent of the Pramathas or Ganas", so well known as accompaniments of Epic Siva. Selecting two seals, Nos. 279 and 510 of Mackay's book, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, and comparing the scene with that on two other scalings, he quotes with approval Mackay's view that the scene "may represent a belief not unlike the legend of Dundubhi; "the buffalo demon, whom Siva and other gods

19. *Loc. cit.*, p. 158.
20. *Vanaparvan*, III, 88.8.
21. Pp. 159-60, fn. * The *Mbh.* passage quite clearly refers to a summit of the mountain used as his abode by Sulin, i.e. Siva as the next place mentioned is Sivapura, a village or town in the extreme north-west and is mentioned also by Panini (Agrawala, p. 66). That the text can hardly yield the meaning as Banerjea desired was fairly clear to Banerjea himself is indicated by his invocation of Bengali practice which has only tertiary bearing on the subject.

attacked with tridents" and makes a pointed reference to a passage from Skandapurana for authenticity of such an episode.[22]

From this statement of the descriptions of some Indus Valley seals it is seen that: (1) The seals supposed or believed to represent the figure of Siva Pasupati are hardly three or four among the two thousand or more of them; (2) Only one seal has the complete complement of the paraphernalia; (3) The assumption or ascription of three faces to the figure is to say the least not warranted; (4) The horns on the head of the figure on one of the two seals are positively those of a buffalo and not of an ox; (5) The so-called ithyphallism of the figure is almost a fiction or an act of imagination. The absence of an ox among the half-a-dozen animals which are depicted round about the figure on the only seal which has the completest complement of paraphernalia goes very much against the assumption that the human figure represents a prototype of Epic Siva. For bulls in pottery as perhaps playthings and splendid bullocks cut on the seals are plenty among the finds, implying that the civilization was bull-oriented. Dr. Fairservis has reproduced a very instructive scene from a seal in picture 36 on page 279, in which "the central figure carries a bull . . .". It represents a procession and has to be interpreted as significant evidence of some kind of bull-cult in Harappan civilization. With this background, the absence of a bull among the animals surrounding the so-called proto-Siva figure must mean that the bull had not till then been subordinated to any deity and that the so-called Siva of the Harappans was a Siva, if at all he was one, without the most distinctive mark of historic or Epic Siva!

D. R. Bhandarkar writing in the Coomaraswamy issue of *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*,[23] went a step further when, after starting that the god represented on the seal, discussed above (No. 17) is *doubtless* [italics mine] a prototype of the historic Siva", added: "To either side of the figure are four animals, an elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo. This shows that the god is Rudra as Pasupati". Bhandarkar was sure that the figure was a three-faced one; and he knew that historic or Epic Siva is nowhere described as three-faced, though he himself had discovered a colossal three-faced bust of Siva thirty years before near Mount Abu in Rajasthan. He therefore embarked on an explanation of the three-faced feature of Siva. He fixed on the epithet *tryambaka*, which as applied to Rudra occurs not only in the *Sat. Br.*[24] and in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita*[25] of the Yajurveda but also in the Rigveda,[26] though only once. Rejecting the consistently offered explanation of the epithet as 'three-eyed', he referred to the fact that in the RV, Sarasvati is called not only

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-66.
23. Vol. 5, 1937, pp. 74-77.
24. *Sat. Br.*, II, 6.2-9.
25. III, 53.
26. VII, 59.12.

'Amba', mother, but even 'Ambitama', the best of mothers. Concluding from this that the Mother-Goddess cult "seems to have been known in the Rigveda Period", he opined that the cult "further appears" to have been "somehow associated with Rudra". In the post-Vedic period Ambika is mentioned as a wife of Siva; but in *Vaj. Sam.* she is called Rudra's sister. Bhandarkar goes on by way of stating his definitive conclusion: "Anyhow Amba has been closely associated with Rudra or Siva, whether in the Vedic or the post-Vedic period". This provides Bhandarkar with adequate explanation of the mediaeval association of the *Sapta Matarah* or the Seven Mothers, with Siva. However Bhandarkar needed for his purpose only three; therefore he concluded: "It is quite possible that originally, not seven, but three Ambas were connected with Rudra". And then his way for "it is not impossible altogether to detect three types of Amba from among the heaps of female figurines exhumed at Mohenjo-daro so as to account for Rudra being called Tryambaka and consequently to account for the three-faced divinity figuring on the seal of Mohenjo-daro". "The divinity on the seal is three gods rolled into one" because they had three mothers says D. R. Bhandarkar! This so-called explanation of the epithet Tryambaka so as to make it applicable to the supposed three-faced figure on the seal can be summarily rejected. For even granting that the Indus civilization had in its religious complex three mothers associated with a divinity, it does not follow that the said divinity is naturally to be three-faced but two-armed!

Bhandarkar has further vitiated his approach to the problem by attempting to account for the "standing and almost nude female, elaborately dressed, profusely ornamented or both". He speaks in the plural about them and says that "they are apparently figures of the dancing girl". Referring to the statuette, [fig. 39, page 299 of Fairservis' book] so famous, he tells his readers that it "has been actually so recognized". This type of females, "fourth type" as he dubs them, he utilizes to suggest that the Indus valley Siva was conceived as Ekavratya in the terminology of the Atharvaveda.

Among the various manifestations of Ekavratya are Mahadeva, Isana, Bhava, Sarva, Rudra which are forms of post-Vedic Siva. Ekavratya further is represented as having "taken to himself a bow which was Indra's bow, been fond of strong drink 'sura', . . . been accompanied by a harlot, *pumschali*, and Magadha whatever thay may mean" The females like that represented by the bronze statuette mentioned above evidently were meant to be the 'pumschali'-accompaniment of the Indus valley divinity in his form as Ekavratya and "correspond to the Devadasis of the modern day." I may point out here that in the *Meghaduta* (vr. 34-35) Kalidasa has referred to such dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahakala at Ujjain and to their dance in the temple at dusk. Then not only does

Bhandarkar draw our attention to the "formidable bow" of the post-Vedic Siva, which, as we know, figures in Sita's choice marriage and was broken by Rama, but also states that post-Vedic Siva "was fond of *sura*". Bhandarkar has not provided a textual reference for his last statement and I have not found in any Epic or classical descriptions of Siva that He was fond of wine or strong drink. Certain Saivite sects were known to have indulged in such drink as a regular rite or a regular religious dictum; but Siva himself is not presented to my knowledge as indulging in it (??)! The reference to Magadha Bhandarkar explains by assuming that the Vratya cult might have been imported by the Magadhas from outside India. This last element in Bhandarkar's explanation Bhandarkar derives from the fact that Magadha Kshatriyas are stated to have lived in Sakadvipa and that the Sun worship that came to India from Sakadvipa had Magadha Brahman priests.

Dr. Dandekar has drawn on the Vratyas and their cult much more heavily than Bhandarkar did. Of the three "religious cults" with which Dandekar says Rudra was "vitally connected"—I have dealt with his exposition of one of these, that of the brahmacharin—"the cult of the Vratyas" is "much more important" than the other two. The Vratyas "seem to have the Supreme Being by the name of *Ekavratya*, certain physical features of whom, "such as blue belly and red back 'AV, XV, 1.7) unmistakenly remind one of Rudra". They "seem to have become distinguished on account of their peculiar asceticism and yogic practices (XV, 3.1; 15.1-9)". "Among their principal tutelary gods are mentioned Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahadeva and Isana (XV, 5)". Their "whole life was governed by a number of solemn vows". I may state that as a matter of fact Griffith in his comment on sections 11-13 of the above-mentioned hymn has pointed out that Apastamba, an Andhra in origin as we are informed by Buhler and others, has given an abstract of these sections in his *Grihya Sutra,* deriving the word Vratya from *vrata,* a vow and equating him with a Srotriya.

Dr. Dandekar has drawn two conclusions from his study and presentation of the data on the Vratyas provided in the AV and the *Pamchavimsa Brahmana*: (1) the Vratyas formed "a distinct and independent religious cult"; (2) "their religious ideology had very close affinity with the personality and worship of Rudra".

Distinctness and independence of the cult are presumed largely because Dandekar thinks that the passage XV, 12.1-4, "suggests that the *vratyas* did not approve of Brahmanic sacrifices and that the passage XV, 3 mentions that the *vratyas* "used to partake of a kind of intoxicating drink (*sura*) presumably as a part of their orgiastic religious practice" and also that their "whole life was governed by a number of solemn vows". The Vratyas formed a community distinguished from others by

their dress and way of living and that they were a closely knit community with a leader, who was evidently a stern master as he carried a whip in his hand. The leader's dress was a black garment and two animal skins black and white, so that black predominated; he carried a kind of bow with him. The common folk too wore animal skins though their garment had red fringes. They were evidently nomadic for they are castigated as people without agriculture or commerce. This mode of living accompanied by absence of *Brahmacharya* (?) made them keep outside the complex of Brahmanic or Vedic culture.

As regards religious ideology of the Vratyas Dr. Dandekar's[27] view that "they did not approve of Brahmanic sacrifices" is based on his interpretation of the first four verses of the 12th hymn of the XV book of Atharvaveda. This interpretation, however, can be seen to be unjustifiable if we take into account all that is said about the *Vratyas*. First, in the various wanderings of Ekavratya, as hymns Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 6 inform us, various Rigvedic deities, Adityas, Matarisvan, Pavamana, Vata, Varuna, Prajapati and Paramesthin, a new concept of Prajapati as the Supreme Being, are said to have either accompanied or followed him. The 5th hymn tells us that seven forms of Rudra, viz. Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahadeva, Isana, were present to free him from the local attachments or troubles. And be it noted that like the Rigvedic Rudra, every one of them is described as an "archer". The 14th hymn further tells us that Ekavratya ultimately becomes Marutgana, Varuna, Vishnu, and Parameshthin. Second, Vratyastoma was a special rite devised to admit any Vratya wishing to be so treated within the Brahmanic fold, because the Vratyas were not consecrated. If they were opposed to the institution of sacrifice this choice could hardly have been kept open or accepted; third, the hymn in question, 12th, speaks of sacrifice in a household, which Ekavratya had to depend on the permission of Ekavratya but if Vratyas were opposed to the institution how could Ekavratya be expected to give such permission. What is meant to be conveyed is, therefore, that the householder must treat Ekavratya with great respect and honour and not do anything that would militate against his playing the second fiddle to Ekavratya. And that is why it is further stated that if permission is given and the sacrifice performed, "the abode of the householder is long left remaining in this world".

The facts that the 15th book of the Atharvaveda sustain are: (1) that the Vratyas had Rudra as their principal deity; (2) that they had come to identify the deity with the Supreme Being Parameshthin, a new concept in Vedic society perhaps stabilized by them; and (3) that they still continued to know him in six other forms as Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati,

27. *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

Ugra, Mahadeva and Isana. I have already shown that both in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Yajurveda* (Vaj. Sam.) Rudra had already come to have these epithets.

In some other Vedic literature, four types of Vratyas are spoken of; and Dr. Dandekar mentioning them takes up two, which to him "appear to be of particular interest [in the context of his study of Rudra Siva] in so far as they very emphatically underline the close relationship which must have subsisted between Rudra and the religious cult of the *vratyas*". The two classes so picked up are: (1) the garagir (swallowers of poison), and (2) the *samanichamedhra* (one whose penis hangs low through control of passion)".

As for the first class, there is a curious statement in the so-called Muni hymn of the *Rigveda*[28]; in the 12th verse. Rudra is said in it to be drinking with long-locked Munis from a cup full of 'visha'. The last word 'visha' is construed by Dr. Dandekar in its usual classical sense of poison. In doing so he has ignored the fact that the same word 'visha' occurs in the first verse of the hymn, where it cannot possibly be made to mean poison. Under the circumstances the usual rendering of the 12th verse has to be accepted as the correct and proper one. In Griffith's words it reads: "When he with long loose locks [kesin] hath drunk, with Rudra, water from the cup". The allusion here must be understood to be to the equality-treatment the long-locked Muni receives from Rudra, the further suggestion or implication being that Rudra was the God worshipped or propitiated by long-locked Munis.

The second class of Vratyas who, for Dr. Dandekar, "very emphatically underline the close relationship between Rudra and the religious cult of the vratyas", the "samanichamedhra" class, far from underscoring Rudra's relationship with them countermands it if Rudra-Siva is to be conceived as ithyphallic or a deity with erect phallus as Dr. Dandekar[29] is convinced and as he wants his readers to accept that He is. For the epithet means "one whose penis hangs low through complete control over sexual passion", while one whose penis stands erect has to be considered a highly sexually active person. As I have already shown this connection of Rudra with Brahmacharins or with Vratyas is precisely in the line of development of Rudra's connection with and possibly headship of long-locked Munis very well described in the Rigveda itself.

Dr. Dandekar, it appears, does not conceive Rudra-Siva as three-faced, though he has approvingly quoted Marshall's description of the Indus Valley seal-deity, the supposed prototype of historic or Epic Siva. For he is convinced and is intent on convincing his readers that the three-faced feature of the Indus-Valley deity, who is to Dr. Dandekar "the

28. *Rigveda,* X, 136.
29. *Op. cit.,* pp. 100, 136, 138 and fn.

original Rudra-Siva", was one of the features "purposefully suppressed by the Vedic poet-priests", and he[30] goes to the length of rating D. R. Bhandarkar for his "curious" thinking that "the three-faces of the proto-Siva are preserved in the form of the Vedic Rudra's epithet, *tryambaka*. Dr. Dandekar's explanation of the Rigvedic description of Rudra as Tryambaka, however, draws precisely upon the same feature of the Indus Valley civilization which D. R. Bhandarkar, it appears to me, was the first to bring into relation with the seal-deity. Only he did not speak of "procreation-fertility-vegetation aspect of the mother-cult" in addition to the cult of the Mother-Goddess, as Dr. Dandekar[31] does.

About the horns in the headdress of the Indus Valley seal-deity, Bhandarkar,[32] in his first note on the subject, had drawn attention to the horns found on some South Indian Siva figures carved during Pallava rule, referring to the *33rd Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India* authored by A. H. Longhurst and published in 1928. As the horns, which Longhurst, writing before the publication of Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro* etc., had interpreted as the tops of the trident, appear only on some Siva figures, Bhandarkar had concluded that they were the cult-figures of some special sects of the Saivas. He, however, was inclined to derive the close association of the trident, *trisula*, with historic or Epic Siva to Indus proto-Siva's horns. Dr. Dandekar[33] does not accept this linking up of the Vedic Rudra "with the pair of horns of the Indus Valley god in a round about manner", as it is "based on a wrong premise". The "wrong premise", it appears, is that the horns were considered to be the mark of Godhood. Dandekar suggests that "the so frequently represented [?] Indus Valley bull may, after all, have been a symbol of the proto-Indian [Indus Valley proto-] Siva himself". He further observes that many of the followers of the pre-Vedic proto-Indian Siva cult also may have used the symbol of their cult, namely a pair of horns, as their symbol". He draws attention to the people described as *vishanins* "horned" or "carrying horns", mentioned in *RV*, VII, 18.7, and the intriguingly interesting fact of their having been the allies of a tribe called Sivas, i.e., after the common name of Rudra in post-Vedic and Epic times. Having with him ample evidence to show that "in primitive mythology sometimes some characteristic feature of the animal of a particular god is transformed to that god", the horns of the proto-Siva of Indus Valley Dr. Dandekar thinks were the horns of his special animal the bull, transferred to Him. The horns of the Rigvedic Vishanins, who were the allies of Sivas, and who are not described as wearing horns, were worn

30. *Op. cit.*, p. 141.
31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-45.
32. *Indian Culture*, 1935-36.
33. *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

as a symbol of their god! Unfortunately, the horns in the headdress of the Indus Valley deity are those of buffalo[34] and not of bull! The whole theory of Dr. Dandekar, therefore, is futile.

Dandekar has made a suggestion, which while accounting for the absence of horns in the headdress offers a plausible explanation of the crescent moon on the head of the Epic or historic Siva, and of his epithet, Chandramauli. He suggests that the original horns "seem to have assumed the form of the crescent moon" without spelling out probable or possible modus operandi through which this could have or might have happened. To one it appears that the only possible channel for such a transformation can be through the history of actual representations of the deity through time or regional variations. Unfortunately none of the Siva images whether purely anthropomorphic or combined with aniconic representation carry horns in the headdress. And the early images, like the Gudimallum linga etc. and even the mediaeval once are devoid of the crescent moon on Siva's head! Dr. Dandekar's suggestion thus remains a pure conjecture and a mere act of faith if accepted.

With all the endeavour of D. R. Bhandarkar and R. N. Dandekar the emotionally most evocative form of Siva, viz., Gangadhara, with Ganga, the river or the River-goddess borne on His head, remains unexplained and untouched. This form of Siva represents not merely his benevolent aspect but his actual beneficent activity and that, too, in a chronological though traditional, setting and in connection with one of the most proverbial of ancient monarchs of the hallowed lineage of the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya. King Bhagiratha whom Siva was pleased to help to channel the Ganga river to an appropriate destination, i.e., its present or recent past course, is proverbial for super-Herculean endeavour. He figures twenty steps above Rama, the first human to be God, in Pargiter's dynastic lists. In Pargiter's reasonable chronological scheme he must have lived about 1550 B.C., Siva's beneficent activity, which helped Bhagiratha and which has contributed to the prosperity and to the character of India since then, thus stands dated, though approximately. Describing the campaign for universal conquest on which Raghu started Kalidasa[35] tells us that Raghu with his army going east from Ayodhya looked like Bhagiratha leading Ganga from out of the matted locks of Siva, where it hast fallen from heaven, to the eastern ocean. In Meghaduta (v. 50) he has referred to Sagara, Bhagiratha's great-great-grandfather, and his sons for whose salvation Bhagiratha had endeavoured to turn the course of the Ganga.

Rudra-Siva, therefore, must be considered to be fundamentally a Rig-

34. Fairservis, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
35. *Raghu,* IV, 32.

vedic god who appears to have gathered a few epithets in the later Vedic age in the process of ethnic and regional integration and sectarian proliferation which may not have stopped even now. As an instance of this proliferation in the recent past I may bring to the notice of my readers. the fact that Mahadeva, i.e., Siva, is conceived not only as five-faced, but even as twenty-five-headed and fifty-armed, a figure of Siva from Tanjore answering that description being attested by Gopinatha Rao.[36]

In the chapter dealing with the development of the concept of God Siva from Rigvedic Rudra I have mentioned the curious episode narrated in the Dronaparvan of the Mahabharata, intended to explain the then current worship of Siva in the form of the phallus and also Dr. S. K. Das's opinion that that is the earliest reference to Siva-linga worship. R. G. Bhandarkar[37] had more than sixty years ago drawn attention to the Dronaparvan and also to the latest parvan, the Anusasana,[38] and concluded: "It will be seen that the object of worship in Saivism is the Linga or phallus. We have found no trace of this characteristic in the earlier literature." However, in the footnote he drew attention to two passages from the *Svetasvatara Up.*,[39] one speaking of the god Isana as presiding over every Yoni and the other "of the lord presiding over all forms and yonis" and observed that he would "not deny the possibility" of these meaning "an allusion to the physical fact of the Linga and Yoni connected together" typifying the philosophical doctrine of gods presiding over every creative cause.

R. G. Bhandarkar asserted that as Patanjali instances only an image or 'pratikriti' of Siva as an object of worship while explaining Panini's Sutra V, 3.99, Linga worship had till then not come into use. As on the reverse of the coins of the Kushan king Wema—Kadphises (A.D. 80) there is the human figure of Siva but no Linga or phallus, phallus worship of Siva must be later than his time, though perhaps among ordinary people it might have crept in earlier. In the chapter referred to above, more recent discoveries and their bearing on the age of the practice of phallus worship has been very briefly presented. From the account it will be clear that actual evidence of phallus worship may have to be put down about two centuries earlier than Bhandarkar was prepared to accept. As regards Bhandarkar's interpretation of the two passages of the *Svetasvatara Up.*, it appears to me that the logic of them is not as compelling as it seems to have appeared to Bhandarkar. For this control over Yoni (the expression is *adhitishthati*, presides over) predicated of Isana is much earlier said to have been Vishnu's. Rigveda X, 184 is a

36. *Elements etc.*, vol. II, pp. 361-70.
37. *Vaisnavism, Saivism etc.*, p. 114.
38. *Mbh.* XVI, 14.
39. *Svetasvatara Up.*, IV, 11 and V, 2.

short hymn in which three major Rigvedic deities and two minor ones are invoked to procure or secure progeny. It begins with the prayer "May Vishnu fashion the Yoni", Prajapati Tvashtar, Asvins, Dhatar, the River-goddess Sarasvati, and the moon-goddess Sinivali being requested to do the other things necessary for a foetus to form and grow and be born in the tenth month. This hymn recurs in the rite of the first copulation of a married couple described in the *Brihadaranyaka Up.*[40] and in the *Baudhayana Grihya Sutra.*[41] Fashioning of the Yoni of a *primapari* is not very different from 'presiding over' a Yoni.

Bhandarkar did not touch on the ithyphallic feature of Siva, which, as J. N. Banerjea[42] has rightly stated, is found in Siva figures of the post-Christian period. Before embarking on the quest for the earliest evidence of this feature of Siva image it is necessary to state that I make, and I think it is necessary to make a distinction between 'urdhvaretas' and 'urdhvalinga', though sometimes they are used as if no distinction exists between them. Literally, "urdhvaretas" must mean 'one whose semen is up', i.e., one whose semen has not fallen and does not fall, and consequently a perpetual celebate, while 'urdhvalinga' must mean one whose penis is erect', i.e., continuously keeps tumescently erect, implying, of course, that the person can completely control the dropping of his semen and also that the dropping of semen does not cause detumescence in his penis. This latter feature, i.e., 'urdhvalinga' alone is capable of being made visible in sculpture or painting, the former feature being conveyable only verbally.

One god of ancient Egypt, Min of Koptos, was an ithyphallic god, who was so important that he was not only assimilated to the great god Amen or rather the latter came to be identified with him as many Egyptologists state, but was even thought to have been "only a variant form of the national god Amen from the very beginning," according to A. Erman. Min was always represented as standing upright and holding his huge phallus in his left hand.[43]

Siva is spoken of as "urdhvaretas" in the Anusasanaparvan of the Mahabharata (XIII, 84) in the tale of Skanda's origin. Dr. Dandekar,[44] who informs us that epic Siva is "often represented with the raised phallus" has referred to *Matsya Purana* and also to Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* from which it appears that the penis was to be turned up and shown as resting on the lower end of the navel. It is necessary to point out that *Brihatsamhita,* the standard famous text

40. *Brihadaranyaka Up.,* VI, 4.20-23.
41. *Baudhayana Grihya Sutra,* I, 7.
42. *Op. cit.,* p. 457.
43. Vide my *Religious Consciousness,* pp. 25-28 and the authorities referred to there.
44. *Op. cit.,* p. 138 and fn 2 and 3.

on iconography, in its prescription for the idol of Siva does not mention the *urdhvalinga* feature, though it has spoken of even the Ardhanarisvara image of the God. It has even prescribed the measurement of the space between the centre of the navel and the root of the penis, which is 12 'angulas', the same as the measurement of the space between the throat and the heart, and the heart and the latter end of the navel.

The 'linga' has three sections: (1) the lowest is square and sunk directly into the ground, there being thus no 'salunki' or the 'fancied' female organ to receive it; (2) the middle section is to be octagonal; and (3) the top to be cylindrical. Siva's idol must have the crescent on the head, the third eye shown vertically on the forehead and a bull for ensign. When the idol is not of Ardhanarisvara form it should carry a trident in one hand and a bow, "pinaka", in the other.[45] The prescription about the penis and its measurement given in the *Pratimamanalakshana* a Buddhist work, lays down that the testicles should be 3 'angulas' long and the penis, 4 'angulas', the space between navel and the root of the testicles is 12 'angulas' (one 'tala'). Thus it is seen that as far as standard and early texts on iconography are concerned there is no evidence of any 'urdhva-linga' feature of Siva.

There is literary evidence to show that even the so-called 'urdhvaretas' attribute of Siva is a late and sectional addition. The passage from the *Anusasana parvan* of the Mahabharata, referred to above as the earliest literary reference to Siva's being 'urdhvaretas', occurs in the tale of Skanda's birth to account for the origin and source of gold. The sequel, however, quite clearly contradicts the assertion of Siva's being an 'urdhvaretas' proper or real one. For Siva in the story withdraws his penis without completing the sex-act, no doubt, but in the very act of withdrawing some semen spurts out and flows and turns into a river and a mountain of gold. That the attribution of 'urdhvaretas' trait to Siva was a new-fangled notion purposely interpolated in the story becomes evident on a perusal of the story of Skanda's birth as narrated in the Ramayana and even by Kalidasa in his *Kumarasambhava*.

The Ramayana[46] story asserts that after his marriage with Parvati Siva began his copulation with her which continued, with intermission as required by sacred law, for almost a century without any result. The gods got terrified at this; for all energy would dry up if Siva's semen after such excitation was to drop, it being in the final analysis the source of all forms of energy. Through Agni, Gods sent an SOS request message to Siva to stop his sexual activity and to lead an ascetic life to prevent the destruction of the world. Siva, kind as he is, agreed, but pointed out to the Gods that his semen was already excited it must have an

45. J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-9, 587-89. 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 605-6.

outlet. The Gods requested Him to let it drop on the ground (earth). It was later taken by Agni; and so on the story proceeds. The account in Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava*[47] is more or less the same with minor variations. Neither the Ramayana nor Kalidasa quite correctly speaks of Siva as 'urdhvaretas'; for in actual fact Siva's semen did drop. In the Mahabharata itself in the account of Skanda's birth narrated in the *Salyaparvan* there is no mention of Siva's having the 'urdhvaretas' trait. It is thus quite clear that as sects multiplied and new features of violent activities and extravagant claims began to be sponsored by groups and sects in mutual competition extravagant claims began to be put up on behalf of Siva even though they were awkward in the whole religious history and complex.[48]

Representation of the 'urdhvalinga' feature of Siva in the extant images, whether on coins or seals or in sculptural works is mostly quite late, later than the 8th-9th centuries A.D., and that, too, almost restricted to eastern regions, particularly Bengal. Both the well-known full-figured 'lingas', that of Gudimallam in Andhra Pradesh of the 1st century B.C., and the Mathura one of the 2nd century A.D., do not have this feature, though in the former the penis, which is actually shorter than the testicles, is visible.[49]

Dr. J. N. Banerjea,[50] who thought it correct to state that "the *urdhvalinga* so common in sculptural representation of Siva from the late Kushan period onwards", though as I shall presently show he was unable to produce more than one clear instance and that too from Khiching (Orissa) of the 11th century A.D., quite definitely asserts that it is on a gold coin of Huvishka that the 'urdhvalinga' appears "for the first time (no other early coin representations of Siva in his human form bears it)". There are only two other ithyphallic, "urdhvalinga", figures reproduced by Banerjea, both of which are from Orissa and not only late, i.e., 9th-10th century A.D., but are those of Lakulisa, founder of the Pasupata sect, known for its extreme doctrines. The only seal-representation of Siva that Banerjea has been able to produce as some evidence of 'urdhvalinga' Siva is one from Basarh or Vaisali. It is either early or late Gupta period, i.e., not earlier than A.D. 350. And the nature of the ithyphallic character of the figure of Siva may be judged from Banerjea's half-hearted statement: "There seem to be traces of *urdhvalinga* feature on the front part of the waist".[51] We may conclude from this study of Siva's being conceived and represented as an ithyphallic

47. VIII, 76-91; IX, X.
48. On this see my *Indian Acculturation: Agastya and Skanda.*
49. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 67, 232 and pl. XVIII.
50. *Op. cit.*, p. 123; *ibid.*, pp. 469-70, 480-81.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

deity that not only is it post-Kushan but that it is even then very rare, almost purely sectional or sectarian and mostly met with in early and late mediaeval times in Orissa and Bengal, where the esoteric and orgiastic school of Sakti-worship and Tantrism prospered mightily.

Another feature of Rudra-Siva image, said to affine the God to the chief deity of the Harappan or Indus civilization, is three-headedness or polycephaly. The three-facedness of the Harappan deity is more than doubtful. Epic-historic three-headed Siva is Mahesa represented in three or four sculptures, at least one of which is counted amongst the masterpieces of Indian sculptures, standing very high up in any sculptural group chosen for majestic, yet quiescently contented faces. It is the sculpture that formed the central figure of the cave-shrine in Gharapuri island (Elephanta) in Bombay harbour. It is dated in the second half of the 8th century A.D. An earlier representation is known to have been discovered at Charsada or Hastanagar in Peshawar valley. Coomaraswamy who considers it to be a product of Indianized Gandharan art of the third century A.D. says that it is "very close to [type seen on] Vasudeva's coin fig. 126".[52]

With all the showing that Banerjea[53] has been able to make on behalf of the hither and indigenous Indians regarding the representation of deities, particularly of Siva, it may be confidently asserted that with the exception of the Gudimallam-linga and the one or two rather debatable cases of the Ujjayani coins, the extant human representation of Siva was first made by foreigners, Greco-Bactrians, Parthians, Scytho-Greeks or the Kushans and the Kshatrapa Scytho-Parthians almost wholly on their coins. These representations beginning about the 1st century B.C. were preceded, accompanied and also followed, for sometime, by representations of some purely Greek and Iranian deities. In the matter of Indian deities, Siva, Skanda, Visakha, curiously enough, the triad mentioned by Panini and therefore to be considered as current for worship in the north-west and beyond, it is the same story. Only one exception may have to be made and that in the reign of Huvishka, beginning of the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. And that is that God Ooshna appearing on the reverse of some of his coins may "possibly be Vishnu".[54]

Regarding the theories, tracing the source of Epic Rudra-Siva in the so-called Pasupati-god of the Harappan or Indus civilization, I have finally to emphasize the fact of the utter rarity of the seals or other artefacts bearing the representation of that deity in that civilization as known upto now. That only three or four seals at the most but really only two should have the representation, though no less than two

52. Pl. XXX of *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 55, 100.
53. Pp. 117-8, 178-89.
54. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56, fn; *loc, cit.*, p. 47.

thousand to two thousand five hundred seals have beeun unearthed speaks very much against the deity having been common among the peoples, who reared and carried on the Indus civilization for about eight centuries. Add to this the fact that among the excavated sites in India (Bharat), some few hundred miles to the east of the Harappa-Mohenjo-daro-axis in Pakistan, no such deity representation on seals or in pottery figurines has come to the rapatious hands of keen-eyed archaeologist-excavators. The sites of Surkotada in Kutch, Rangpur in Limbdi and Lothal near Ahmedabad, were quite flourishing in their Indus civilization days and they have been very extensively and carefully excavated. The account of excavations at Rangpur written by the archaeologist-excavator Dr. S. R. Rao fills nearly hundred and seventyfive large-sized pages of *Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey India, 1963*. There is however not a single seal figuring in the profuse illustrations of pottery and other objects collected in the excavations. Dr. Rao's paragraph on the religion, or as Dr. Rao [55] puts it "the spiritual concepts", of the Rangpur people can be summarised in the four words used by him, e.g., that it or they "cannot be made out". The same scholar-archaeologist excavated Lothal which on the excavator's showing appears to have been a flourishing harbour carrying on trade with the west, Sind, Makran coast and the Persian Gulf, in the Harappan and Post-Harappan times.[56]

About the number of seals recovered from his excavations Dr. Rao [57] has informed his readers only in the vague words "more than one hundred", the same being said about both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Whatever the number of seals, hundred or five hundred—the reader may please bear in mind that Mortimer Wheeler [58] has stated that the seals found at Mohenjo-daro numbered 1200—there was none among them with any human-looking representation on it; much less was there any seal with the so-called 'Pasupati'-representation! When dealing with the religion of the Lothal people Dr. Rao [59] has to content himself with the observation: "The male gods are represented on the seals from Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and now Kalibangan also", leaving out not only Rangpur but also Lothal. About Kalibangan we shall see later. Here I must point out that Dr. Rao's inclusion of Harappa is based on one seal and one sealing. Unfortunately though Wheeler, too, has mentioned

55. *Loc. cit.*, p. 47.
56. *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, 1973, pp. 115-7.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
58. *The Indus Civilization*, p. 101.
59. *Lothal*, p. 135.

them and described their subject-matter in almost the same words as Dr. Rao's, neither of them has cared to reproduce any of the two.[60]

Kalibangan excavation yielded only eight seals, according to Dr. Rao. Evidently there is none among them bearing any human or deity representation. Dr. B. K. Thapar,[61] whose report on his excavation at Prakash on the Tapi in Maharashtra stands out almost unique in its statistical presentation of the pottery material discovered and who collaborated with Prof. B. B. Lall in the work of excavating Kalibangan, speaking about ritualism among the people of pre-historic Kalibangan, almost at the time when Rao was engaged in publishing his views on Kalibangan finds, observes quite categorically: "It is surprising that at Kalibangan, except for the seals, none of the above categories of objects ["terracotta female figurine, ... stone images, and aniconic objects and phalli"] have been found, and that even among the seals none depicts a deity".

However, Dr. Rao has supported his statement about human deity figure being represented in Kalibangan, by referring to "a terracotta triangular cake (Pl XXXVIc)" on which he sees "a deity with a trident like object as headdress and a goat led by a man sketched". In his comments on the object, while discussing the religion of his Lothal Harappans he speaks of many "triangular terracotta cakes" at Kalibangan and observes about one of them, the one reproduced in photograph in the plate noted in the parentheses above, he states that it "is engraved with the figure of a goat led by a man on one side and a god with horned headdress on the other. There is no doubt that these two scenes taken together suggest a goat being sacrificed to please the deity who may be Siva". It is to be noted that similar terracotta triangular cakes which he discovered at Lothal, evidently, did not carry any such representation.[62] It would be very surprising that if the bricks had any kind of ritualistic bearing, such a careful excavator and writer as Dr. B. K. Thapar,[63] whose knowledge of the material and views of its import must have been checked up with Prof. B. B. Lal, who is equally meticulous and has had experience in a wider archaeological field like that of Egypt, should have passed them over and should have categorically remarked: "No cult objects have so far been identified among the excavated finds"!

However, Dr. Rao is to some extent supported by Dr. H. D. Sankalia's observations on the religion of the people of Kalibangan, appearing in the second edition, 1974, of his book *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, p. 352. The cake is described by Dr. Sankalia to be "an oblong terracotta cake incised on both sides with a figure which re-

60. Wheeler, pp. 105-06.
61. Rao in *Lothal*, etc., p. 90; Thakar in Hammond, p. 101.
62. *Lothal.*, pp. 92, 140.
63. Hammond, p. 101.

minds one again of the figure in gold in Hissar III, and... The incised figure seems to be a bull-headed figure (god), with large incurved horns". He then refers to the famous Mohenjo-daro seal with which I have dealt above, noting the views from Marshall down to Fairservis. Dr. Sankalia's observation on it reads: "To some extent we are familiar with a horn-headed deity from the famous Pasupati-like seal. But there the horns are not quite clear, and hence some scholars doubt its identification. But in the Kalibangan figure there is no doubt". The particular representation he states "can be derived from the mouflon (or wild mountain goat) head in gold from Hissar in Iran through the painting of a bull's head on a pot at Kot Doji in Sind, and also at Gumla and Burzahom". Strange it is that Dr. Sankalia should speak of an oblong terracotta cake from Kalibangan; for Dr. Thapar tells us that what "Prof. Lal and he had found there were either flat triangular or circular terracotta cakes"!

Dr. Sankalia's endeavour at proving that the head equipment of the 'engraved' as Rao has it, or the 'incised' as Dr. Sankalia has it, figure on the 'cake' is a god-send and at deriving it in a very round about way from a Hissar specimen appear to me quite laboured and not necessary at all. As our discussion early in this chapter shows nobody has doubted much less called in question the fact that the headdress of the particular figure representation is horned. Nobody, therefore, has hesitated to accept the representation of that Siva-Pasupati because the horns in its headdress are supposedly doubtful. The fact is that all the three Indologists, Bhandarkar, Dandekar and Banerjea, the last of whom is also an expert iconographer, have been at pains to explain away the horns of the Mohenjo-daro Siva-Pasupati to bring up the representation to the standard image of Epic Siva-Pasupati, who, in the relevant literature and in iconic representations, does not have a horned headdress or horns on the head. They would like to derive, either the crescent moon on the head of Epic Siva or his trident, from the horns on the head of the Mohenjo-daro figure representation. Banerjea goes a step or two on the positive path and submits a passage from the Great Epic, Mahabharata, supposedly testifying to Epic Siva's head being adorned with horns! Dr. Sankalia, to judge by the way he has written, seems to think that Epic Siva-Pasupati has a horned headdress or has horns on his head, an utterly wrong notion!

The horns on the head of the human figure on the famous seal from Mohenjo-daro have not been in question. But if they are called in question by any body he can be silenced by directing attention to a number of other seals which bear representation of human or composite figures and also to those in which buffaloes or charging bulls figure. As specimens of the first variety, I may mention seals numbered 18, 20, 21

and 23 and of the latter 2, 3, 30, 31, 33a and 38 on pages 276-279 in Prof. Fairservis, book, *the Roots of Ancient India.* On all these figures the horns figure on the head standing convexly or in the form of the "small brackets".

Dr. Sankalia, therefore, need not have laboured the situation so at all. In labouring it, it appears to me, he has gone astray. For the Hissar specimen, from which he would ultimately derive the representation of the horns on the head of the human figure represented in the famous Mohenjo-daro seal and on the supposedly similar or identical 'engraving' or 'etching' on the terracotta cake from Kalibangan, shows the horns standing utterly turned down into almost a coil, resting on either cheek, i.e., in the form and manner just contrary to that appearing in the cake-etching!

As for the interpretation of the actual etching on the Kalibangan terra-cotta cake Dr. Sankalia has attempted to establish its veracity or authenticity by presenting an artistically and artfully arranged picture of the famous Mohenjo-daro seal figure at the top of a four-membered configuration in fig. 88k on page 353. A line-drawing of the etching on the obverse side of the Kalibangan cake is shown as coming out of it straight down, in which the figure—mark well that there is seen on it not the slightest attempt at making eyes and mouth on the circular patch to which the 'horns' are attached, one on each side—quite clearly appears to be a standing one with its arms-like side trappings lying straight down! The figure to the reader's left in the four-membered configuration prepared and presented by Dr. Sankalia is quite clearly a faithful reproduction of the figure on the Mohenjo-daro seal numbered 18 in Prof. Fairservis' book, referred to above. The figure on the reader's right in the same configuration is equally clearly a manipulation imaginatively, made from the figure standing within the branches of a tree in the Mohenjo-daro seal numbered 23 in Prof. Fairsevis' book. The manipulation has turned the standing figure into a squatting one, exactly agreeing with the two other figures from the two Mohenjo-daro seals, the top one and the left hand one, and has substituted the simple central feature of the original headdress by that appearing on the heads of the smaller figures standing beneath in the seal. With these two imaginative manipulations, which are of course unwarranted, the figure tallies exactly with the other two; and these three figures of the four-membered configuration thus are made to look more or less like copies of the same figure, the so-called Siva-Pasupati of the Mohenjo-daro seal!

I have to point out one more modification—or is it too manipulation—and that is in respect of the etching on the Kalibangan cake which is under discussion. In Dr. Sankalia's line-drawing of it incorporated in the four-membered configuration in fig. 88k, the top circular

patch, to which the horns are attached, appears as a ring pure and simple, the central plant-like or tree-branch like feature standing on its top. In the photograph of the cake-piece, printed as fig. 88j on p. 354, under a magnifying glass I can see signs, though faint, of the plant or the branch passing through the ring-like path down to its lower end, indicating as it were that it was arising out of the whole lower portion. In Dr. Rao's photographic reproduction in Pl. XXXVIc of "Lothal", one can see the thick lower portion of the plant or branch like vertical feature right through down the circular patch, rather more towards its left side, to reach the main part of the body.

Thus there is quite clearly a fair amount of confusion and lack of specification about many details of this supposedly human figure etching on the Kalibangan cake. Dr. Sankalia appears to have nothing to do with its reverse side and the so-called goat-sacrifice of Dr. Rao. Dr. Thapar, the original excavator, investigator and interpreter would not, evidently, detect any message in the cake. Under these circumstances, we should be well advised to leave the Kalibangan cake out while considering the implications of the so-called deity figures in the Harrappan or Indus civilization for the development of the image of Epic Rudra Siva.

Even if one were to grant that the human figures appearing on the seals, two or three, of Mohenjo-daro represent a deity, which can be considered to be a potential prototype of Epic Rudra-Siva, as the spread of currency of the deity, the potential prototype of Epic Rudra Siva among the Harappan and Indus civilization people was so restricted, almost a rare phenomenon, that it is impossible that when that civilization collapsed, either because the people were massacred or suffered a terrific natural calamity causing total destruction, the originally restricted or rare complex should have influenced the people who came in thereafter. These new immigrants as Dr. Fairservis[64] has observed were people who were "worshipping cosmic deities like Indra of the thunder, and Agni of the fire, sacrificing, quarreling, gambling, drinking, singing, dancing". What chance was there for any theistic complex of whatever shape of very rarest occurrence in a civilization that was on its deathbed to be taken any note of by such boisterous or militant nature-worshippers? Moreover the three Harappan civilization sites in hither India (Bharat), one of which e.g. Kalibangan, being precisely in the region where the fighting immigrants could appear to have rested and settled for some time, have not revealed any sign of the prevalence of the cult, if any, of the supposed deity of the Harappans. We can safely, in the present state of our knowledge of the past, leave out Harappan or Indus

64. *Op cit.*, p. 345.

civilization in our search for the development of the idea and image of Epic Rudra-Siva.

The same year that brought Dr. Dandekar's paper on Epic Rudra-Siva, i.e. 1953, gave us the English translation of Dr. Bedrich Hrozny's book *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*. One finds that Dr. Hrozny claims to have read the seals of the Harappan or Indus civilization and has named not only Siva-Pasupati of our seal but a goddess of another seal as the consort of Siva, equivalent of Durga, on a third one "the Proto-Indian god Natesh, Nataya, indicating probably the Nata-Raja" and on still another the evidence of Ganesa.[65] Dr. Hrozny's reading of the seals carried him farther still. Reading two names Yayash and Yae on "more than 300 amulets [seals]" he observes: "Even the Proto-Indian deity Yayash, Yat, as a deity of sun is a prototype of the Old-Indian god Vishnu".[66] As Dr. Hrozny's identifications all rest on his reading of the signs on the seals, one has to hold his breath till the reading is accepted by competent experts as correct.

However, in the meanwhile following on Hrozny's heels J. N. Ramachandran has gone further ahead and has propounded, in Dr. Rao's words, that "the Indus seals depict Vedic cult scenes"; Ramachandran's contention is based on his interpretation of some Rigvedic passages which appear to me to be rather arbitrary. I doubt it that competent Vedicists have accepted or will accept them. I would have passed by the exercise of Ramachandran's. However, Dr. S. R. Rao has not only accepted Ramachandran's interpretations and contention but appears to have gone even further. I shall therefore deal with one passage whose egregious rendering, without giving the textual reference and considering and stating the content, Dr. Rao has transcribed along with the text. But before doing this I must point out that Ramachandran, over and above what appear to me to be his forced interpretations, does not appear to have critically mastered the data of the seals, if Dr. Rao has transcribed him correctly. In the statement quoted by Rao[67] Ramachandran is said to have spoken of the Mohenjo-daro God "in the centre of the seal as "amidst the rhinoceros, the elephant, the buffalo, *the bull*, the tiger, antelopes [?], men, birds and fish". Well Sir John Marshall[68] has very clearly explained his difficulty in associating the bull with his Siva-Pasupati of Mohenjo-daro just because he did not find the animal associated with the figure anywhere. It is also well-known that the famous seal, No. 18, has neither an antelope nor a bull among its animals!

The Rigvedic passage in question is the 3rd stanza of the 58th, i.e. the

65. Pp. 183-86.
66. Pp. 178-80.
67. P. 138.
68. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 72.

last hymn of the IV book of the Rigveda. Tradition makes its deity to be Ghrita or clarified butter, or Ghee. The two great Indian commentators, Sayana and Mahidhara do not agree in their interpretation of it; and European Vedicists like Ludwig, too, have not succeeded better. The portion cited by Dr. Rao forms the second half of the stanza. Ramachandran's translation of it as quoted by Rao reads: "The three-bent bull goes on roaring that the Great God (is no longer in some invisible heaven but) has actually completely entered the mortals". This implies according to Ramachandran that "the bull does all the roaring to proclaim dharma-vijaya" or "the advent of a great God". Ramachandran mentions a sealing—I do not know if he has specified it; I know that Rao has not—in which "the bull is shown with three heads, one of the heads looking back, the second which is centrally placed looking down and the third looking ahead or stretched forward". Ramachandran has rendered the expression 'tridhabaddha' by 'three-bent' which it cannot mean because 'baddha' means 'bound' and not 'bent'; but having spoken of a three-headed bull posed in three slightly different ways it was imperative for Ramachandran, in order that he may extract out of the passage through the bull the proclamation he required, that the Great God was there among all the living creatures about him. The bull of the particular stanza is Agni, the Fire-god, and it is He that is connoted or denoted by the expression 'mahadevo' and not any other God. The Rigvedic Agni is conceived as being triple, in three regions, i.e., the earth, firmament and heaven, and that is why "bound in three places" (tridhabaddha) applies to it. The stanza is an esoteric description; praise of Agni, the first half speaking of its four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands! The 'sealing' of Ramachandran's comment is, it appears to me, the seal numbered 10 in Dr. Fairservis' book or the last in pl. XXVII of Sir Mortimer Wheeler's book. Wheeler has made no observation about the seal in his comments on seals; but Dr. Fairservis has included it among the three seals that portray "mythological or imaginary creatures". Ramachandran's distorted translation is thus lavished on some bull non-existent on the seals of the Harappan or Indus civilization!

I have to point out one more error committed by some writers like Mackay and Sir Mortimer Wheeler in their eagerness to see Rudra-Siva of the later days in the human figure depicted on the famous seal, evidently led into these dubious paths by the enthusiastic lead given by Sir John Marshall's views. And that is in regard to the explanation of the scene most probably on the seal numbered 30 in Fairservis' book. This is what Wheeler[69] says: "Another seal from Mohenjo-daro also shows a

69. *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

man (or god) attacking a buffalo with a barbed spear, a scene which recalls the attack on Dundubhi by Siva and other gods with a trident". Dr. S. R. Rao appears to endorse the view though hesitantly. He says[70]: "Some scenes relate to secular subjects such as hunting, but there is a school of thought which believes that the said scene has a mythological background and anticipates the story of Siva and other gods attacking Dundubhi, the buffalo-form demon". Dundubhi occurs only in the Ramayana[71] when Sugriva tells Rama about the prowess of Vali and how and under what circumstances the latter killed Dundubhi in hand-to-hand fight and threw away his corpse balancing it on his big toe far far away. As Siddhesvara Sastri Chitrava[72] has given the data from *Siva Purana* the demon that Siva with the help of other gods killed was named 'Dundubhi nirrhadha'; and there is no mention, in the note, of that demon as having been described as of buffalo-form!

We have fairly clearly seen that the so-called Harappan or Indus culture affinities of Epic Siva and Rigvedic Rudra simply do not exist. The partial similarity in some features is capable of being explained in terms of the synerctic development that takes places whenever foreigners of social heritage somewhat resembling the very much earlier culture of the people among whom they settled. It is the Greco-Scyths, and Irano-Kushans as well as Scytho-Kushans, i.e., the Western Kshatrapas who first represented Siva as three-headed and as an ithyphallic deity. But they appear to have dropped the experiment of assimilating the Indian Siva to one or other of their gods of somewhat similar lineaments in some aspects. The leaven, however, working among the more extremist of the various Saiva sects that arose—This proliferation of sects is bound to be a natural phenomenon in a society not centrally and unitarily controlled or even guided and is spread over an extensive country with minute social differentiation within each regional unit, particularly in the case of a deity whose lineaments are neither full nor centrally stereotyped and who happens not to be a deified hero or man-god like Rama or Krishna.

Now a few words may be said about Dr. Dandekar's contention that basically there is much in Epic-historic Rudra-Siva which is proto-Munda or Austric. One of his arguments is that the Spit-ox sacrifice ('sulagava') offered to Rudra, Isana, Kshetrapati or Siva bespeaks Dravidian or/and Austric sources of Rudra Siva. It is based on a slight misunderstanding of the nature, and also on some unauthorized interpretation, of some parts of the ritual involved. First of all in a society in which human sacrifice existed, in which the great god Indra could

70. *Lothal.*, p. 90. 71. *Ram.*, III. 11.45-52. 72. *Prachinacharitrakosa.*

singly receive a sacrifice of two hundred bulls, in which in certain great sacrifices besides the principal animal victim there had to be sacrificed between seventeen to three hundred other animals, in which a deceased person was to be enveloped in an ox or cowhide the animal being freshly killed for the purpose, horror of blood or any consideration of nicety about various parts of the animal or its preparation for sacrifice need not be considered; nor need one seek for outside influence if in one or the other of the various items of sacrifice a little more than usual indifference towards nicety is shown. In this context the reader may kindly refer to some sections in the chapter on "Ethnic Affiliations" to see that blood-shedding and blood-offering and even worse doings were a feature of pre-classical Homeric Greek society.

Dr. Dandekar points out or refers to a book in which it is stated that the jungle tribes and similar folks in the south, particularly Tamilnadu, impale their sacrificial animal at the offering of a sacrifice. Dr. Dandekar then referring to the Grihya Sutra prescription of the bull being bound to a 'yupa'—which it is surprising to find Dr. Dandekar (*op. cit.*, p. 127 fn) virtually identifying with a stake or a pale—which is the standard sacrificial pole, found already deified in the Rigveda itself and has stood as indubitable evidence of Vedic animal sacrifice from the Rigvedic age through the classical age of Kalidasa in India and later still in ancient Greater India, i.e., south-east Asia of Java, Cambodia, etc.

Following the lead of S. K. Chatterjea, as a supporting argument Dr. Dandekar [73] tells his readers that Sambhu, the very favourite name of Rudra-Siva, is the Dravidian word 'campu', meaning 'copper', 'red', suggesting that Siva is called Sambhu, i.e., by a name which is a Dravidian equivalent of Sanskrit 'rudra', because he is originally and basically a Dravidian deity! As I have mentioned in another chapter R. G. Bhandarkar had drawn the attention of all students of the subject more than sixty years ago that the very Satarudriya litany of the YV called Rudra, when appeased, Siva, Sambhu and Samkara.

We thus find that as early as the YV which speaks of the violent and bizarre aspect of the deity more than its beneficent one, there were two appellatives for the God which quite clearly are the derivatives formed from the base "sam". Now when one finds that the specific appellative, possibly derivable from non-Sanskritic language, i.e., as suggested by Chatterjea and Dandekar, from Old Tamil, is not only one assigned to the God but that there is another derived from the base of the same, and which derivative could not mean 'red', 'copper' or anything like that—at least these scholars have not traced such a word to Old Tamil or any other non-Sanskritic pre-Sanskrit language of India—one is justified in

73. *Journal of the University of Poona*, 1953, p. 134 and fn.

rejecting the theory. As a matter of fact—a very surprising circumstance indeed that both these Brahmin scholars, who must have performed their Sandhya-adorations for many years at least twice a day after their thread ceremony was performed, should not have remembered the sweetening word "sam" which occurs in the Sandhya at least half a dozen times—the 9th hymn of the X book of the RV is addressed to Waters, Deified and eulogised as welfare and peace-inducing agent, and the whole hymn at least once has to be repeated and water sprinkled over oneself. In the 6th stanza of it, what is more, occurs the expression 'visvasambhuvam' qualifying Agni, Fire. There can be instanced other cases of the use of 'sam', meaning 'welfare', 'peace', 'happiness' in the RV. In the 35th hymn of the VII book, that of the Vasistha lineage, of the RV thirteen out of its fifteen stanzas begin with the word 'sam' which also begins the Second distitch of each of them! This clearly means that 'sam' was a basic word among the Rigvedic people and their poets toyed with coining sweet-sounding or assuring words with it as the base, like 'Sam-bhu', 'Sam-kara'. As a matter of fact the word 'sambhu' is used in an appeal to Visvakarman, the Architect God, conceived as Vachaspati, the Lord of Speech. He is characterized as 'visvasambhu', 'one who gives all bliss'.[74] A 'stream' or 'river' ('kshoda'), too, is qualified as 'sambhu' "beneficent" or "sholesome".[75]

Dr. Dandekar's assertion that Sambhu is the name by which Rudra-Siva "is known in later times" is quite wrong as we find it applied to him even in the YV. And he has left out the equally old, the twin epithet 'Samkara'!

This is not to assert that there has been no influence of folk-religion and religious ritual on the development of the complex concept of Epic-historic Siva from the nebulous though multi-aspected Rigvedic Rudra but only to emphasize the fact that it could not have been direct or specific. God Siva is an impersonal deity and though he was later turned into a happy family-man particularly by Tamil religious thinkers, singers and preachers in the form of Soma-Skanda—I have briefly traced this development in my book *Gods and Men*, published in 1962—in Saivism there is no man-god comparable to the man-gods, Rama and Krishna of Vaishnavism.

The impersonal core of Saivism, in which the deity has tended through historic times to be worshipped in the form of a phallus, places Siva and Saivism in the world context rather than in the narrow folk context of India. Some years ago in my book *Religious Consciousness* (p. 25), among other things, I described, drawing upon H. Frankfort's *Before Philosophy*,

74. *RV*, X, 81.6.
75. *RV*, I, 65.3.

the ithyphallic god, Min of Koptos, north of Thebes, whose statues represented him as a man standing upright, holding his huge phallus in his left hand and a whip in his right. I also quoted Frankfort's view that the cult of the god showed clearly that he was the god of virility and generation and that the cult was widespread even as early the V Dynasty in Egypt. The festivals of the god were marked by orgiastic sexual indulgence. What is even more intriguing is that the deity was sometimes represented in a form which may represent the union of the male and the female organs of generation.

Later I shall have to point out Greek analogues of such a god or gods and also of phalli among the Greeks from the Homeric age down to the 5th century B.C. or so. Was the Cretan cult of pillars in which the kings were the priests much different from phallus cult?[76] The pillars with charters inscribed on them, which are found in Kassite Babylonia,[77] too, are taken by some scholars to represent phalli, "their tops being roughly rounded". What is even more significant is that at least one of the many human figurines from Hissar IIIc "appears to be phallic".[78] The high development of phallic representation in pre-historic Iran has been recently highlighted by the discovery of a "unique female figurine in the neolithic stratum at Tepe Yahya in south-east Iran near the Persian Gulf about 100 miles north-east of Bandar Abas. This site dated about 4500 B.C. to 5500 B.C. lies about 200 miles north-west of Bampur. C. C. Lamborg-Karlovsky and Richard H. Meadous characterizing the figure as "a composite phallic symbol" tell us that the topmost section of it represents the nut of the penis, the vagina being very well indicated by a protuberance into a hole, the breasts being de-emphasized.[79] Finds of almost four thousand years later from Marlik in north-western Iran, Persian Azerbaijan, contained figurines in pottery of men and women with very large genitals but short-legged and heavy footed.[80] The Hittites as pointed out in the second chapter portrayed their horned deity Adad as standing out in between two reclining bulls.

Rigvedic Aryans themselves have testified to the prevalence, among at least some of the people, of the worship of the phallus.[81] The early bull-complex spread over the vast area from the Ægean to Bihar and from Turkmenia to the Persian Gulf was quite clearly one concerned with the acquisition of great prowess and sexual vigour. Epic Rudra-Siva

76. *Ency. Brit.*, VI, 683.
77. *Ency. Brit.*, II, p. 848.
78. Numbered 3285 and figured pl. XLVII of Schmidt's report on Tepe Hissar Excavation, p. 194.
79. *Archaeology*, 1970, p. 13.
80. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
81. *RV*, VII, 21.5; X, 99.3.

being provided with the effigy of this animal in front of the phallus how can one assert that Rigvedic Rudra developed into Epic-historic Rudra-Siva straight on without development having been influenced by non-Vedic Indian practices! That these latter, however, were either Munda or Dravidian there is no evidence!

With all this, however, I have to emphasize the historical fact that the ritual of worship of Siva in elite households and the more elaborate and grander one current in the great mediaeval Siva temples, like Linga-raga of Bhuvaneswar, Orissa, and Ramesvara of Tamilnadu, show abundant evidence of Vedic-Brahmanic core or entirely.[82] That cven for the common people of the country Siva hearkens back to Rigvedic Rudra becomes patent whenever there is serious drought in any large region of the country. For at such a time, the rural or town people as the case may be, organise the performance of a rain-bringing magical ritual known as "Rudra", according to the grades of length and depth of ritual continuance, being distinguished as "Laghu (small) Rudra" or "Maha Rudra (Great Rudra)". The rite consists in keeping the Sivalinga of the principal temple of the settlement drenched in water continuously for a stated period accompanied by changing of hymns by Brahmins. Sivalinga then figures as the Rigvedic Rudra. For as Dr. Dandekar[83] himself so very well demonstrated by quotations from the Vedas, Rig-vedic Rudra makes the streams flow over the earth, is 'midhvas' i.e. the rain-bringing storm-god and is the sole 'jalashabheshaja', i.e., "one whose medicinal remedies consist of waters", waters having been conceived by the Rigvedic people to have medicinal potency!

82. See my *Gods and Men,* p. 35; *Religious Consciousness,* pp. 312-17.
83. *Op. cit.,* pp. 105-6.

8

Vedic Society: Ethnic Units

THE RIGVEDA quite often mentions 'Pancha Jana' or Five Races or Peoples or Tribes. There are at least thirtyone passages[1] in which their mention occurs, in one of which alone we find the names of units as Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, Turvasas and Purus, though they are not there designated as 'Five Tribes', Pancha Janas. Apparently in VII, 18 the text, as it stands, reads Yakshus for Yadus, the other four names being identical. All these names of tribes or groups or peoples quite often occur in the singular number, when the leader or the king of the particular tribe would appear to be intended.

In ten out of the thirty-one passages it is Indra who is invoked and associated with the success, wealth, prosperity and the land of the Five Peoples. In six passages, five of which occur in the IX book of the Rigveda, entirely devoted to Soma Pavamana, Soma is either said to be pressed among them or to be their guard. In one of these passages Soma, being identified with Agni figures as the Chief Priest of the Five Peoples.[2] On the other hand, in one of the passages, Indra is brought in because in strength he is like Soma, who is the guard of the Five Peoples,[3] Agni is concerned in six passages, in two of them Visvedevah, All-Gods, being joined with him.[4] The appeal to Agni by a Gritsamada sage, in which the 'Five Peoples' are referred to, is very interesting as illustrating the desires and ambitions of the Rigvedic Brahmins. The sage prays to Agni: "Over the Five Peoples let our glory shine high like the realm of light unsurpassable.[5]

Agni's protective guidance of the Five Peoples was in fact much greater than the numerical count suggests. For in two other passages[6] he figures in the conjoint deity Indra-Agni. The former of these passages is the one which mentions the Five Peoples. It reads: "If with the Yadus,

1. I, 108.8.
2. IX, 66.20.
3. I, 100.12.
4. X, 53.4 and 5.
5. II, 2.10.
6. I, 108.8 and V, 86.2.

Turvasas, ye sojourn, with Druhyus, Anus, Purus, Indra-Agni . . . come hither"—to Kutsa, the sage singer—to drink the libations he had made ready. In the other passage the "Twain invicible in war, worthy to be renowned in frays", are declared to be "Lords of the Five-fold People". Indra "rules with single sway men, riches and the fivefold race".[7] Indra is said to love well the Five Peoples whose treasures rest deposited in his (Indra's) hands.[8] A Vishvamitra sage[9] claims of Indra, Satakratu, all the powers he had displayed amid the Five Peoples. While one Atreya sage speaks of Indra-Agni as the Lords of the People, as mentioned above, another asserts that he had heard that Indra "was born, sole Lord of Heroes of the Five Peoples".[10] who, the singer maintains, were "famed among the people". This indicates that the Five Peoples did not exhaust the whole of the Rigvedic society. Still another sage of the Atri family asks Indra to bring to him all aids he can, whether they be "three or four or those of the Five Peoples".[11] A Bharadvaja sage not only specifies the kind of aid he desires from Indra but makes the extent of such help disposable by Indra much wider. He says[12]: "All strength and valour that is found, Indra, in the tribes of Nahushas (people apparently distinct from the five Aryan tribes *par excellence* and dwellers on or near the Indus) and all the splendid fame the Five Tribes [Peoples] enjoy, bring all manly powers at once". The Five Peoples or Tribes were thus already famous in a remarkable degree! One Kanva singer asserts that "when the Five Tribes (Peoples) with all their men" send their voice, i.e., a call, to Indra, having kept ready the paraphernalia of sacrifice, Indra goes to them as to His own home, another calling on Indra, evidently because of His partiality for the Five Peoples, to come to Him over long distances passing by the Five Peoples.[13]

Asvins, the twin-gods, are called upon to "bestow" on the worshipper and the sage singer evidently, "all manliness that is in heaven, with the Five Tribes or in mid-air".[14] They are requested by a Vasishtha poet, very passionately, too—he ends his two hymns to them with the same request—to "bring wealth from all sides for the Five-fold People".[15] Dadhikras, a form of the Sun in this case, is stated to have "overspread the Fivefold People with vigour".[16] A Visvamitra sage, knowing that Mitra—a God that receives a hymn to himself alone only from that sage, there being no other hymn in the Rigveda addressed to the God alone—"sustains all the Gods" asserts that all the "Five Peoples have repaired" to

7. I, 7-9.
8. *RV*. I, 176.3; X, 35.2.
9. III, 37.9.
10. V, 32.11.
11. V, 34.2.
12. VI, 46.7.
13. VIII, 52.7 and 32.22.
14. VIII, 9.2.
15. VII, 72 and 73.
16. IV, 38.10.

him.[17] Bharadvaja, whose family appears to have settled on the banks of the Sarasvati under the patronage of Vadhryasva, the oldest of the princes or kings definitely mentioned in what may be considered to be a historical context, associates the river Sarasvati with the prosperity of the Five Peoples.[18] However, another member of the family has prayed to five other Gods together, including Pushan, the old pastoral deity, patronised by the family more than any other of the Rigvedic people, to increase not only the Fivefold People but also "our land", a concept more civic than ethnic. The Gods appealed to are: "Prithivi, Aditi, Indra, Bhaga and Pushan.[19] The same concept of land in relation to or as settlements of the Five Peoples, figures in the two passages where Ushas, the beautiful Goddess of Morn, is said to visit rousing the people.[20]

In I, 117.3, we are told that the sage Atri, who was one of the beneficiaries of Asvins' succouring activity, was honoured by the Five Peoples, while in III, 53.16, the family of Jamadagnis is stated to have earned "glory over the generations of the Fivefold People" through their special chant called Sasarpari. That the Five Peoples or Tribes were a formidable complex, in physical strength or in worshipping activity, may be presumed from the boast of the drunken Indra that he "did not count" them "as a mote within the eye".[21]

The concept of the Five Peoples or Tribes was deeply rooted in the Vedic society; and we find references to them in the Atharvaveda in hymns which are not taken over from the Rigveda. Thus in a hymn meant as a charm for appeasing all varieties of fire we are told that "the five sons of man" regard them as the Hotar-priest.[22] In another hymn,[23] which praises Agni and seeks His protection, Agni, "wise and ancient", is described as the Lord of the Five Tribes. In the hymn about Brahmin's wife and her inviolability, we read, in a stanza not taken from Rigveda, that Surya proclaimed to the Five Races of mankind that the woman was the Brahmin's and not of a Rajanya or a Vaisya.[24] Indra is invoked to send one's suspected foeman to regions "beyond (those occupied by) mankind's Five Races".[25] Whereas there are eight wombs of Aditi, eight elements 'first born of Order', eight priests—the number actually mentioned in the Rigveda as stated in an earlier chapter—"the number five accompanies waters (the five rivers of the Panjab) and men (five Races or Nations) and healing herbs".[26] In a hymn of glorification of Prithivi, the Five human Races are said to belong to

17. III, 59.8.
18. VI, 61.12.
19. VI, 51.11.
20. VII, 75.4; 79.1.
21. X, 119.6.
22. *AV*, III, 21.5.
23. IV, 23.
24. V, 17.9.
25. VI, 75.3.
26. VIII, 9.21, 23.

her, for whom, though mortal, Surya spreads "immortal light".[27] The Five Races of mankind set apart a house for Yama.[28] Here we come across an extension or a development of the Rigvedic notion. Yama is so firmly established that he is provided with positive recognition and acceptance by the bulk of the Rigvedic people. This is the more interesting because none of the five peoples specifically named in the Rigveda, the Anus, the Druhyus, the Purus, the Turvasas and the Yadus, is mentioned in the Atharvaveda in passages not taken up from the Rigveda. The concept of the Five Peoples had thus become a socio-cultural heirloom by the time of the Atharvaveda and was not a living reality as in the Rigvedic age.

Many of the references to the Five Peoples or Tribes are couched in a language which may suggest that they formed the whole of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryan society. But a perusal of any of the three books, the III, VI and VII, of the Rigveda and even a fair reading of the I, II, IV, and V books would immediately convince one that there must have been a very important section of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans besides the named Five Tribes that constituted the Rigvedic society. Even more, one would come out with the realization that one of the tribes, not included in the enumeration of the Five Tribes, was the most important section of the Rigvedic society and that its doings formed the principal subject of the hymns of the three books, III, VI and VII, and penetrated through almost all others in varying degrees except the X. The X book of the RV contains hymns, which are largely enigmatical, philosophical and magical. It affords rather limited scope for the hymning of deeds of heroes of the near past. A collection which has hymns of the cogitative and reflective type, properly accommodates references to some heroes of the long and hoary past with only a few to patrons who might have been the contemporary benefactors or might have struck the imagination of a particularly sensitive singer.

The tribe which has claimed the largest notice in the Rigveda not named among the Five Tribes, is the Bharatas, as they were commonly called, or the Tritsus, as they were being designated by the Vasishtha family after its connection with them during the life-time of their king Sudas. The importance of the Bharatas in the Rigvedic society was quite clearly tremendous. Agni, Fire-god, is called after them at least five times. A Bharadvaja sage declares Agni, the Bharata, 'descendant' or relation of or son of the Bharatas, as Divodasa's Hero-Lord.[29] Sobhari Kanva[30] speaks of the majesty of Agni Daivodasa. Divodasa is further referred to

27. XII, 1.15; 42.
28. XVIII, 4.25.
29. *RV*, VI, 16.4.
30. VIII, 92.2.

as "pious Divodasa".[31] Agni is called Bharata twice[32] in one hymn of the II book, i.e., of the Gritsamadas and once in the IV, Vamadeva book[33] and once in the Vasishtha book, the VII.[34] Divodasa's ancestor, Vadhryasva, too, was famous for his Fire, Agni.[35] A Vishvamitra sage praising Agni, lighted by two Bharatas, Devavata and Devasravas, asks the later, evidently the younger and junior member of the family, to praise and pray to Agni Daivavata, Fire enkindled by Devavata.[36] The only other historical personage, after whom Agni got named among the Rigvedic people, was Trasadasyu. And it is very instructive to find that it is Sobhari Kanva, himself, who speaks of the majesty of Divodasa's Agni, that lauds Agni lighted by Trasadasyu as not merely as Trasadasyava, i.e., of Trasadasyu, but as Trasadasyava Samraj, Trasadasyu's Sovran.[37] While Divodasa is proclaimed 'pious', Trasadasyu is called a Demi-god, Ardhadeva.[38]

One or the other of the Five Peoples, mentioned in RV I, 108.8, singly or in combination with another of the Five is named in twenty-six other places in the RV. The importance of the Five Peoples in the Rigvedic society thus stands out in the RV. Out of these Peoples, Yadu and Turvasha, having been mentioned together not less than fifteen times, appear to have been the pre-eminent tribes of the time.[39] In one passage with Yadu and Turvasha also occur Anu and Druhyu,[40] while in another[41] only Druhyu figures along with Matsya, not included among the Five Peoples, with them. Yadus or Yadvas, who are thus mentioned seventeen times, in passages occurring in all the books of the RV excepting the II and III, figure twice by themselves as large cattle-owners.[42]

Turvasha figure in three independent and specific references to them. In one passage a Kanva sage lauds their munificence evidently at a sacrificial sessional.[43] Praskanva Kanva[44] entreats Nasatyas (Asvins) to come and accept his sacrifice away from Turvasha with whom he presumed they must have sojourned. The fourth reference to Turvasha by himself, which may be to one of their leaders at the time, is made by a Bharadvaja sage.[45] Turvasha is said to have been deserted by Indra and to have fallen into the hands of Srinjaya Daivavata whose sacrificial Fire was famous

31. V, 11.1; IX, 61.2.
32. II, 7.1 and 5.
33. IV, 25.4.
34. 8.4.
35. VI, 61.1; X, 69.
36. III, 23.2-3.
37. VIII, 19.32.
38. IV, 42.8.
39. I, 36.18; 54.6; 174.9; IV, 30.17; V, 31.8; VI, 20.12; 45.1; VII, 19.8; VIII, 4.7; 7.18; 9.14; 45.27; IX, 61.2; X, 49.8; 68.8-11.
40. VIII, 10.5.
41. VII, 18.6; Yakshu = Yadu.
42. VIII, 1.31; 6.46.
43. VIII, 4.7.
44. I, 47.7.
45. VI, 27.7.

among the Rigvedic people.[46] This suggests that though Turvashas and their kings or leaders were not niggardly in their religious observances they were not devout enough to secure the help of Indra throughout. It is noteworthy that Payu of the Bharadvajas, who inform us of the dire fate of Turvasha, lauds a member of the Srinjaya family for his munificence.[47] However, Devatithi Kanva asserts that Indra mostly dwells with Turvasha and Anu.[48] Turvasha thus, whether in the plural or in the singular whether by himself or with another of the Five Peoples, is mentioned twenty-one times, while Yadu figures in nineteen references.

Anu figures four times besides the passage in which all the Five are mentioned together. He figures with Yadu, Druhyu and Turvasha in VIII, 10.5. Pragatha Kanva, presuming Asvins to be with one or the other of these Peoples or sacrificers, invites them to come away to him. We have seen above Devatithi Kanva asserting that Indra dwelt mostly with Anu and Turvasha.[49] Vasishtha,[50] in his famous hymn describing the magnificent victory of Sudas over the Ten Kings, asserts that of the Anavas and Druhyus, who had joined the battle seeking booty, as many as sixty-six thousand six hundred and six lost their lives. In the single reference to Anus by themselves, we get the interesting information that they were the chariot-makers of the Rigvedic society. For they are said to have prepared the chariot of Indra while the God Tvashtri, the Divine Artificer, had formed his special weapon, Vajra.[51] Their importance in contemporary Vedic society stands clear from the fact that once at least Agni is called Anava, i.e., of the Anus, though only by a Kanva-singer, who might have been their chaplain.[52]

Druhyus, it is intriguing to know, do not figure by themselves in the RV in any independent reference. Besides their mention along with Anus in the above referred to passage, recording their doom, they figure with Bhrigus and Matsyas among the fleers from the battle in which they had entered as helpers of or co-belligerents with Pakthas, Bhalanas, Alinas, Vishanins and Sivas, Simyu and Turvasa and Yadu (Yakshu).[53] The Druhyus who thus stand out as the most doomed of the Five Peoples, strange as it may appear, figure as one of three most powerfully martial of them except the Purus. For Samyu Bharadvaja implores Indra to endow him with that prowess to conquer and subdue his foes which Trikshi, Druhyu or Puru possessed.[54] This is all the more remarkable because speaking of the Five Peoples ('kshitis') in the same stanza and

46. IV, 15.4.
47. VI, 47.22 and 25.
48. VIII, 4.1.
49. VIII, 4.1.
50. VII, 18.14.
51. V, 31.4.
52. VIII, 74.4.
53. VII. 18.5-8.
54. VI, 46.7-8.

context he mentions "splendid fame" as their special attribute and not valour or strength or military power. It must be borne in mind, while appraising the true import and implication of Samyu's attribution of great military prowess and valour to Druhyu, that the family of Bharadvaja was the royal chaplain of Vadhryasva, first descendent of the patriarch of Bharatas (Tritsu), known to the Rigvedic society, who through his chaplain's intercession with the river goddess Sarasvati got Divodasa, his famous son.[55] Bharadvajas served as the chaplains of great Divodasa too. For Bharadvaja, after proclaiming that Agni (Fire) was implored for bliss by "Bharata of old", the eponym of the family of Vadhryasva and Divodasa, says: "Agni, thou givest these abundant boons to Divodasa pouring fourth, To Bharadvaja offering gifts" and thus connects Divodasa and Bharadvaja as patron and priest.[56] He once again speaks of Agni as of the Bharatas, and naming Agni as Bharata, declares him to be "Divodasa's Hero Lord". Druhyu or Druhyus figure as consistent opponents of Bharatas, particularly of Sudas, the grandson of Divodasa; and Bharadvajas were not expected to laud the foes of their patrons unless they were extraordinarily powerful and brave. Suhotra Bharadvaja asserts that his family secured perfect aid of Indra to Divodasa by praising Indra and that it obtained rich reward from Divodasa for that great service.[57]

That the family must have helped Purus with its special services follows from Bharadvaja's appeal: "May we, O Indra, gain by thy new favour; so Purus laud thee, with their sacrifices. That thou hast wrecked seven autumn forts, their shelter, slain Dasa tribes and aidded Purukutsa", believed to be the leader of the Purus about the time of Divodasa.[58] Trikshi, whose military prowess and valour, according to Samyu Bharadvaja,[59] was also covetably great as that of the Druhyus, was known to Rigvedic society as a mighty descendant, son or grandson, of Trasadasyu, the famous son of Purukutsa.[60]

Puru or Purus, who, as seen above, were the standard of military prowess and valour, as much as the Druhyus, figure in the famous hymn of Sudas' signal victory [61] celebrated by a Vasistha sage, as having received condemnation from the family of Vasishtha for their truculence in standing against Sudas.[62] The importance of the family stands out when we find it separately mentioned seventeen times, passages mentioning them or referring to them occurring in all books except the second, third and ninth!

Vamadeva has revealed to posterity the feelings not only of the family of Purukutsa, the Puru leader, but also impliedly of the Rigvedic society,

55. VI, 61.1.
56. VI, 16.4-5; 19, 45.
57. VI, 31.4.
58. VI, 20.10.
59. VI, 46.7-8.
60. VIII, 22.7.
61. VII, 18.13.
62. VII, 18.13.

at the birth of Trasadasyu, as Purukutsas posthumous son, his wife Purukutsani having prayed to Indra-Varuna for the safe arrival of the fatherless child. For Vamadeva has emphasized the significant role of Trasadasyu in subduing the foes, including the earlier inhabitants of the country that offered resistance, by likening him to Indra, the great killer of demons like Vritra, and by twice calling him Ardhadeva, demi-god.[63] That Trasadasyu was the leader of the Purus Vamadeva himself has told us, adding the valuable information that the gods Mitra-Varuna had gifted to him an extraordinary horse, named Dadhikras. This horse it was that enabled Trasadasyu to subdue the Dasyus, local opponents, and to "win the fields and plough-lands" for the Rigvedic people. It "overspread the Fivefold People with vigour" as the Sun lightens the waters.[64] Vamadeva further vouchsafes that Indra gave freedom to Puru by slaying the demon Vritra.[65] That Purukutsa was the leader of the Purus, other sages like Nodha Gautama and Vasishtha have stated. Indra[66] is said to have helped or favoured Puru or Purus. Purus' Soma pressing for Indra is lauded by a Kanva sage and Indra himself approves of it, promissing unlimited help to them.[67] Puru's or Purus' invocation or service or worship of Agni, Vaisvanara, is held up as the standard of Agni invocation, by Purunitha who appears to have been a sacrificer with Bharadvajas for his chaplain.[68] Agni Vaisvanara is invoked either because under His patronage Puru or Purus could put down the opposition of the Dasyus and the dark-hued people, who were evidently the then residents of the country.[69] However, it is a Vasishtha sage, who speaks of Agni Vaisvayara having pulled down the castles of the dark-hued peoples for Purus[70] and also holds up the flourishing settlement of theirs on both the banks of the river Sarasvati, as the most befitting scene and bounteous occasion,[71] that lauds Bharata's Agni "far famed" in as much as He enabled Bharatas or Bharata to vanquish Puru in "the battle".[72] Perhaps the one occasion when Puru or Purus were opposed to Bharata or Bharatas registered in the Rigvedic poetry when probably Purukutsa was taken captive,[73] was in the mind of the singer!

In the above passage Bharatas appear as a people put in opposition to

63. IV, 42.8-9.
64. IV, 38.1 and 10; 39.2.
65. I, 63.7; IV, 21.10; VII, 19.3.
66. I, 63.7; 129.5; 130.7; 131.4; VII, 19.3.
67. VIII, 64.10-12; X, 48.5.
68. I, 59.6.
69. I, 59.6; VII, 5.3; X, 4.1; V, 17.1.
70. VII, 5.3.
71. VII, 96.2.
72. VII, 8.4.
73. IV, 42.8-9.

Purus, one of the Five Peoples. Earlier I have mentioned the fact that in Rigvedic society Agni was known as Bharata, i.e., as the God invoked with great fervour by and as bestowing special favour on Bharatas.[74] The family of Vishvamitra which has abstained from mentioning any of the above discussed Five Peoples by name, vouchsafes the information that a sage of their family safely conveyed the Bharatas over the mighty gushing rivers Beas (Vipas) and Sutluj (Sutudri) with the help of his special appeal to their river goddesses.[75] Further he specifies two Bharatas who sacrificed, evidently under his chaplainhood, on the bank of the Drishadvati, the Apaya and the Sarasvati. These brothers [?], Devavata and Devashravas, are twice mentioned in the short hymn of five stanzas.[76] Bharadvaja, who appears to have been the chaplain of Divodasa and his father Vadhryasva, sings praises of the sacrificial fire of Divodasa, specifying him as Bharata.[77] Vasishtha, bathed in glory and proudly proclaiming his achievements, mentions the plight of the Bharatas in the Dasarajna, likening them to the cattle that can be driven with sticks wherever one likes, praises Indra for having succoured the Bharatas, the Tritsu folks, and asserts that the Tritsu-Bharatas prospered thereafter.[78] Vasishtha, reminiscing over the Dasarajna and his Sudas and the great favour Indra and Varuna showed to him, states that Sudas was saved along with the Tritsus, thus identifying the Bharatas and the Tritsus.[79]

It is quite clear that the expression Five Peoples did not include even the fully Indo-Aryan Vedic peoples. That the so-called Five Peoples could not have been even a majority of the Vedic Indo-Aryans becomes evident when we discover that there are at least twenty-five other named tribes, besides the reported but never specified twenty-five tribes comprising the Vaikarna tribe. These twenty-five tribes, besides Anu, Druhyu, Turvasha, Tritsu (Bharata) Puru and Yadu, are: (1) Aja, Alina, Arjikiya, Bhalana, Chedi, Gungu, Ikshvaku, Kikata, Matsya, Paktha, Paravata, Parshu, Parthava, Rushama, Shigru, Shimyu, Shiva, Srinjaya, Vaikarna, Varashikha, Vetasu, Vishanin, Vitahavya, Vrichivant and Yakshu. We have to add to these three more ethnic units. They are: (1) Gandharis, (2) Vasas and (3) Usinaras. Gandharis are to be inferred and interpolated owing to the fine ewes and good wool of the sheep of the Gandharis, having been mentioned.[80] Usinarani, queen of the Usinaras, figures in RV, X, 59.10, and the Anukramani of the RV ascribes one hymn of the

74. *RV*, II, 7.1 and 5; IV, 25.4; VI, 16.19.
75. III, 33.11-12.
76. III, 23.
77. VI, 16.5.
78. VII, 33.5-6.
79. VII, 18.5, 7; 83.4-8.
80. *RV*, I, 126.7.

RV, X, 179, to Sibi Ausinara. Usinaras were thus clearly an ethnic unit of the Rigvedic society. One priest or sage named Vasa Asvya, figures in a number of passages in the RV, in two or so of which he appears as the recipient of great bounty at the hands of Prithusravas Kanita. The ethnic unit of Vasas as such is mentioned in the *Ait. Br.* as being in the Madhyadesa, along with the Kurus-Panchalas and the Usinaras; and the *Gopatha Br.* speaks of the Vasas and Usinaras as united. The authors of *Vedic Index* have rightly emphasized the cogency of the last assertion by pointing out the etymological common origin of both names. Of these only three or four could have been non-Indo Aryan peoples.*

However, the number of references to any of these tribes or their leaders are very few, mostly singleton ones; and the sacrificial Fire, i.e., the principal component of the Rigvedic religious complex, or none of them except that of the Srinjayas is mentioned.[81] As we have seen, the only other tribe or tribe-leader, whose sacrificial Fire is not only mentioned but also held up as the most standard and successful one, is the Bharatas (Tritsus) and their great leaders Vadhryasva and Divodasa and the Purus, their famous leader Trasadasyu being singled out and dubbed a demi-god.[82] Trasadasyu is said to have "served" Agni, Fire, at least on nine occasions.[83] Though Yadus are mentioned nineteen times and Turvashas twenty-one times, there is no mention of their Agni, nor is there any reference to any exploit connected with the enterprise of subduing the local opponents. Much less are they concerned in the adventures with mythical demons or foes of long past. Outside the seven or nine references to Yadu and Turvasha made by the Kanva sages, whether in their family book or elsewhere, they figure either as saved by Indra from some precariously hard situation or as being defeated by Divodasa or Sudas. In the references made by the Kanva sages, Yadus and Turvashas figure as liberal donors and as pious worshippers of Asvins, Maruts, Agni and Indra, particularly patronized by the last god.[84] That the assertions of the Kanva sages might not have been merely the consequence of the liberality of the patrons to their chaplains is attested by the declaration of Indra-Vaikuntha himself, who says[85]: "I am stronger than Nahusha; I slew the seven; I glorified with might Yadu and Turvasha; I brought another law"!

The Purus whose Agni is lauded by the sages, on the other hand, espe-

*All this is based on Vedic Index which please see for confirmation.

81. IV, 15.4.
82. VII, 5.3; IV, 42.8-9; VIII, 19.32.
83. V, 27.3.
84. VIII, 45.27.
85. X, 49.8.

cially the patriarchs of the family, are represented by the Rigvedic singers as specially engaged in subduing what they have called the Dasyus or the Dasas. Of the Puru chiefs or leaders named in the Rigveda, Trasadasyu is the fourth in descent. The first three Puru chiefs were Durgaha, Girikshit and Purukutsa.[86] Trusadasyu had a son by name Trikshi. He appears to have been a very powerful prince; for a Bharadvaja sage implores Indra to endow him with military power that Trikshi has or the Purus and the Druhyus, while a Kanva sage assures us that Asvins had raised Trikshi, the son of Trasadasyu, to "high dominion".[87] Trasadasyu had, it appears, one other son too; for Kavasha who speaks of Upamasravas as the grandson of Mitratithi, calls the father of Upamasravas Trasadasyava, i.e., the grandson of Trasadasyu.[88] The name of Trasadasyu's grandson and Mitratithi's son was Kurusravana, a name, which, with its first component Kuru, connects the Rigvedic people with the personages of the great epic Mahabharata, the Kuru sage.

Devavant appears to have been the earliest patriarch of the Bharata-Tritsu family known to or rather remembered by the Rigvedic society. A Vasishtha sage makes him the ancestor of Sudas, by describing the latter as the grandson of Devavant. In the second half of the same stanza he has specified Sudas as Paijavana. The sage further speaks of Divodasa as the father of Sudas and calls the latter Paijavana.[89] As Devavant is not even mentioned anywhere else, we may conclude that the Rigvedic society had heard about him or had tradition about him, but none of the sages of the RV had any dealings with him as with a contemporary. Vadhryasva, the father of Divodasa, on the other hand, appears to have been a contemporary of a Bharadvaja sage at whose intercession Sarasvati granted a son to him who was afterwards known as Divodasa. And there is sage Sumitra who, by using the word Vadhryasva or Vadhryasva no less than nine times in a hymn of twelve stanzas, announces his descent from Vadhryasva in no uncertain terms, making Vadhryasva a reality, an actual personage known.[90]

Sudas, being called Paijavana, though described as the son of Divodasa in the same hymn of a Vasishtha sage, has posed a problem to Vedicists regarding the exact position of Pijavana in the genealogy of the Tritsu-Bharata family. Yaska of the pre-fifth century B.C. Indian scholarly world explains Paijavana as a patronymic, meaning "son of Pijavana" and hence places Pijavana between Divodasa and Sudas. Modern Vedicists like Geldner and the authors of *Vedic Index* have accepted Yaska's placement of Pijavana. The authors of *Vedic Index* have sup-

86. IV, 42.8; VIII, 65.12.
87. VI, 46.8; VIII, 22.7.
88. X, 33.4-7; 32.9.
89. VII, 18.22-25.
90. VI, 61.1; X, 69.

ported the placement by pointing out that the chaplains of Sudas are different from those of Divodasa. Whereas Divodasa had Bharadvajas as his chaplain, Sudas had Visvamitra whom he later replaced by Vasishtha. I am surprised that the authors of *Vedic Index* put forward this change of the chaplains between two generations as an argument to support separation of the two generations by an intervening chief or king. For if Sudas himself changed from Vishvamitras to Vasishthas, he must be presumed to have had Vishvamitra given to him by his supposed predecessor, Pijavana. Thus the change in chaplains must be supposed to have occurred in the earlier generation. All the same it would mean that change of chaplains between two generations was not a unique phenomenon and it could have taken place between Divodasa and Sudas, perhaps more naturally because evidently Sudas was beset by opposition, which was both strong and based on the country much further west than the river Sarasvati, where the Bharadvajas had nursed the family of Vadhryasva and Divodasa. On the other hand, the text clearly speaks of Divodasa as the father of Sudas appealing to the Maruts to help Sudas just as they did Divodasa. It is, further, noteworthy that both Devavant and Pijavana are mentioned as ancestors of Sudas, the latter providing the derivative patronymic, the former without such a one. It is more reasonable, therefore, to look upon Pijavana as but another and more popular name of Devavant and not to interpose him either between Vadhryasva and Divodasa or Divodasa and Sudas.

The change in chaplains, I think, is explained in the Rigveda itself by the singer, a Vasishtha too, who tells us that Vasishtha was received by the Pratridah, i.e., the Tritsu, being introduced to them by Agastya.[91] It is interesting to note in this connection the statement of a Bharadvaja sage that "Best is Pratardani, illustrious ruler, in slaying foemen and gaining riches".[92] This means that there was a chief named Pratardana and that his son was a mighty king and a liberal donor. We know from the *Kaushitaki Brahmanopanishad*[93] that "Pratardana Daivodasi straight went to the abode of Indra through his death in battle. We may, therefore, assume that Divodasa had a son by name Pratardana, who, being the first born, had already come to be known as Daivodasi. Sudas, therefore, never got known as Daivadasi and he is referred to as Paijavana after his great-grandfather, Devavanta or Pijavana. We know from the RV itself that this usage was possible; for Sumitra of the same family, who was a descendant of Vadhrysva later than Sudas described himself as Vadhryasva, descendant of Vadhryasva.[94] Therefore the proper gene-

91. VII, 33.14; *Vedic Index*: Agastya; Tritsu.
92. VI, 26.8.
93 III, 1.
94. X, 69.

alogy, in conformity with the information vouchsafed in the Rigveda, of the Bharata-Tritsu family is: Devavanta or Pijavana; Vadhryasva; Divodasa, Sudas and Pratardani. Pratardana having died early did not make an impress on the contemporary society to get mentioned in some exploits. His son, however, appears to have succeeded Sudas, whose wife Sudevi, given to him by Asvins, not having borne him any child.

Both these families, one a Bharata-Tritsu and the other a Puru, that of Vadhryasva and that of Purukutsa, were, at least in the life-time of Divodasa of the Bharata family and Trasadasyu of the Purus, engaged in subduing peoples who are referred to in the Rigveda as either Dasyu or Dasa. Divodasa's foes are named more or less specifically if we make an allowance for the poetic fancy confusing the actual human foe with a legendary or mythical demon or even real or imaginary atmospheric phenomena.

Besides the groups and the individuals mentioned above, there are many persons named in the Rigveda, though most of them indirectly and once or twice only. However, some individuals are mentioned frequently and in most of the books of the Veda. Some individuals, though mentioned only once or twice, happen to have important bearing on the question of the affiliation of the main Rigvedic people. Five or six of these persons are known to have formed the basis for what F. E. Pargiter has called 'the ancient Indian historical tradition' or what is known in Sanskrit literature and Brahmanic cultural tradition as the Pauranic or Sautic tradition, an account of the ruling dynasties of ancient India.

That Puranic account of Indian dynasties was, after a laborious and thorough investigation, cogently presented by Pargiter in his "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" more than fifty years ago. None of the Puranas in their present form can be older than the first century B.C. and in Prof. Winternitz's opinion the earliest of them might have come into being "in the first centuries of the Christian era".[95] The dynastic lists given in them are in successional terms and not in a chronology. To represent them in a chronological setting it is necessary to adopt some rational and cogent standard for the duration of successive generations. Pargiter[96] has based his estimate of 18 years as the average for the duration of a reign for the kings that ruled after the Bharata war on the basis of averages for a fair number of kings "in various eastern countries". For the reigns that preceded the Bharata war he has proposed a much smaller average, viz., 12 years a reign. In view of the fact that data about the Indo-European Hittite monarchs of Anatolia is now available, it is necessary to cast a fresh look on the determination of the period of average

95. *History of Indian Literature*, ed. 1972, p. 525.
96. *Op. cit.*, pp. 180-83.

duration for a reign among the ancient Indian kings of the Vedic age, i.e., of the pre-Bharata-war age, as these, too, happen to be Indo-European with particular cultural affinities and possible physical contact with the Indo-European Hittites. On page 216 of his book *The Hittites*, Prof. O. R. Gurney has presented a list of 26 kings with the years of the reign of each. Averaging them I find that 20.8 years is the approximate duration of a reign. It is thus quite clear that Pargiter's calculations are rather much on the lower side than they should have been. An average of about 15 years would have been nearer the proper calculation. Therefore, we can safely follow Pargiter's counting as the minimum!

In the Puranic tradition Manu is the patriarch not only of all the ruling dynasties of north India in ancient times but also of all the human race, i.e., of all the Indians. And he is placed 94 steps or generations above the Pandavas and other heroes of the Bharata war. It is intriguing to find Manu or Manus mentioned in the Rigveda about fifty times, almost equally divided between the two forms of the word. We shall dwell more on the passages in which the form Manu occurs, as that is the form in which Manu is known through all later literature.

Gotama Rahugana and Pragatha Kanva asserting Manu's very successful invocation of Indra facilitating his approach to other Gods, speak of Manu as Father Manu.[97] Gritsamada speaks of all the balmy medicines which were selected by Manu, "our father", while Vamadeva inviting Ribhus to his sacrifice, speaks of himself and his patrons as "the people" (visah) of Manus.[98] And Ribhus themselves are called the grandsons (napat) of Manu by Vishvamitra.[99] Manu is so ancient and so great that Indra declares himself to have been Manu, Surya and Kakshivan, the sage.[100] When Parashara Shakta says that Agni resides among the children of Manu he quite clearly implies that the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans were Manu's descendants.[101] Manu's sacrifice was the first of its kind and Manu is therefore the institutor of sacrifice and the prestigious archetype of Agni-invokers.[102] Soma, too, was first delivered to Manu, Soma, therefore, being requested to flow as it did for Manu.[103]

Puranic tradition makes Ikshvaku the eldest son of Manu, Manu having quite a few sons. The name Ikshvaku occurs only once in the Rigveda.[104]

97. *RV*, I, 80.16; VIII, 52 or 63.1.
98. II, 33.13; IV, 37.1.
99. III, 60.3.
100. IV, 26.1.
101. I, 68.4.
102. I, 13 4; 14.11; 36 10; 44. 11; V, 21.1; VII, 2.3; 40.3; VIII, 34.8.
103. IV, 26.4; IX, 96.12.
104. X, 60.4.

The context does make the word the name of a prince. In the Atharva-veda the name occurs once where the context implies that he was a descendant of Manu.[105] The *Panchavimsa Brahmana* mentions an Aikshvaka prince,[106] which means that the line or lineage started by Ikshvaku was already there. We may, therefore, infer that the Rigvedic mention of Ikshvaku is evidence of Ikshvaku being known more or less as an ancient person. The Aikshvaka prince of the *Panchavimsa Br.* is a Trasadasyava; and Purukutsa, the father of Trasadasyu was also known as an Aikshvaka to the author of the *Satapatha Br.*[107] The Rigvedic hymn, in which Ikshvaku is mentioned, also contains the name of one Asamati who, according to the *Jaiminiya Brahmana*—according to Pargiter's[108] reckoning datable earlier than the *Ait. Br.* and to about the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.—was an Ikshvaku but of a branch lineage called Rathaproshtha.[109] Stanzas four and five of the hymn read: "Him [Indra] in whose service flourishes Ikshvaku, rich and dazzling bright. As the Five Tribes that are in heaven. Indra, support the princely power of Rathaproshthas matched by none. Even as the Sun for all to see". This mention of the Sun as the standard of excellence of princely glory is almost the only one of its kind in the RV. That it should be used in the case of a prince of a branch family of the great lineage of Ikshvaku, which in Puranic tradition is known as the Solar line, its origin being traced to the Sun, should particularly be noted as a significant indication of the Rigvedic peoples' acceptance of the Puranic tradition!

Another son of Manu in Puranic tradition was Nabhanedishtha; and we find the mention of one Nabhanedishtha in RV, X, 61.18. Tradition not only ascribes this hymn and the next, X, 62, to Nabhanedishtha Manava but reads the Puranic story about his predicament regarding his share in Manu's property in the two hymns.[110]

Still another son of Manu was Saryati, who, as Saryata Manava, figures as the seer of hymn 92 of the X book of the RV. One Saryata is mentioned in RV, I, 112.17 by Kutsa as having been helped by Asvins in the "mighty fray". The Soma draughts of the son or a descendant of Saryata are declared by sage Savya[111] to have been particularly pleasant to Indra, while Vishvamitra[112] requests Indra to accept his Soma juice as he did that of Saryata. In the *Brahmanas*, where his authorship of the Rigvedic hymn is accepted, he appears in an interesting and important episode, in which his daughter Sukanya and the ancient sage Chyavana figure, and one of the miraculous feats of therapeutics ascribed in the RV to Asvins

105. *AV*, XIX, 39.9.
106. *Vedic Index.*
107. XIII, 5.4-3.
108. *Op. cit.*, p. 326.
109. *Vedic Index.*
110. *Vedic Index.*
111. *RV*, I, 51.12.
112. III, 51.7.

is recorded. The earliest anointing of a king on the Indian soil was the happy result of the marital alliance of Saryata with Chyavana through Sukanya's marriage with the sage. For Saryata was anointed by Chyavana, and the *Ait. Br.*,[113] which asserts this fact, also informs us that Saryati acquired such large dominions that he performed the horse sacrifice—it is quite clearly the earliest horse sacrifice on the Indian soil recorded in literature—and won the honour of being the principal actor in the sacrifice performed by the Gods.[114] Saryata, also happens to be the earliest of the persons recorded as having offered a 'soma'-sacrifice to Indra, who was very much delighted with it.[115]

Vedic Index has listed eight mentions of Chyavana in the Rigveda. In seven of them he is represented as an old man, whose sagging and disfigured skin was changed by Asvins, whose special devotee he was. In one of these passages mentioning him, there is a specific statement that rejuvenation by Asvins had made Chyavana very attractive to maidens.[116] The implied legend as indicated above is fully elaborated in the *Brahmanas*. There is another episode quite plainly stated in the Rigveda which is even more important from our point of view and also for Rigvedic chronology. It is in the 61st hymn of the X book, the hymner being Nabhanedishtha Manava, who, being the son of Manu, might have been a senior contemporary of Chyavana. Chyavana, whether on behalf of his patron or of himself we are not privileged to know, was opposed to Turvayana, a king of the Pakthas. Chyavana, as the *Rigveda*[117] states, paryed hard to his favourite God, Asvins, so that he may win the battle against Turvayana, whose parents were also involved in the fray. The *Jaiminiya Brahmana* adds that Chyavana's brother Vidanvant, too, helped him in the worship.[118] However, the liberality of Turvayana combined with Indra's wrath against Chyavana brought Indra to Turvayana's rescue and Turvayana and his parents were safely through. This feat of Indra in favour of Turvayana was much more significant to the Rigvedic society than is inferable from the rather laconic reference to it in the hymn. For in RV I, 53.9-10 Savya Angirasa divulges the fact that twenty kings, among whom, Atithigva, Ayu and Kutsa figured, were ranged against Turvayana and that Indra had killed their sixty thousand and ninety-nine men (60099). Bharadvaja[119] tells us simply that Indra boldly delivered Turvayana having laid low Kutsa, Ayu and Atithigva; and Gritsamada[120] states that Indra "quelled the valiant men of Atithigva, Kutsa and Ayu" without mentioning Turvayana as the recipient of Indra's favour. Turvayana thus must have been a junior contemporary of Chyavana, who

113. VIII, 21.
114. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, p. 571.
115. *RV*, I, 51.12.
116. V, 74.5.
117. X, 61.1-3 and Griffith's note.
118. *Vedic Index*.
119. VI, 18.13.
120. II, 14.7.

being a senior contemporary of Saryata, a son of Manu, was very near in time to Manu.

I should note here the chronological conquences of this identification, which is quite clearly supported by the Rigvedic data. On the basis of Pargiter's scheme of dating, which conservatively leans on the lower side, Turvayana must have lived about 2075 B.C. Though Pakthas are stated to have been among the hostile crowd that challenged Sudas, their leader at the time cannot necessarily be taken to have been Turvayana, as he is not mentioned in that context. Sudas's date, therefore, need not be affected by this identification or calculation. It appears to me that Atithigva figuring with Ayu must have been another person than Divodasa, the father of Sudas.

Another famous character in the Puranic tradition, more significant to us than even Saryata or Saryati, one who is the hero of a much more romantic and beautiful episode than that of Saryati's Sukanya, that figures in the Rigveda, is Pururavas. Pururavas in the Puranic tradition is the patriarch of the five great lineages or dynasties, that appear in the Rigvedic society as the Five Peoples. Pururavas is presented as the son of Manu's daughter Ila and as the father of Ayu, Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvasu and Yadu, figure as Ayu's great-grandsons, in the Puranic tradition. The importance of Pururavas in Rigvedic society becomes evident from the fact that hymner Hiranyastupa Angirasa[121] speaks of Agni as having made heaven to thunder for "pious" Pururavas. That he is called Aila in the Rigveda[122] raises a presumption in favour of the Puranic tradition about him and its acceptance in the Rigvedic society. In the hymn, which is a dialogue between Pururavas and Urvasi, Urvasi says to the king:[123] "Pururavas, the Gods increased thee for mighty battle, to destroy the Dasyus" and promises "O son of Ila... thy sons shall serve the God with their oblations...".[124] A Kanva sage[125] praising Indra incidentally informs us that Indra was pleased with Ayu, i.e., Urvasi's promise was fulfilled by Ayu. This statement is the more significant from our point of view because Indra is said to have found lights for Ayu and for Manu's sake, thus placing Ayu in close connection with Manu, who is, of course, too, ancient not to be qualified as 'of old'.

Ayu's son according to the Puranic tradition was Nahusha. Nahus or Nahusha is a word that occurs about twenty times and Vedicists are not agreed that in all those places it denotes a specific individual named Nahus or Nahusha. The uncertainty about the exact significance is enhanced by the fact that in some passages[126] the word is used in the

121. I, 31.4.
122. X, 95.18.
123. X, 95.7.
124. X, 95.18.
125. VIII, 15.5.
126. VI, 22.10; 26.7; 46.7.

plural as Nahusas or Nahushas. When the people of Nahus are spoken of as in VII, 6.5 or when Yayati [127] is qualified as Nahushya, i.e., a descendant of Nahus, or when Indra declares himself to be stronger than Nahus as in X, 49.8, though the comparative word has the same base, or when a hymner more openly alludes to the relations of enmity between Indra and Nahus by mentioning the fact that when Indra slew the Dasyus he also broke the forts of Nahus,[128] I think we have to see the Puranic Nahusha more or less in his Puranic role, though that role is only obliquely or indirectly referred to in the Rigvedic passages.

One context, in which the word Nahus occurs in the RV, deserves to be critically studied; as it appears to shed new light on the connection of Nahus with some of the people, specifically the Yadavas or the descendants of Yadu. Sage Vasa Asvya, invoking Indra successfully on behalf of his patron king Prithusravas, named in the hymn with the patronymic Kanita, eulogises the king's great gifts to him, among which were included a chariot wrought of gold and ten long-tailed brown horses. Then abruptly invoking or imploring Vayu to come to the rites, he speaks, apparently, of the chariot of Vayu, when coming to his rites, as being drawn by "thrice seven times seventy", i.e., 1470 horses. He asserts further that Vayu had incited the king to make such bounteous gifts to him, "borne on firm chariot with the prosperous Nahusha, wise, to a man yet more devout".[129] Here we find the sage suggesting that king Prithusravas, who evidently was very rich in horses and gold, was somehow connected with "prosperous Nahusha". Another Kanva sage, named Vatsa, implores Indra to "grant us all that wealth of fleet steeds which shone bright of old among the tribes of Nahushas" and also lauds the Yadavas, descendants of Yadu, who bestowed on Pajra for a Samanchant no less than three hundred horses.[130] In the earlier reference invocation of Vayu is not construed by Sayana to cover the stanza 26th which speaks of a chariot drawn by 1470 horses but is taken to apply to prosperous Nahusha's chariot. Macdonell in his *Vedic Mythology* has not mentioned or alluded to the few stanzas of this hymn which refer to Vayu. From other hymns he has culled out the information that Vayu's team consists of 99, 100 or even 1000 horses. It thus appears that Prithusravas was someway connected with Nahushas and also that he was extremely rich in horses, which as we have seen was also a feature of the Nahushas.

The Puranic dynastic lists presented by Pargiter among their 492 named kings show only one named Prithusravas. And that Prithusravas is a Yadava standing 21st in the Yadava lineage, next after Sasabindu, famed in the Puranas as one of the sixteen greatest monarchs of ancient Indo-

127. X, 63.1.
128. X, 99.7.
129. VIII, 46.21-27.
130. *RV*, VIII, 6.24 and 46.7.

Aryan India.[131] In the Rigveda there are only three more names which have 'sravas' as their last member. Of these Devasravas or Bharata prince, is named by Visvamitra[132] and Susravas, a Paktha king, is an epithet of Turvayana.[133] The third 'sravas'-ending name is claimed by a sage who was carrying on trade for livelihood and had the patronymic of Ansiya, his name being Dirghasravas.[134] The name was thus a rather uncommon one both in the Rigvedic society and more so among the monarchs recorded in the Puranic tradition. In later Vedic age the 'sravas' ending names appear to have become more common but almost confined to the Brahmin or the teaching class. For whereas I find only four 'sravas'-ending names among the 240 or so Rigvedic names listed in *Vedic Index*, I get at least 12 such names, only one of whom is likely to be a king, among the 425 names of the later Vedic age in the same list. Of the Rigvedic personages three are kings or donors and one whose status is not known. I think this uniqueness of the name Prithusravas should incline one to see in him of the Rigvedic society the Yadava prince, who stands 21st in the lineage and 16th from Nahusha.

The almost fabulous wealth of Prithusravas, and of the Yadavas,[135] particularly in kine or cattle and of the Nahushas specially in horses. in the past receiving attention from Rigvedic hymners in the particular context can be explained by the fact that two successive kings of the Yadavas that preceded Prithusravas, viz., (1) Chitraratha and (2) Sasabındu had extensive conquests to their credit. That Chitraratha was a great king may be inferred from the fact that the daughter of Chakravarti Sasabindu who became the wife of the great Ikshvaku king Mandhatri was known as Chaitrarathi.[136] Sobhari Kanva's tribute to a king named Chitra[137] as the only king, other princes on the Sarasvati being more kinglings, however, can hardly be for him.

A king named Chitraratha, whose familial or lineage affiliation is not stated, is said in the *Kathaka Samhita* of the YV to have had the Kapeyas as his priests. The priests, who were well versed in some special rites, known as the Dviratra sacrifice, successfully completed it for their patron, and secured for Chitraratha, overlordship of the family or the lineage. The lineage thereafter functioned as a monarchical institution, with its chief having superior authority over other members as is narrated in the *Panchavimsa Brahmana*.[138]

In this context of identification it is necessary to note that the Kanvas appear to have been intimately connected with Yadu and Yadvas, as their

131. Pargiter, pp. 39, 261.
132. *RV*, III, 23.4.
133. I, 53.9.
134. I, 112.11.
135. VIII, 1.31; 4.46.
136. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
137. VIII, 21.18.
138. *Vedic Index*, vide 'Kapeya' and 'Chitraratha'.

purohitas or chaplains. We have noticed above that Vasishthas have mentioned the utter defect and ill fate of Yadu or Yadus in the battle of ten kings ranged against Sudas. Agastya, Avasyu Atreya, Bharadvaja, Savya and Vamdeva have referred to Yadu's having been saved by Indra.[139] There are five references to Yadu, besides the three mentioned above, made by Kanva sages.[140] One and all of them like the three bespeak Kanva's deep concern for Yadu or Yadva. We read of the prayer made to Maruts to grant Yadu the same protection that they gave to Kanva, evidently the patriarch of the Kanva lineage and of the Soma-juice poured by Kanvas for Ashvins to induce them to protect Yadu and Turvasha.[141] Another Kanva sage expresses his earnest wish to Indra that he may see Yadu and Turvasha safe while Visoka Kanva goes much further and asserts that Indra in one of his exploits found strength in the sacrifice offered by Yadu and Turvasha.[142]

Still another royal personage of great prominence in tradition that is mentioned in the Rigveda is Mandhata or Mandhatri. Mandhatri, a standard of sovereign rulers in later ages, stands twenty-first in the Ikshvaku lineage in the Puranic dynastic lists and is the third Chakravartin of the sixteen standard ones of the tradition.[143] Yayati, son of Nahusha, the 6th in the dynastic lists, is the first. Sashabindu of the Yadavas, the second Chakravartin of the list belonged to the generation previous to that of Mandhatri. Whereas Sashabindu Yadava and even more so Yayati Nahusha figure in the traditional account as almost mythical persons talked about in very general vague terms Mandhatri's conquests are specifically mentioned. Even today Mahishmati-Maheshvara-Mandhata, an island in the Narmada river, bears testimony to his greatness.[144] And Dr. H. D. Sankalia's [145] active spade has recently uncovered at least a part of its material culture falling within the Rigvedic-age-bracket.

Kutsa, who has enumerated more comprehensively than any other Rigvedic hymner the succouring and healing deeds of Asvins, has mentioned the favour that they conferred on Mandhatri in an intriguingly significant manner. He says:[146] "Wherewith ye [Asvins] compass round the Sun when far away, strengthened Mandhatri in his tasks as lord of lands (Kshetrapatya)". The specific reference to the Sun encompassing,

139. I, 174.9; V, 31.5; VI, 45.1; I, 54.6; IV, 30.17.
140. VIII, 1.31; 4.46; 21.18.
141. VIII, 7.18; 9.14.
142. VIII, 4.7; 45.27.
143. Pargiter, p. 39.
144. Pargiter, pp. 39-41, 167, 261-2.
145. *Chalcolithic Navdatoli*, pp. 410-25.
146. I, 112.13.

which does not figure in any other description of any activity of Ashvins, in the laudation of their concern for Mandhatri is significant as an indication of the Solar connection of his, i.e., as one of the lineage of the Ikshvakus, as also of the vastness of his dominions. Nabhaka Kanva, invoking Agni, speaks of it as "the Dasyu-killing Agni of Mandhatri", i.e., Agni, with whose help or favour Mandhatri killed the Dasyus. The hymner speaking of Agni as "The Lord of the Seven-fold Races of Men" in the previous stanza has perhaps suggested that at least two ethnic groups in addition to the usual Five had come to be recognised as of the Rigvedic society! In RV VIII, 39.8, where the sage has made the above reference to Mandhatri, we also find one to Mandhatri's being acknowledged as a prince among sacrificers. In the next hymn, last stanza, the same hymner proclaims his affiliation to and the great eminence of Mandhatri as a sacrificer by stating that he himself invokes Indra-Agni as formerly Mandhatri did, and as Angiras did.[147] If in RV X, 2.2 the word Mandhata is taken to be a proper noun as some Vedicists do, Agni would be called Mandhata, thus raising Mandhatri's status as sacrificer much higher than that in which he appears in the hymns of Nabhaka. But the hymn is ascribed to Trita Aptya, who is a deity helping Indra and sometimes even carrying out tasks that Indra is generally believed to do and is one of the seven hymns, all addressed to Agni, traditionally ascribed to Trita.[148] Mandhatri himself figures as a hymner in the Rigveda, one hymn[149] being ascribed to him and partly to his daughter Godha, the deity addressed being Indra.

Another individual, important in the context of the present name of the country, which is according to the Constitution of India, India (Bharat), i.e., India, the country of Bharata, much more important, is Bharata who figures clearly as an individual in RV VI, 16.4 and VII, 8.4. In the latter passage Bharata is quite logically taken to refer to Vasishtha, the purohita of the Tritsu Bharatas. In the former neither this explanation nor any other which obviates the reference to specific Bharata holds. For Bharata is said to have enkindled Fire in the past, ('of old'). That famous Bharatan enkindling of Fire being supposed to be imitated in the enkindling of Agni by Bharadvaja. Bharata is "of old" in relation to Divodasa, for whom Bharadvaja was enkindling Agni and who is mentioned in the next line. In the *Sat. Br.*[150] old Gathas are quoted which state that Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, also called Saudyumni, the most famous of the performers of horse sacrifice, had

147. VIII, 40.12.
148. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-9.
149. X, 134.
150. XIII, 5.4.

performed altogether 133 such sacrifices, 78 on the Yamuna and 55 near the Ganga!

We have seen above that Urvasi urged Pururavas to kill some people called Dasyus, pointing out that the task was divinely assigned to him and that he was endowed with adequate prowess for its accomplishment. In the case of Mandhatri we came across a simple statement as of fact that he had killed Dasyus with the power acquired through his sacrificial worship of Agni. Manu, too, must have dealt with the Dasyus, for Soma Pavamana is said to "have helped Manu and repelled the Dasyu" and Visvedevah to have "made Manu stronger than the Dasyu [Dasa].[151]

Who were those Dasyus against whom Manu, Pururavas and even Mandhatri, who stands 21st in the Ikshvaku lineage and who can be treated as a historical person, and who must have lived about five hundred years before the great personages, Vadhryasva, Divodasa, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu and Sudas, around whom much of the hymnal enterprise of the Rigvedic society is centred? When preparing a studied answer to the query one finds that in the Rigveda there are not less than seventy-five places, where one or another or two or all three of the words, Dasyu, Dasa and Arya, occur. In at least eleven places Arya and Dasa[152] figure while in seven Dasyu[153] appears in opposition to Arya. There is at least one passage wherein all the three words occur in one paragraph of two sentences. In some other passages, very few no doubt, two of them Arya and Dasa or Arya and Dasyu construably but not expressedly with the third occur. In the one express configuration of the three[154] we read: "around with his bold and trusting in his prowess he [Indra] wandered shattering the forts of Dasas. Cast thy dart, knowing, Thunderer, at the Dasyu, increase the Arya's might and glory, Indra". This statement of the hymner portrays the Rigvedic situation as regards the three groups Dasyu, Dasa and Arya. It is this: Aryas are the people whose God Indra, protecting and helping them, enables them to overcome the Dasyu and the Dasa. Of the eighteen places in which the two words Dasyu and Arya or Dasa and Arya occur all except four[155] bespeak their opposition. In twelve places Indra figures as the fighter for the Arya, Agni, Vaisvanara and Asvins figuring in that role in two,[156] subduing or killing the Dasyu or the Dasa as the case may be. In the four places where confrontation of the Dasa or the Dasyu and the Arya is

151. *RV*, IX, 92.5; VI, 21.11.
152. *RV*, V, 34.6; VI, 22.10; 25.2; 33.3; VII, 83.1; VIII, 24.27; X, 38.3; 69.6; 83.1; 86.19, 138.3.
153. *RV*, I, 51.8; 117.21; II, 11.18-19; VI, 18.3; VII, 5.6; X, 49.3.
154. *RV*, I, 103.3.
155. X, 38.3 and 69.6; 83.1; VI, 22.10.
156. VII, 5.6; I, 117.21.

not stated we read of Arya foes and Dasa foes of the hymner and his folk. This way of referring to the two groups, the Arya and the Dasa, clearly expresses the fact of the Rigvedic society of the post-Mandhatri-age, that the Aryas and the Dasas had ceased to be one of two opposing groups, the incoming Arya with his warrior God, Indra and the Dasa or Dasyu society with their gods!

We know from Vasishtha's description of the Dasarajna, or the Battle with the ten kings, that among the opponents of Sudas at that battle, or a series of campaigns and battles, there were Simyus and Sigrus. Simyus in another passage of the Rigveda,[157] being coupled with the Dasyus, naturally proclaim themselves to have belonged to them. About Sigrus, who do not figure anywhere else in Vedic literature, in view of the name being totemistic, the same appears likely to be correct. Add to this the fact that Vasishtha, lauding his own role and that of his patron Sudas, does so by crediting the signal victory to Indra's help, describing Indra as the "Arya's comrade".[158] In another hymn.[159] Vasishtha says that Indra-Varuna slew the foes of Sudas, both the Arya foes and the Dasa foes.

The very name of Sudas's junior contemporary, Trasadasyu, meaning as it does, "one who subdues the Dasyu", the energetic great king of the other important lineage, the Purus, clearly implies that the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans, at least one of the most important of their tribes, were very much preoccupied with subduing the Dasyus and the Dasas. Vamadeva[160] has expressed this position quite plainly. He asserts that Mitra-Varuna gave to Trasadasyu the fabled horse Dadhikras and describes it as "the winner of our fields and plough-lands and the strong smiter who subdued the Dasyus". The mention of "winning fields and plough-lands" stands supported by a statement of Vasishtha[161] that "Indra helped Puru in winning lands and slaying foemen, and Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa". And Bharadvaja[162] adds his voice to it, putting up the work a generation higher, i.e., in the time of Purukutsa. Purus, the tribe of which Purukutsa was the leader, are said to laud Indra with sacrifices; for he "has wrecked seven autumn forts, their shelter, slain Dasa tribes and aided Purukutsa". Further specification of the peoples whose possessions and lands the Purus secured through the energetic campaigns of Purukutsa and Trasadasyu is offered in RV VII, 5.3: We read there: "For fear of you forth fled the dark-hued races [people] scattered abroad, deserting their possessions, when ... for Puru, then Agni, didst light up and rend their castles". We see that not only the

157. I, 100.8.
158. VII, 18.7.
159. VII, 83.1.
160. *RV*, IV, 38.1.
161. VII, 19.3.
162. VI, 20.10.

national war-god Indra but also the domestic sacrificial god Agni, was called in and did help in the task of subduing the dark people, the Dasyu and the Dasa, undertaken by the Purus, particularly under the leadership of the two great kings Purukutsa and Trasadasyu.

The Tritsu Bharata king Divodasa, father of Sudas and a senior contemporary of Purukutsa, similarly was engaged in fighting against many persons, apparently not belonging to the Rigvedic Indo-Aryan community. He was engaged in a particularly prolonged war with Sambara, whom competent Vedicists believe to have been originally a real person, not infrequently fancied by the Rigvedic sages and their society as a demon, atmospheric or imaginary.[163] Sambara, who had one hundred forts, is described as both a Dasyu and a Dasa.[164] Divodasa also fought against the Paravatas, who perhaps were the people whose leader was Sambara. Sambara himself is impliedly dark-skinned.[165] It is said that Agni was born to give the Arya strength and that Divodasa's Agni turned in majesty to the Gods and sped along the mother earth, implying that with Agni's help Divodasa as an Arya spread his dominion.[166] Agni of Vadhryasva, the father of Divodasa, too, is said to have vanquished his foes with "heroes who pressed the Soma" and is described as Vritra-slayer, suggesting that Vadhryasva was also locked in fight with Dasyas or Dasas.[167]

Struggle with the Dasyus or Dasas, some of whom are specified as hillmen, was thus a long-drawn one, lasting over three generations, or rather four, for the Tritsu Bharatas, and over two for the Purus. During the later part of this period some Dasyus or Dasas appear to have confederated with some of the Indo-Aryan kings or leaders of other Indo-Aryan tribes. At least one of the Dasas, Balbutha by name, was already a practitioner of the Rigvedic religion; for he is described to have made large gifts to a Rigvedic sage, evidently for his services in the performance of Vedic sacrifices.[168]

If Indra, as seen above, is called Arya's comrade Indra-Agni are called Aryas themselves, being the protectors of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans. Besides the national God Indra, Agni and Asvins who have figured as protagonists and helpers of Aryas, Visva Devah, All-Gods, and Vishnu, too, take their share in the great task. Vishnu "throned in three worlds helps the Aryan man and gives the worshipper his share of holy law. This concept of holy law or Vrata forms a specific feature of the Rigvedic Aryan society and we find that the Visvedevas are said to have

163. *Vedic Index*: Sambara.
164. IV, 30.14.
165. VIII, 103.2; I, 130.7-8.
166. VIII, 92.1-2.
167. X, 69.11-12.
168. VIII, 46.32.

"spread the righteous laws of Aryas over the land".[169] To cap the whole, Indra speaking as the Supreme Spirit declares that he has bestowed the earth upon the Arya and rain upon the man who brings the oblation.[170] Besides the holy law, 'vrata', which along with Gods Indra-Agni and others was a cultural trait, the Aryas are characterized by their 'varna'[171] or skin-colour, as Arya Varna and contrasted with Dasyus. Indra protected the former, smiting the latter. Moreover, the Aryas are mentioned though impliedly, as the fair-complexioned allies of Indra.[172] In RV, I, 104.2 Varna, colour [Arya] alone, stands in opposition to 'Dasa', while in II, 12.4 Indra is said to have thrown down the Dasa Varna, Dasa 'colour' The dark complexion of the Dasa or Dasyu is emphasized in I, 101.1, where Indra is said to have driven "the dusky brood away ('Krishna-garbha') with the help of Rijisvan, more or less the same being said in IV, 16.13 and in I, 130.8, where Indra is said to have given over to Manu's descendants the "dusky skin", 'Krishna tvac'. In II, 20.7 the Dasas are characterized as "Krishnayoni", 'dark brood'. The distinction of the Dasas or Dasyus from the Aryas in cultural matters is enshrined in the epithets employed to characterize the former. They are 'abrahman', 'devoid of devotion'; 'adevayu', 'indifferent to the gods'; 'akarman', 'riteless'; 'avrata', 'lawless'; 'ayajvan', 'ayaju', 'not sacrificing'; 'anyavrata', 'keeping alien rites'; and even 'devapiyu', 'reviling the Gods'.[173]

I have spoken of the Dasas and Dasyus as if they were the same group and my statement about Sambara supports the statement. To make it an almost incontrovertible one I shall adduce some more data from the Rigveda. In X, 22.8 we find the terms used as if they stood for one and the same group. We read there: "Around us is the Dasyu riteless, . . . Baffle [Indra] . . . the weapon which this Dasa wields". The request is made with regard to Sushna who figures in the preceding stanza. That Sushna could be spoken alternatively as Dasa or Dasyu is clear from a comparison of the passages IV, 16.12; VII, 19.2; VIII, 6.14 and 55.17-18). Sushna largely figures in Indra's exploits in his pursuit of help to Kutsa. Pipru was tackled by Indra for the sake of Dabhiti. Pipru, whose forts were stormed by Indra, is represented as a Dasyu in I, 51.5 but as a Dasa in X, 138.3.

The Dasyus or Dasas quite logically have to be equated with the local people whom the incoming Indo-Aryans, of the Rigvedic age, who were led by two lineages the Tritsu-Bharatas and the Purus, had to conquer to gain a footing in the country. The reality of the conflict-situation is

169. VII, 18.7; VI, 60.6; I, 157.5; X, 65.11.
170. IV, 26.2.
171. III, 34.9.
172. I, 100.18.
173. *Vedic Index* under "Dasyu", f.n.

brought home to one when one reads in the Rigveda the destruction of the forts, of stone or of iron, occupied by the leading Dasyus or Dasas, which were ninety-nine or one hundred.

The size of the populations involved can be judged from the few figures which the Rigvedic hymners have perchance recorded. Indra is said to have killed the "one hundred thousand resistless heroes of Varchin.[174] Varchin is characterized as a Dasa.[175] When warring with 'the mighty' Mrigaya and Pipru, Indra is said to have smitten down the "swarthy fifty thousand" (followers) of those leaders.[176] Indra and Agni appear to have worked together on one occasion and cast down "many a thousand" Dasyus.[177] For Dabhiti's sake, on some occasion, Indra "sent to sleep thirty thousand Dasas with magic power and weapons".[178] Helping another worshipper-friend of his, Indra is said to have killed "at once, the sixty thousand" fighters.[179] Trasadasyu's miracle horse, Dadhikras, is said to have "fought against embattled thousands".[180] And lastly helping the famous Divodasa, Indra earned applause by rending "a hundred thousand fighting heroes", evidently of Sambara, the Dasa or the Dasyu.[181]

I have listed above altogether thirty-three tribes or ethnic units, some of which, of course, are non-Indo-Aryan Indian. One cannot fail to notice in the list a large number of names, which end in 'u'. They number the thirteen. Thus 39.4% of all the Rigvedic ethnic units had names ending in 'u'. *Vedic Index* has listed seventy tribes or ethnic units occurring in the whole of the Vedic literature, i.e., literature datable to not later than 500 B.C. Among them there are sixteen units which have names ending in 'u'. Thus among the total number of Vedic tribes or ethnic units of India, units with 'u'-ending names formed only 23 per cent., which is about 58 per cent. of the percentage formed by such names among the purely Rigvedic tribes. Tribal or ethnic names changing can mean either that new units intruding from outside have disturbed the naming or that the old ethnic units have assimilated, absorbed and regrouped in the process of community formation. As there is hardly any evidence of any fresh incursion from outside during the best part of the Vedic age—likelihood of such immigration began only

174. VII, 99.5; IV, 30.15; II, 14.6-7.
175. IV, 30.15.
176. IV, 16.13.
177. IV, 28.3.
178. IV, 30.21.
179. VI, 26.6.
180. IV, 38.8.
181. VI, 26.5.

when Iranian monarchs began to extend and expand into their east and north-east in the 6th century B.C.—we can ignore that possibility.

That the Rigvedic ethnic units were regrouping there is evidence recorded in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, which tells us that the Panchalas, so famous in the later Vedic age along with the Kurus, were formerly known as Krivis.[182] Though the authors of *Vedic Index* are not favourably inclined towards the suggestion put forward by earlier Vedicists like Weber and Geldner that the Panchalas represent the five tribes, so often mentioned as stated earlier, yet it appears to me that the suggestion has much substance. If the tribes actually did not coalesce, the practice of the five being mentioned together as if they were one group and almost the only group of Indo-Aryans could have influenced the new nomenclature with the absorption of some groups and the internal migration of the older people towards the east.

The Kurus evidently had evolved from the Purus already in the Rigvedic period. In the alternative we will have to admit that Kuru was an epithet of Puru or vice versa. For the grandson of Trasadasyu, the most famous Puru king in the Rigvedic society, was named Kurusravana, meaning perhaps, "the glory of the Kurus" or "the fame of the Kurus". The Atharvaveda contains a whole hymn, lauding the administrative set-up and describing with envy the well-being in which the citizens lived in the realm of Parikshit, the Kaurava king, the subjects themselves being called Kauravyas.[183] The Rigveda contains a hymn[184] in which Santanu and Devapi figure, the former evidently as the king and the latter as his successful priest. Indian interpreters from Yaska down have seen in it the tale of the two Kaurava brothers Devapi and Santanu. It is possible that the Kurus were referred to as Kritvans as in IX, 65.23. We find there both Kritvans and Arjikas mentioned separately from the Five Peoples. Later in the 7th century A.D. we find Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese Traveller, stating that the Kasmirians in his day were known as Krityas (Ki.li-to).[185] The speech of the Kuru-Panchalas and their sacrifices are held up as the standard. The custom of their princes to start on martial forays annually at a particular season is mentioned with evident admiration and they are named as the royalty that regularly performs the Rajasuya sacrifice at a king's coronation.[186] The integration of theosophical religion and the evolution of the basic philosophical framework were the work of the Brahmins of the Kuru-Panchalas in which the Kshatriya royalty from the North-west through the "middle country"—so christened for the first time in the Brahmanas—from the

182. *Sat. Br.* XIII, 5.4-5.
183. *AV*, XX, 127.7-10.
184. X, 98.
185. *Vedic Index*: 'Kritvan'.
186. *Vedic Index*: Kuru.

Kekayas to the Videhas actively and significantly participated. The Upanishads bear testimony to this.

At some stage the Kurus must have come to be identified with the Bharatas, who appear in the Brahmanas as "a great people of the past".[187] At any rate, we find that Sanjaya, the narrator of the progress of the Bharata-battle to the blind king Dhritarashtra, addressed him as Bharata. Krishna, the preacher of the *BG*, addressed Arjuna not only as Kuru-sattama but also as Bharatarsabha, "the best or the greatest of the Bharatas".[188]

Of the remaining four groups comprising the Rigvedic Five Peoples only the Turvasas have been mentioned in the *Brahmana* texts, Anus, Druhyus and Yadus not figuring anywhere in the later Vedic literature. The Turvasa horses and horsemen, numbering 6033 (six thousand thirty three) are said to have come to the help of their allies, the Panchalas.[189] Vedicists have rightly conjectured that the Turvasas must have coalesced with the Panchalas. Even in Panini's enumeration of 'Janapadas', 'ethnic states', and of oligarchies, monarchies and republics, numbering totally not less than fifty, the Anus, Druhyus and Yadus are conspicuous by their absence. This is the more remarkable in so far as in the *Brahmana* literature the Satvants—in the great epic the Satvatas figure very prominently as the partisans of the Pandavas—are mentioned as the target for the raids by their more powerful northern neighbours the Bharatas of Rigvedic fame.[190] Vrishni, who figures in the ancient Indian historical tradition as one of the sons of Satvat,[191] who himself standing 65th in the dynastic lists as a contemporary of Dasarathi Rama, had already lived and left descendants like, Vrishnivriddha, Varshneya and Varshnya, mentioned in the *Brahmana* text.[192] Satvatas and Vrishni—Andhakas are listed by Panini among the republics.[193] Krishna, the friend of the Pandavas and the preacher of *BG*, stands 27th from Vrishni and 94th in the dynastic lists. However, Vidarbha, who according to Pargiter's lists stands 40th, and who, in traditional history is accredited with carving out a kingdom down south about the Tapi river, is implied as an ancestor of one Bhima Vaidarbha in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, Vidarbha as a place being mentioned in a rather late *Brahmana* text.[194] The meagre information vouchsafed about him there is very interesting. He

187. *Vedic Index*: Kuru.
188. *BG*, I, 24; IV, 31; VII, 11 and 16; IV, 7.
189. *Sat. Br.* XIII, 15.4, 16.
190. *Vedic Index*: "Satvant".
191. Pargiter, pp. 105, 146.
192. *Vedic Index*.
193. Agrawala, pp. 79, 451, 453-4.
194. *Vedic Index*.

is said to have received instruction from Parvata and Narada regarding the proper substitute for the Soma juice. He thus appears to have been a progressive Vedic Indo-Aryan prince. Tradition, as summarised by Pargiter,[195] makes him, under another name Kratha, a son of Vidarbha. The activity of one Bhargava Vaidarbhi, who figures as one of the six persons eager to know the Reality (Brahma) and steadfast in their spiritual quest, further supports the progressive nature of the elite of the Vidarbhas in the later Vedic age.[196] The mention of one Vidarbha-Kaundineya in the preceptor-pupilary succession lists of the *Brihadaranyka Upanishad*, while further emphasizing the likely contribution of the Vidarbha elite to the philosophical and cultural complex, intrigues one. For the latter part of the name, though a patronymic, reminds one of the fact that in the Epic Kundinapura figures as the capital of the Vidarbhas.

The authors of *Vedic Index* have placed the Satvants just to the south-west of the Matsyas and at the northern end of the Aravalli range. The Matsyas, they have assigned to the region of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, i.e., the north-eastern portion of Rajasthan. That the Matsyas were staunch cultivators of the Vedic culture is evident from the fact that a king of theirs figures in the list of the performers of the horse-sacrifice occurring in the *Satapatha Brahmana*,[197] claiming fourteen such sacrifices to his credit. Their participation in the theosophical discussions leading to the philosophy adumbrated in the Upanishads is attested in the *Kaushitaki Brahamana Upanishad*.[198] There they figure, in connection with Gargya Balaki's boastful approach to the philosopher king of the Kashis, Ajatasatru by name. Balaki had visited and lived among the Usinaras, the Matsyas, the Kuru-Panchalas and also the Kasi-Videhas, the last four far-famed for their philosophical contributions.

It is to be noted that between the Satvants on the one hand, and Kaccha and the Gulf of Cambay to their south-west, and the Vidarbhas to their south on the other, there intervened, according to later Vedic literature, only the Nishadas occupying the territory to their south-east lying between the upper reaches of the Banas, the Chambal, the Mahi and the Sabarmati rivers. All the rest of the vast region to the south-west, i.e., southern and western Rajasthan, lower Sind, Kaccha and Saurashtra, and also that to the south-east, i.e., Malva-Ujjain, remains a vacuum in that literature. But that is because the authors of *Vedic Index*, feeling doubts about the mention of the Kuntis having defeated the Panchalas found in the YV (*Kathaka Sam.*) have not placed them in the map! Kuntis must have occupied a large part of that region.

195. *Op. cit.*, pp. 146, 168.
196. *Prasnopanishad*, I, 1; II, 1.
197. XIII, 5.4-9.
198. IV, 1.

It is noteworthy that this vast region of the subcontinent extending from about the 22° about 26.5° of the north latitude and between the 68° and the 76° of east longitude, except a part of Rajasthan, figures as occupied by no less than eight ethno-geographical units, sometimes before Panini composed his grammatical masterpiece, i.e., before the sixth century or before the end of the 6th century B.C.[199] The names of the ethnic units of India (Bharat) figuring in the list deserve to be stated as they establish their continuity till recent and even contemporary times. (1) Paraskara, a part of Rajasthan; (2) Kaccha as at present; (3) Saurashtra, much to the east of the present one; (4) Avanti (Ujjayini), and (5) Kunti on the eastern side of the Chambal near its junction with the Yamuna, fill up a large portion of the gap. The Malavas, who in a later age changed Avanti into Malwa, were then in the Punjab between the Chenab and the Ravi near their junction.[200]

It has also to be pointed out that Surashtras of Panini were so near Kuntis and Chintis or Chedis, or hitched on to one or the other, that the region could not have corresponded to the one named Saurashtra (Kathiawad) today. As shown in the map of Pargiter's book *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, it extended to just above the mouths of the Sabaramati, Mahi and Narmada.* Panini has not mentioned Anarta which was present Saurashtra in the Puranic tradition. That Panini should have the two units Kunti and Chinti close to each other and should have used the word Chinti is significant. In the Puranic lists, Kunti and Chidi, 42nd step, are collaterals in the Yadava lineage. Their domains must have lain near each other's. The Domain of Kunti slightly to the north-west of the Avantis, must be taken to represent the Yadava territory in Panini's time. The domain known as Chedi was, according to the Puranic tradition so-called after Chidi the collateral of Kunti. Panini had before him evidently a variant in the form of Chinti.

As we have seen, the Ikshvakus or their patriarch are mentioned only once in the Rigveda. But in the later Vedic literature, the *Brahmana* texts for instance, we come across Aikshvaka kings implying that some traditional accounts of the Ikshvaku lineage reached the Rigvedic Indo-Aryan elite rather later in their history, i.e., when their elite in their advance came to the eastern part of the Gangetic doab. Three of their kings figure in the literature: (1) Tryaruna Traidhatva Aikshvaka and

199. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53, 62.
200. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

* Surashtra, has left its memento in the name of the city called Surat at the mouth of the Tapi. Surat appears to be the Arabisized form of Skt. Surashtra. This latter is more directly represented in Syrastrene, the name occurring in the Periplus of about the 1st century A.D. (Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 176).

his quarrel with his domestic priest Vrisha Jana over an accident killing a Brahmin boy, that occurred while the latter was driving his patron in his chariot; (2) Harischandra Vaidhasa Aikshvaka whose vow to offer up his son to Varuna originated the tale of Sunahshepa, which is read by many Vedicists in Rigveda I, 24 and V, 2.7 and 37; (3) Hiranyanabha Kausalya, who is actually described as a 'rajaputra' in the *Prasnopanishad* (VI).

That the Ikshavakus had come to be alternatively known as the Kosalas or Kausalyas is clear from the literature of the later Vedic age. In Panini's work their ethnic unit is named Kosala. Panini also mentions Ikshvaku and the Sarayu river in another aphorism of his. He has also recorded Sravasti, the chief town of Kosala country. Patanjali duly notes Ikshvaku as the ethnic unit (Janapada).[201] According to Pargiter's interpretation of the Puranic data, Kosala had come to be the name of the Ikshavaku country by the time of Raghu, Dileep and Dasaratha, i.e., by about 1360 B.C. .[202]

Hiranyanabha[203] appears to have performed a horse sacrifice and is mentioned in an ancient 'gatha'. His activity in the philosophical field was evidently remarkable, Sukesa Bharadvaja having failed to answer his query Hiranyanabha made up his mind to start on an itinerary in search of a correct answer.[204] Another Ikshvaku king figuring in the literature of that age is Para Atnara, who is a Hairanyanabha, i.e., a descendant of Hiranyanabha. He "appears in the Samhitas and the Brahmanas as one of the ancient great kings who won sons by performing a particular sacrifice". The ancient 'gatha' mentioned above is centred around him. He, too, is called Kausalya.[205]

This limited information available in the literature of the later Vedic age and that of the end of that age like Panini's work is highlighted by the assertion of Krishna in the *BG*. He states quite firmly that the Yoga doctrine that he was expounding or propounding was explained by Vivasvat to Manu. Manu had passed it on to Ikshvaku. Its traditional handing down was however broken in later ages.[206]

Of the ethno-geographical units figuring for the first time in the literature of the later Vedic age, two or three bespeak acquaintance and perhaps contact, too, with the hill or jungle tribes, like the Nishada. The Sabaras and Pulindas are stigmatized as Dasyus but are intended to be considered more as fallen Vedic Indo-Aryans than as purely barbaric

201. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 427.
202. *Op. cit.*, pp. 275, 301.
203. *Vedic Index.*
204. *Pr. Up.*
205. *Vedic Index*: "Kausalya" and "Para Atnara".
206. *BG*, IV, 1.

jungle or hill people. For they are said in the *Ait. Brahmana* to have been the result of the curse pronounced by Visvamitra on all those sons of his, i.e., the scions of his lineage, who did not accept Sunahshepa as their brother.[207] Two other units grouped with the above invite deeper attention. They are geographically located by their names and acquaint us with the Vedic Indo-Aryan expansion, east and south-east, that had evidently occurred between the Rigvedic and the later Vedic age. They also tend to indicate the route which Rigvedic Aryandom took in its expansion to the south.

Before tracing the route, however, it is necessary to mention another new ethno-geographical unit of the later Vedic age. And that is Anga, a unit, without any stigma of the kind attaching to the units Pundra and Andhra. Anga is mentioned in the Atharvaveda,[208] however, as a people distant and not liked, just like Magadhas in the east and the Gandharis in the north-west. The Sage, in the hymn, which is a charm against fever, asks fever to depart to the people mentioned above and some others. That the Angas stood on quite a different footing from the Pundras and Andhras is clear from the fact that one Anga Vairochana, Vairochana of the Angas (?), is said in the *Ait. Br.*,[209] to have been anointed a king by Udamaya Atreya, i.e., as one who must have performed the Rajasuya sacrifice. In one text the Angas are compounded with the Magadhas, indicating that their locations were contiguous. The authors of *Vedic Index* have fixed the geographical position of the Angas on the Sona and the Ganga which they say was theirs in later times. However, from the map accompanying their book it is clear that what lies on the Sona, or rather just to the east of the Sona and on the Ganga or just to the south of the Ganga is Magadha, the Kikatas being in the western part of it and the Angas in the eastern. The Pundras were located outside Magadha, just to the south-east of the Kikatas and to the south-west of the Angas. The Vangas, too, were perhaps known as in one text they appear compounded with the Magadhas. The authors of *Vedic Index* point out that Vanga is the designation of Bengal proper [today's West Bengal]. In the map it is shown to the south-east of Anga and east of Pundra. in the territory lying in the upper reaches of the Ganga-delta. Andhra lies beyond the lower reaches of the Mahanadi to the south-west of Pundra. Andhras, too, are said to have been outcast people like the Angas and Pundras, with of course Visvamitra's sons or descendants contributing fairly to the amalgam. The Andhras, too, prove themselves to have been fairly maligned when they were dubbed the Dasyus like the Pulindas. For though literature does not record any early Andhra to have perform-

207. *Vedic Index*: 'Andhra'.
208. V, 22.14.
209. VIII, 22.

ed one of the Vedic sacrifices, the ritualist schools of Baudhayana and Apastamba, which alone among all the Vedic schools, have a complete set of texts on Vedic, Domestic sacrifices and on Sacred law, are believed to have originated among the Andhras.[210]

The distribution of the old ethnic units and the new ones of the later Vedic age indicates that the spread of the Rigvedic Aryandom, once it crossed the Sutluj, was guided by the course of the Ganga. The Yamuna was skirted along its left bank, the right bank being almost severely left out. The Matsyas, were the only peoples to settle beyond its right bank and that too only in its upper reaches, quite a good distance to the north of the Chambal. Perhaps they showed the way to the Satvants who settled south-west of them at the northern end of the Aravalli hills, thus registering the first entry of Vedic culture into what has been known since later times as Rajasthan. One ethnic unit had shown great enterprise in settling between the rivers Chambal and the Suktimati or Ken. They are the Chedis. But their Rigvedic existence is only inferred from the name of the very munificent donor Kasu Chaidya. The location of the inferred ethnic unit, too, is conjectural, there being no specific mention or even indirect indication of the territory occupied by the great performer of sacrifices Kasu, who had employed Kanva sages for his sacrificial activity. The particular king nor the people appear again in Vedic literature. However, Chidi the 42nd king in the dynastic list having Kaisika for his father invites identification with Rigvedic Kasu Chaidya.

Panini mentions Kachcha in the west, Suramasa, Sumha and Kalinga in the east and Asmaka south of the Narmada.[211] Suramasa country is the Surma valley of Assam, Sumha is modern Midnapur of West Bengal; Kalinga is northern coastal part of Orissa, and Asmaka is a part of modern Berars and Kachcha is modern region of that name in the west. Panini[212] shows fairly intimate knowledge of West Bengal as he mentions the great mediaeval towns of that country, Mahanagara (Mahasthan) and Navanagara (Navadvipa).

We thus find Vedic Aryandom, at the end of the Vedic Age spread over almost the whole of India, north of the river Godavari, evidently in some kind of a mixture with the local people. That the ruling groups in the more than thirty ethnic States then existing were largely of the Vedic Indo-Aryan lineage is clear from Panini's insistence that these States were all Kshatriya ones being ruled by Kshatriyas.

210. G. Buhler, *Sacred Laws of the Aryas, the Dharma Sutras*, S.B.E. series, pt. I, pp. xxxiii-xxxvii; pt II, pp. xli-xliii.
211. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 38, 62, 63, 427, 432.
212. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 and 74.

9

Vedic Society: Economic Aspect

FOUR thousand and more years ago a Sumerian poet divided civilization, as he knew it, into one hundred and odd elements. The sixty or so of them that are intelligible to modern students are very correctly termed by S. N. Kramer[1] as "culture traits and complexes". They comprise "various institutions, priestly offices, ritualistic parapharnelia, mental and emotional attitudes, sundry beliefs and dogmas" and seven crafts. These latter are: (1) "craft" of the builder, (2) "art" of the wood worker, (3) "art" of the metal worker, (4) "craft" of the leather worker, (5) "craft" of the smith, (6) "craft" of the basket-weaver and (7) "scribeship" or the craft of the scribe.

I have called "scribeship" the craft of the scribe and included it in the group of crafts because the Rigvedic sage speaks of the hymner as a "Karu" (a word which 'singer' or a 'poet' in Vedic but craftsman in later Indian civilization) who was the counterpart of a 'scribe' in Vedic society which lacked writing. 'Karu' is an epithet of Visvakarman, the architect of Gods. The skill of a 'rishi', 'sage' or 'seer' who is also a hymner or singer, is "often compared with that of carpenter". The root 'Kri', from which 'karu' is derived, means in Rigvedic Sanskrit both 'to make' and 'to create'.[2] The word for carpenter in the Rigveda is 'tashtri' or 'takshan', derived from the root 'taksh', 'to fashion' or 'pare'.

The builder, so important to Sumerian society, which was far advanced for its time in the art of building temples, palaces and cities, naturally finds a place in the component elements of the civilization. The structures in that society were mostly or wholly of bricks; yet the potter whose work it must have been to make bricks is not mentioned. One finds an explanation for this omission in the fact that Sumerians had already established a brick-god, who was named Kobta, who was in charge of the pickaxe and the brick mould.[3]

1. *History Begins at Sumer*, pp. 148-9.
2 *Vedic Index*, I, 116 fn.
3. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

Vedic sacrifice, presumably from the Rigvedic period, required a fire-altar to be built up. Sumerian sacrifice, like sacrifice of most of the ancient civilizations, did not require such a structure. The Sumerian poet, therefore, did not particularly specify the craft of the potter as an element of civilization. In Indo-Aryan civilization, on the other hand, though, the potter has found a specific mention only in a *Brahmana* text but not in the Rigveda, he was quite clearly the most important of the craftsmen, or at least as important as the maker of bows and arrows and the fashioner of chariots, both indispensable equipment for the battles the Indo-Aryans were fighting.

In an earlier chapter I have quoted Eggeling's appraisal of the Vedic sacrifice as a form of worship. In it he has pointed out that the fire-altar was "the one most admirably adapted [device] for the grand symbolism" implied in the sacrifice. The fire-altar could be of more than half a dozen different shapes, the grandest of them being of "practically illimitable extent." One of the most important, and the largest too, of these was known as the 'Syenachiti,' fire-altar in the form of a bird with outspread wings. N. K. Majumdar[4] has fully explained their construction, illustrating his explanation with figures. He has also figured bricks of half a dozen different shapes that had to be used to build up a fire-altar of the desired form. These bricks were appropriately named.[5] The ceremony of the building of such an altar extended over a whole year.[6] The number of bricks required for such an altar, according to Eggeling and M. Winternitz was ten thousand and eight hundred (10800).[7] Dr. K. P. Singh,[8] evidently on the authority of the *Katyayana Srauta Sutra*, states the number required to be eleven thousand one hundred and seventy, i.e., 370 more than the previous number.

The Rigveda[9] not only implies the altar but suggests a quadrangular one, on the one hand, but fancies it to be a well-shaped woman with a four-fold braid, well-oiled. It further gves an idea of the large number of pots required in the performance of a sacrifice, when it speaks (v.6) of 40 (forty) chalices used for drinking the Soma juice. Bricks were named. There were not less than fifty such, a name being determined by the wording of the text that was enjoined to be repeated at its setting down in its proper place as a constituent of the altar. Some of the bricks, half a dozen or so, were to be entirely formed by one of the chief priests, these being specified by their names. All the rest, except a very few, were prepared by the potter.

'Ashadha', or 'invincible' brick was one of the exceptions; and signi-

4. "Sacrificial Altars etc." in *J.I.S.A.*, vols. VII and VIII.
5. Griffith *White Yajurveda*, p. 87, fn; 5.; S. V. Ketkar, *op. cit.* II, p. 120.
6. M. Winternitz: I, p. 173.
7. *Sat. Br.*, pt IV, p. 22 fn.
8. *Katyayana Srauta Sutra*, p. 104.
9. X, 114-3.

ficantly enough it had to be prepared by the chief wife of the sacrificer himself; and that, too, out of the clay made ready for the preparation of the central fire-pan, the special composition of which will be briefly stated later. The brick appears to have been a square, measuring a foot (human) each way. It had to have three lines on it and was to be burnt only in horse-dung.[10] Griffith, who translates the appellation as 'Conquering One," and as "invincible," in the footnote, informs us that the brick was placed "on the front of the altar, on its backbone". Another was the "Svayamatrinna" brick, the brick whose name declared its type and not its textual context. The meaning of the appellation 'svayamatrinna' is not as beyond doubt or as specific as one would have liked. However, Eggeling has provided an explanation which deserves to be noted. Translating the word as "naturally perforated" he says: "Apparently some kind of porous stone".[11] To me this does not appear satisfactory, considering the context of its use in the altar. Three such bricks were placed at the centre of the altar, where, in the hollow below, a small golden image of the performance of the sacrifice was deposited. The bricks, as Eggeling points out, were meant to represent the three worlds, "the holes [perforation]" in his own words being intended to afford to the sacrificer (represented by the gold man) a passage to the highest region".[12] Surely a purely porous stone cannot provide the necessary 'holes'. It can allow the passage of a liquid through percolation but not that of a solid body however small, and that too a human figure of some kind!

The most important pottery item connected with a sacrifice was the 'ukha', 'the fire-pan', the receptacle for fire, in which sacrificial offerings had to be consigned to fire. The clay for this article was to be specially prepared. The clay was to be kneaded with water boiled by means of resin of the 'palasa' (Butea frondosa) tree. Some goat's hair, sand of gravel, stone and iron-rust were to be mixed with the clay. Out of this kneaded clay the 'ukha' was made in three tiers welded together. The height of the ukha was normally to be one span, width too the same, but may be varied upto five spans in height in certain cases. I should think the width too then would be larger. The three parts or tiers were, it appears, of equal height, i.e. 1/3 of a span high. A horizontal belt or rim ran more or less at the top of the article. From the rim or belt down to the bottom there were to be four vertical bands, the shape being thus a four-cornered or four-sided one. The three tiers were thus united into a whole and integrated article. The upper ends of the vertical bands were to be shaped so as to "form nipples". The author of

10. *Sat. Br.*, VI. 5.3.1-11.
11. *White Yajurveda*, p. 117.
12. Note at *Sat. Br.* VI, 1.2-31.

the *Satapatha Brahmana*",[13] where we find this prescription for the preparation of an 'ukha', is quite definite that these "nipples" must be four in number. For the fire-pan was conceived as a cow with the horizontal belt for its udder which has four nipples. He says that some people made only two nipples but he is against the reduction to two. The 'ukha', it appears was otherwise named 'kumbhi' or "sthali".[14]

Dr. Raghu Vira,[15] forty years ago, published a paper on the paraphernalia of Vedic sacrifice from the pots and pans and other things actually being used in the Mimamsa Vidyalaya of Pune, with one hundred illustrations in line-drawing. Unfortunately the figure of the 'ukha' at p. 290 does not conform to the above description. Dr. Raghu Vira further says about the 'ukha' that it could be circular or rectangular. Dr. S. V. Ketkar,[16] writing about a decade before Dr. Raghu Vira, too, had given an illustrative chart of all the pots, pans and implements of a Vedic sacrifice. Unfortunately his illustrations are too small and not quite distinct: and he has pronounced the 'ukha' to be eight-cornered.[17] It could neither be circular, nor rectangular, much less could it be eight-cornered!

Vedic Index has listed not more than thirty items under 'implement' which can be described as pots, pans, ladles and their like used in the household. The index to the work from which I have counted the items, does not contain the word 'mahavira' which was a big cooking earthen-ware pot, though it is commented upon in the body of the book at its proper alphabetical position. The word, it seems, first appears in the YV Samhitas. 'Gharma', a "pot used for heating milk, especially for the offering to the Asvins", as *Vedic Index* describes it, which occurs in the RV more than once, also does not figure in the index under 'implements'. The number of different kinds of pots and pans used in Vedic sacrifices and those known to the Vedic society in its routine living cannot be said to be limited to the number and kind of pots and pans actually listed. Among the thirty there are a few which were of wood. Perhaps a few others were of bronze. Many must have been earthen-ware ones.

It follows from a passage in the Atharvaveda[18] that pots of unbaked clay were not non-existent. The passage provides the only reference to the natural colour of a burnt clay vessel in the Vedic society. The dish used for magic, mentioned in the passage was either "unbaked" or "burnt dark-red". We may, therefore, conclude that pottery of the Vedic

13. VI, 5.2.16-19.
14. *Sat. Br.* VI, 7.1-24.
15. *J.R.A.S.*, 1934.
16. *Maharashtriyajnanakosa*, III, pt. 2, p. chart opp. p. 93.
17. *Ibid.*, II, p. 125.
18. IV, 17-4.

age, other than unbaked clay ware, was dark red in colour. In view of the archaeologists like Prof. B. B. Lal mapping out carefully the distribution of earthen-ware discovered by them in their many excavations in U.P. and elsewhere in order to determine, if possible, the archaeological horizon which can fix up the Indo-Aryan culture complex to a time-bracket, this inference, if considered valid, is important.

The Rigveda contains one significant reference to a peculiar kind of vessel. In IX, 96.9 we read: "Dear, grateful to the gods, on to the beaker [?] moves Soma, sweet to Indra, to delight him. With hundred powers with thousand currents [Sahasradhara], Indra like a strong car-horse, goes to the assembly". As the authors of *Vedic Index* state, in RV IX, 75.3 we have the mention of another pot called 'kosa', and they assure us that it was "a large vessel to hold Soma. as opposed to 'kalasa'. Translating the word 'kosa' as 'bucket', they inform us that in the RV its use is for "drawing water by means of a rope from a well, 'avata' ". Under 'avata' they render it by 'pail', 'the pail' fastened to a strap or rope was used to raise water, the rope or strap being evidently operated, unwounded or wounded as required, by a stone-wheel, which must have been fixed up, as now, to wooden poles protruding somewhat but slantingly over the well. Under Soma, the authors of *Vedic Index* describe both 'kalasa' and 'chamasa', a vessel made of wood, as vessels used by priests to drink Soma from. The word 'kalasa', is thus better translated as 'pot' or 'jar' than as 'bucket'. In Marathi its descendant 'kalasi' denotes a biggish pot with a well-formed neck and upper rim, which is used for drawing water from a well.

The jar or pot would appear to have had one thousand, or near one thousand holes through which Soma was to fall as an offering into the fire. That thousand-holed jar was not the only pot used in pouring the oblational Soma into the fire, is, however, clear from the 14th stanza of the same hymn. It reads: "Pour hundred streamed [satadhara], winner of thousands . . . while thou with rivers roarest in the beaker (pot) ['kalasa']". We have, therefore, to assume that either a thousand-holed pot or a hundred-holed one was in use for offering Soma sacrifice even in the Rigvedic age.

The hundred-holed pot is specifically mentioned as the one in which offering of spirituous liquor, 'sura', to the Fathers in the course of the Sautramani sacrifice was to be made: "Cleanse me to Fathers who enjoy Soma—may Great-grandfathers cleanse me with a sieve that brings a century. . . . With sieve that brings a century may I obtain full length of life" so runs the 37th stanza of the XIX book of the *Vajasaneyi Samhita*.[19] Griffith's note informs us that "a jar of Sura, the spiri-

19. *White Yajurveda,* XIX.

tuous liquor, pierced with a hundred holes is hung over the Southern fire-place, a sieve or strainer made of hair of horse, cow, goat and wool, with gold is placed beneath. As the liquor drops thereon the Sacrificer recites texts for his purification". The *Sat. Br.* mentions the pot or the offering in three different places.[20] The new feature to be noticed there is that the pot could be either of hundred holes or of nine only. But the author of the *Brahmana* prescribes the use only of a hundred-holed pot. For he informs us that it was in hundred ways that Soma had flown for Indra and that the sacrifice is also hundred-sized [?]. Further he puts forward a magical reason for his prescription; and that is that if the pot is hundred-holed the user will live for hundred years and have a hundred energies and a hundred powers. The justification for the use of a nine-holed pot is that there are nine vital airs in the body, which in comparison with the much more weighty reasons put forward by the author, it is implied, cannot stand its ground. We can see from the reasoning that if once upon a while, perhaps even before the Rig-vedic age, the pot used for offering Soma or Sura in fire was thousand-holed, with the magical and mystical element getting more and more the upperhand in the socio-religious field one with only a hundred holes or perforations must have come to be the standard one.

Eggeling on the authority of *Katyayana Srauta Sutra* has described the manner in which the pot was made use of. He says:[21] "Two poles are driven into the ground north and south of the southern fire and a bamboo stick laid thereon: on a string fastened to this stick, the pot containing a tail-whisk (for-straining) [? the White Yajurveda text speaks of the strainer as outside the pot and in it?] and a piece of gold, is then made to hang over the fire, and the remains of the Sura-liquor [after its use in the earlier part of the ritual] poured into it; and whilst it trickles through into the fire the priest gets the sacrificer to repeat the appropriate texts". From all this description we have to conclude that the hundred-holed or housand-holed pot was a jar with a well-marked strong neck and a mouth with a thickish and stout rim, capable of being securely placed in the grip of a rope hanging from the stick laid on from pole to pole.

The type of pot significantly called "Mahavira", as described in ritual texts and brought to our notice by Dr. Raghu Vira in his article mentioned above, must be noted down here. The pot appears to have been intriguingly very much similar to the double pot which I and my collaborators had discovered in the mound at Kot-Diji in Sindh years ago and illustrated in pl. IV appearing at page 9 of the *Journal of the Univer-*

20. V, 5.4-27; XII, 7.2-13; XII, 8.1-8.
21. *Sat. Br.* XII, 8.1-8.

sity of Bombay, 1936, Part VI. Dr. Raghu Vira's[22] illustration of 'mahavira' only shows it to have been slightly bigger and perhaps less finished and elegant. He, however, points out that the illustration which is based on the pot actually in use, does not conform to the description of it available in ritualistic literature.

That some pots used for drinking or cups had side handles or spouts or perhaps both is to be inferred from the statement about the "drawing" of the fifth cup in the Vajapeya sacrifice described in the White Yajurveda.[23] The fifth cup is addressed as "handless". Apropos of this reference to the form of some pots and the earlier mention of earthen vessels and reference to wooden pots, it is necessary to bring to the notice of the readers that even in the Rigvedic period there were already some pots of metal in daily or in sacrificial use. Gharma is one such pot. It is qualified in RV. V, 30.15 as 'ayasmaya', i.e., made of either bronze or iron. Some of the cups used in Soma sacrifice were of hammered metal, 'ayohata' as RV IX, 1.2 has it. Probably Charu, 'kettle' or 'pot', too, was of metal. "It had a lid and hooks by which it could be hung over a fire". That it was of iron or bronze follows from a statement in the *Sat. Brahmana*. In the *Tait. Sahmita* it is called 'panchabīla' 'having five openings'.[24]

In the Rigveda 'chamasa' is once designated 'mahakula' 'of illustrious family or birth'; and the authors of *Vedic Index*, commenting on this metaphorical use of the word 'mahakula', conclude that "certain families were already recognized" as of high position, i.e., social distinction had already gone so far in the Rigvedic society that even inanimate objects like the vessels in use at sacrificial performance had come to be distinguished according to their origin.

We have seen, while describing the nature of the special perforated pot in the Sautramani sacrifice, that wine or spirituous liquor (sura) was an essential offering to the Fathers. The way of making the offering to Indra, Asvins and some other gods was the same.[25] There is another sacrifice, which must have been performed very much more frequently than the Sautramani and that, too, by both the Brahmins and the Kashtriyas, named Vajapeya. The sacrifice could perhaps be offered by the Vaisyas as well.[26] In it, too, 'sura' or spirituous liquor was used along with Soma. The ritual prescribes the use of 17 cups of 'sura' in addition to the same number of Soma.[27]

22. *Op. cit.*, fig. 22.
23. Griffith, p. 71; *Yaj. Sam.* IX, 4.
24. *Vedic Index*, "Caru" and fn.
25. *Vaj. Sam.*, XIX, 33-34.
26. *Vedic Index*, on *Vajapeya*.
27. Griffith, *Vaj. Sam.*, p. 71 fn.; Keith, *Tait. Sam.* p. cxi; Ketkar, 11, 142.

The importance of 'sura' in religious context becomes quite clear from the fact that one of the priests 'neshtar', whose duty it was to lead forward the wife of the sacrificer, was to prepare it.[28] The religious significance of 'sura', 'spirituous liquor', goes back to its supposed or fancied divine origin. In the Rigveda[29] Asvins are said to have poured for sage Kakshivan a hundred jars ('kumbha') of 'sura'. That it was a fairly common drink among the wealthy of the Rigvedic society follows from the fact that Indra is told by a Kanva sage[30] twice, in slightly varying language, that those who are flown with wine heed him not. The conclusion is strengthened when we find another sage, attributing the opulent and spacious life which the wealthy people enjoy to their liberal performance of sacrifices, mentions their deep and many draughts of liquor as one of the features of their living. The stanza[31] reads: "First have the liberal gained a fragrant dwelling, and get themselves a bride in fair apparel. The liberal have obtained their draught of liquor, and conquered those who, unprovoked, assailed them". However, there was clear consciousness that not only drink led to defiance of Indra as stated above but it was also a cause of moral lapses. A Vasishtha hymner[32] implores Varuna: "Not our own will betrayed us, but seduction, thoughtlessness, Varuna! wine, dice or anger". The Atharvaveda[33] represents 'sura' as following Ekavratya, which may mean that it was more in vogue in the east. It is interesting to find Oldenberg and Keith attributing the introduction of 'sura', 'spirituous liquor,' into the Sautramani sacrifice to the priestly class!

Another intoxicating drink came into prominence in the AV period; and that was called 'parisrut'. Vedicists may be said to agree that it was a household beverage, i.e., prepared by the family requiring and using it. The occupation of wine-distiller is attested in the Yajurveda[34] which has prescribed a 'surakara' as a victim for "sweet Beverage" in the Purushamedha. He may also have been referred to in the Rigveda at I, 191.10. The hymn appears to be a poison- or snake-charm and the particular stanza reads: "I hang the poison in the Sun, a wine-skin [the leather-bottle in which wine, it appears, used to be kept] in a vintner's house . . . he whom Bay Horses bear hath turned thee to sweet meath".

There were at least three other crafts upon which the paraphernalia of sacrifice depended very much. The practitioners of these were known

28. Griffith, *loc. cit.*, p. 233 fn.
29. I, 116.7.
30. VIII, 7.12; 21.14.
31. X, 107.9.
32. RV, VII, 86.6.
33. XV, 9.
34. Griffith's *White Yajurveda,* p. 256; XXX, 11.

to the Vedic society as (1) Takshan or Tastri, 'carpenter', (2) Rathakara, 'chariot-maker' and (3) Hiranyakara, 'goldsmith' or 'worker in gold'.

In a society in which plough-culture was very well developed as the Rigvedic society was, in which bullock-carts and horse-chariots, and these latter not only drawn by one horse but also by two or four of them, the chariots being, as we have seen to have been, over-size by standards of contemporary civilizations of other lands, carpentry must have been highly developed. The Sacrificial performance meant raising 'mandaps' or 'shamianas', sometimes quite a few of them. And as they were made from bamboos and some wood, carpenter's work was a necessary adjunct of Vedic religion and worship. More specialised work it would appear was required of carpenters when it came to fashioning the 'yupa' or the sacrificial post which had to have an octagonal top. Quite a number of such posts were required even in one sacrifice; and the carpenter must have found abundant employment in satisfying the religious and other needs of the Rigvedic society. At the 'Vajapeya' sacrifice a special wheel with seventeen spokes was a ritual need. The sacrificer had to be seated on it laid flat on the top of a tall post or the pole of the chariot, and the wheel was then to be whirled round and round in high motion.[35] Carpenter's skill was, so to say, put to test in the making of the wheel.

In addition to the needs of the people at large in respect of chariots, which as we shall see must have been plentiful in Vedic society, at the Vajapeya sacrifice for the chariot-race, which was its indispensable accompaniment, seventeen four-horse chariots had to run a race.[36] Rathakara who was to furnish them, is however, not mentioned in the Rigveda. By the time of the Atharvaveda he had come to stand for the industrial population and may be said to have been considered as principal industrial section of the society.

Hiranyakara, the craftsman working in gold and silver as such is not mentioned in the Rigveda. However, as the authors of *Vedic Index*[37] state: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the Vedic [Rigvedic] Indians, though gold is always associated with the Gods". Gold in various forms was a necessary requisite in the sacrificial performance. Dr. S. V. Ketkar[38] has listed nine different items of gold that had to be used either in the sacrificial process, or to be gifted away at the end of a sacrifice, in the 'Pravargya' ceremony. (1) One of the two circular pieces required was that of gold 'rukma' and the other silver (rajata); (2) at the 'chayana' ceremony the sacrificer had to wear a gold plate with twenty-one embosses on it; (3) at the Vajapeya sacrifice

35. Ketkar, II, pp. 132-33.
36. Griffith: *White Yajurveda,* p. 73 fn.
37. *Vedic Index,* II, 504-5.
38. *Op. cit.* III, p. 123.

all the priests—there were more than seven—had to wear gold necklaces and the sacrificer a gold necklace having one hundred lotus-shaped pieces in it, all studded with jewels; (4) at the Rajasuya sacrifice, all persons concerned in it had to use as seats low wooden stools studded with gold and flowers; (5) at the Asvamedha, two of the priests concerned were to be seated on gold-studded seats; (6) at some of the sacrifices, specific priests had to be awarded gifts of gold necklace, gold neck ornament, either gold ear-rings or a gold-framed mirror; (7) the dice-play at Rajasuya was to be played with gold-dice; (8) at another sacrifice the chief priest was to be presented a gold cup filled with honey; (9) one of the three needles used for making marks on the body of the sacrificial horse to fix up the parts, where the sword afterwards was to fall for sacrificing the animal, was to be of gold and another of silver, the third being of iron. (10) In the centre of the fire-altar for a sacrifice, a small gold image of the sacrificer was to be laid underneath the bricks, which were specially prescribed to be self-perforated so that the sacrificer represented by his gold-image at the centre below them could pass through the holes to the heaven.[39]

(11) At the 'asvamedha', the sacrificer sat on a footed stool of gold. (12) Three of the priests sat on cushions wrought of gold while the fourth one sat on a gold stool or gold slab.[40] (13) The cup in which the Soma-juice was to be offered to Prajapati called 'mahiman' was to be of gold.[41] (14) At a particular stage of that sacrifice the celebrator had to distribute among the four priests not only 4000 cows but also four gold plates weighing a hundred (grains). They were also to be given one hundred garments. The last presentation was supported by an appealing kind of modern logic. "The garment" reads the text "is man's outward appearance, whence people (on seeing) any well-clad man ask, "Who can this be; for he is perfect in his outward appearance".[42] (15) At one of the important ritual items in the 'rajasuya' sacrifice, the chief priest was to be presented three golden pieces of "a hundred manas each".[43]

The word for ornament used in many of the above contexts is 'rukma', which occurs in the Rigveda quite a few times in the description of Maruts who are said to wear 'rukma' round their neck.[44] When we find both 'hiranya' and 'rukma' used to describe the glow of fire, in one stanza we can be sure that 'rukma' was a gold ornament. Later 'rukma' denoted "gold" consistently just as 'hiranya' or 'suvarna' did. This RV, IV, 10.6 reads: "Spotless thy [Agni] body, brilliant as gold [hiranya], like clarified butter; this gleams like gold [rukma] on thee, O Self dependent". In the previous stanza we have: "It [Agni's look] shineth near us even as gold

39. *Sat. Br.* VII, 4.4.16-17.
40. *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4.3-1.
41. *Ibid.*, XIII, 5.2-23.
42. *Ibid.*, XIII, 4.5.13-15.
43. *Ibid.*, V, 5.5.11-16.
44. *Vedic Index*: Rukma.

[rukma] for glory". The Maruts are described as 'rukma-vakshas', i.e., "wearing golden ornaments on the breast" or as 'rukmin'.[45] The seat of Asvin's chariot is golden ('hiranya'), the reins, too, of gold (hiranya) and the wheels, too, of the same metal (hiranya).[46] Agni is also described as 'nishka-griva', i.e., with gold necklace round his neck,[47] so that 'nishka', which later denoted more a gold coin than a gold ornament or necklace, was another word for the yellow metal current in Rigvedic society.

Even in the Rigvedic society 'nishka' was, it would appear, used as a coin or at least as a unit of barter; [48] for in RV, I, 126.2, Kakshivan "celebrates the receipt of a hundred 'nishkas' and a hundred steeds". Sobhari, another sage, apprises us of the fact that the box of his chariot, which he must have received from his patron, was of gold.[49] Another sage Vasa Asvya informs us that his patron presented him with a gold chariot.[50] So plentiful, so coveted and so used was gold even in the Rigvedic period! A worker in that metal, the goldsmith, must therefore have been an important craftsman in that period. In this context the singer's fancy picturing Maruts as wearing "glittering ornaments and chains of gold on their chests", and Maruts and Asvins as driving in chariots, the fellies of which are of gold,[51] should be borne in mind.

There are more than one hundred entries, in *Vedic Index*, for occupations and offices recorded in Vedic literature. Quite a few of them are duplicates or triplicates, one occupation or office having been named in more than one way. Thus it is interesting to find that the occupation of a fisherman was carried on by and known under seven different groups and names. Making allowance for such duplications, one finds not less than fifty different crafts, occupations or offices, specifically and distinctly named and therefore current in the later Vedic age. For the Rigvedic perod I have not been able to trace more than twenty of them. We come across: (1) rower; (2) boatman; (3) corn-grinder or grinder on a mill; (4) priest; (5) rishi, hymner, poet; (6) smith; (7) smelter and welder ('dravitri', 'dhmatri'); (8) ploughman; (9) herdsman; (10) village headman; (11) carpenter; (12) chariot-builder; (13) charioteer; (14) barber; (15) merchant; (16) weaver (vaya); (17) vintner; (18) 'bhishaj', physician; (19) 'karu', 'singer-poet'; (20) 'brahman', (priest).

The principal economic activity of the Rigvedic people, however, would appear to have been agriculture or plough-culture, which students of Indo-European culture assure us, was already practised by early Indo-Europeans. First practice of agriculture in the opinion of Rigvedic [52] elite was a feat of the helpful, succouring and healing gods Asvins or

45. *Vedic Index*: 'Rukma'.
46. VIII, 5.28-29, 35.
47. RV, V, 19.3.
48. *Vedic Index*: 'Niska'.
49. RV, VIII, 20.8.
50. VIII, 46.24.
51. I, 64.4, II; 180.1.
52. RV, VIII, 22.6.

Nasatya. They are believed to have taught the skill to Manu, the progenitor of the Indo-Aryan peoples, who, in his concern for his progeny, passed the knowledge and practice on to men, Aryans. One sage credits Asvins with ploughing the fields and sowing barley for Aryan man.[53] Vamadeva asserts that Trasadasyu was enabled to win fields and plough-lands for the Arya by Mitra-Varuna with their gift of the fabled horse Dadhikras.[54] Indra is asked by another singer [55] to dwell, as a guard, in "our tilled fields and in our home-steads". Sobhari Kanva likens his new hymn designed to propitiate Maruts to the one or ones which a plougher sings to his steers, indicating thereby that ploughing with bullocks was a long-established practice.[56]

The authors of *Vedic Index* [57] observe that "Urvara, with Kshetra, is the regular expression from the RV onwards, denoting a piece of plough-land. Fertile fields are spoken of as well as waste fields . . . The fields were carefully measured according to the RV. This fact points clearly to individual ownership of land for the plough". This established rule or law is enshrined in the currency of the deity "Kshetrasya pati" or "Kshetrapati", the Lord of the fields. In the special hymn devoted to a description of agriculture,[58] the first four of the total number of eight stanzas are an appeal to this deity, it being named in the first three of them. It ends thus: "Happily work our steers and men, may the plough ('langala')—note that this Rigvedic word for plough has continued to be used for that implement, so necessary in this country and the world too, in many of the languages of India (Bharat) today; thus in Marathi 'nangara' we detect the Rigvedic 'langala'—furrow happily. Happily be the traces bound [to secure the bullocks to the yoke of the plough]; happily may the goad be plied". Three more deities, all personifications of some agricultural implements or some agricultural operations, Suna, Sira and Sita, are then implored for success in the operation. In between are three deities of the regular Rigvedic pantheon mentioned, Indra and Pushan, evidently connected with field and seed, and Parjanya, rain-god, for fructifying the operation with rain. Indra is at least once [59] called 'Urvarapati', "Lord of plough-land" or "Lord of corn-land").

It is noteworthy that though the deities, Suna and Sira, do not appear in later ritual literature, they are duly recorded by Panini as dual Vedic deities; and they used to receive oblations in his time.[60] The third, deity, a goddess, is much more intriguingly interesting. For the most famous of Indian ladies has been known by that name. She is Sita, wife of Rama.

53. RV, I, 117.21.
54. IV, 38.1.
55. I, 174.3.
56. VIII, 20.19.
57. Vide, 'Urvara'.
58. RV, IV, 57.
59. RV, VIII, 31.3.
60. Agrawala, *op.cit.*, pp. 192 359.

Sita's origin as narrated in the Ramayana[61] establishes her close connection with ploughed field. 'Sita' as a common noun means a 'furrow'. Sita further finds mention in the *Yajurveda Samhitas* and also in Panini and in Kautilya's *Arthasastra* and thus has long continuity.[62] The formula for recitation prescribed in the latter work reads: "May the divine Sita prosper in my seeds and my grains". As for Kshetrapati, the deity appears to have merged with Rudra-Siva in later times as the prescriptions of some of the Grihya Sutras referred to in another chapter, (that on Rudra-Siva), show. As S. V. Ketkar[63] has pointed out, both the *Asvalayana* and *Sankhyayana Grihya Sutras* maintain that Kshetrapati was invoked at the beginning of ploughing operations. And Kshetrapati named as Kshetrapala or as Khetrappa as in the South, Coorg and Malabar, persists as a non-Brahmanic local deity identified with Bhairava a form of Rudra-Siva.

All this indicates that plough-culture was already a serious social concern in the Rigvedic age. The importance which ploughing and plough-culture occupied in the minds of the elite is further brought out in the hundred-and-first hymn of the X book of the Rigveda. There are in it four stanzas (3-6) in which "sacrifice is figuratively spoken of as ploughing, sowing and reaping". Griffith making the above comment has referred to a passage in the *Satapatha Brahmana* VII, 2.2-4, of more or less similar content. There is, even more than this in the hymn; for in the two later stanzas, the fifth and sixth, we get a picture of the watering arrangement current in Rigvedic society. Buckets, shaped from wood with stone-axes perhaps—stanza tenth mentions stone-axes fashioning the vessel for storing Soma juice in and may have relevance to the pails mentioned in stanza six, used for drawing water from well—are asked to be arranged properly on their belt. This laconic description of the raising of water from natural springs or artificial wells in a metaphor must conjure up before the eyes of an Indian, who has lived in any village, of a large wheel being moved by a bullock going round and round and the row of pots placed in a belt over the wheel coming up full and pouring out their water contents into the channel or tub on the edge of the well. That there might have been channels laid underground to carry water from a pond or pool is rendered probable by a passage in the peculiar hymn which has 'Ghrita' 'Clarified butter' for its deity.[64] It reads: "From inmost reservoir [hridyat samudrat] in countless channels [sata vraja = 'hundred channels or ways'] flow down these rivers which the foe beholds not". That the cutting of canals or channels for carrying water was a fairly widespread and well-known feature of at least the later Rigvedic society may safely

61. I, 66.14.
62. Agrawala, p. 196; R. P. Kangle's *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, p. 175.
63. *Op. cit.*, II, 344.
64. RV, IV, 58.5.

be concluded from the existence of the Atharvaveda hymn[65] which, as Griffith notes, was to be recited "on the occasion of cutting a channel for irrigation or to avert a flood".

The following observations of the authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on "avata" further uphold the above statement. They are: "[Avata] denotes a well artificially made, in contrast with a spring (utsa) though the latter expression is also applied to an artificial well. Such wells were covered by the makers, and are described as unfailing and full of water. The water was raised by a wheel of stone, to which was fastened a strap with a pail attached to it. When raised it was poured into buckets (ahava) of wood. Sometimes those wells appear to have been used for irrigation purposes, the water being led off into broad channels (surmi sushira)". However their statement that the water was raised by means of one pail must be taken to miss the mark; for if the water was being raised by one pail it could not be so large in quantity that it could be poured out into a number of buckets; and if the water was poured out into a bucket how could it be used to carry it off to the plants, unless somebody poured out the bucket again! Secondly in the 5th stanza of the 101st hymn of the X book, a number of pails are spoken of as arranged on a strap or belt. That channels were used for carrying water to the plants has to be construed from the currency in the Rigvedic society of the word "kulya", which in later ages, denoted a channel and is enshrined in the compound expression, "kulyavapa", 'irrigated area' found in *Kautilya's Arthasastra*.[66] The authors of *Vedic Index* accepting the interpretation of the word 'kulya' in RV, VII, 49.2, have themselves remarked that "intensive agriculture by means of irrigation is clearly referred to both in the Rigveda and in the Atharvaveda". Use of manure is presumed from the time of the Atharvaveda onwards.[67]

That fields (kshetra) were carefully measured in a conclusion that follows from RV, I, 110.5, according to *Vedic Index*. The first half of it reads: "The Ribhus [artificier gods] with a rod measured, as it were a field, the single sacrificial chalice wide of mouth". That fields were a species of personal property is indicated by the way in which a lady named Apala valued her father's field as a personal possession on the same level as the hair on his head and her own body. The conclusion is supported by the name of the minor deity Kshetrapati and also by the epithet Urvarapati once applied to Indra as mentioned above. The final conclusion about the situation regarding property in land in the words of the authors of *Vedic Index*, (I, 99-100) is: "There is no trace in Vedic literature of communal property in the sense of ownership by community

65. III, 13.
66. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 171 and fn.; II, 24.5.
67. *Vedic Index*, "Urvara".

of any sort, nor is there mention of communal cultivation". The following pronouncement of a Bharadvaja sage[68] clinches the issue very neatly! "With strength of limb the hero slays the hero... When two opposing hordes contend in battle for seed and offspring, waters, kine or corn-lands". The description of Agni as "our well-loved friend, the God who prospereth our fields" by a Kanva sage[69] further strengthens the statement. For, then we find both the greatest Gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, Indra and Agni, viewed by the Rigvedic elite as deeply concerned in procuring and/or protecting the fields or corn-lands of the Aryan folk.

Though the Rigvedic people thus appear to have been carrying on intensive agriculture, using irrigation as an aid, there was something which they must have learnt from a people whom they have called Asuras. For in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[70] there is a story about a bickering of "seasons" with the Gods who, through their emissary Agni, acquired the correct knowledge necessary to entice the "seasons" back from the Asuras. The "seasons", having been refused their request that the Gods should assign them a share in the sacrifice, departed to the Asuras. Thereupon the Asuras throve magnificently, exciting the envy of the gods. The gods came to know that among the Asuras, while one section of them was engaged in reaping the harvest, the other section had begun ploughing and sowing. Agni as an emissary was an eye-witness and he brought back the "seasons" promising them a share in the sacrifice. It seems the Asuras were taking two crops in a year, before the Vedic Indo-Aryans ever thought of such a procedure, and that the secret lay in the proper appreciation of seasons in the new land, where they had come from perhaps a distant land, with slightly differing seasonal periods. They must have learnt to appraise the seasonal variations in their contact with the plough-culture of the local population of somewhat high culture!

The Atharvaveda, probably bears marks of this contact or the borrowing, for we find there much more specific details regarding the plough and ploughing as well as special charms for both the agricultural operations and for increase in cattle-wealth. We know from it[71] that for barley cultivation the plough used was drawn by a team of six or eight oxen. Ploughs drawn by six, twelve and even twenty-four oxen are also mentioned.

Panini has mentioned the practice of ploughing twice, thrice or even more, and also that of carrying out the second of the two ploughings in the reverse direction to that of the first. Dr. Agrawala,[72] referring to Megasthenes, states that "the Greeks testify to the careful ploughing

68. RV, VI, 25.4.
69. VIII, 31.14.
70. I, 6.1.1-3.
71. VI, 91.1.
72. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

habits of the people in this country". It is, therefore, quite likely that at least in the later Vedic age the people in north India, present Punjab and U.P., had developed an efficient code of agricultural operations which served the country well for more than twenty-five hundred years.[73]

One naturally will get curious to know what the Vedic Indians cultivated. For a people's food is some index to their pattern of living; and storeable food means wealth that may be associated with or lead to social distinction of some kind. 'Dhanya' is the generic term denoting corn or grain in the Rigveda. Dhana, from which the above word is a derivative, too, is found used in the Rigveda, always in the plural, meaning "grains of corn". It is interesting to find that they, corn-grains, used to be sometimes parched, a procedure, I think, adopted to turn them into popped corn, 'laja' of later Vedic age. Yaska, the pre-sixth century B.C. linguist, derives the word 'syala', 'wife's brother' from the circumstance that he was the one who used to and had to pour 'lajas', 'lava' in Hindi, parched or popped grain, out of the winnowing basket into the hands of his sister's husband, at the wedding ceremony, for him to pour them out into the sacred fire there. It is not unlikely that 'dhana', in the Rigveda, itself denoted popped corn; for we read in RV, I, 16.2, Indra being invited to partake of 'dhana', 'oozing ghee' or 'bedwed with ghee'. Popped corn turned over in ghee seems to be meant unless one likes to interpret the passage to imply rice cooked in ghee or eaten with ghee. In the latter case the use of rice by Rigvedic Indo-Aryans would have to be accepted as common!

Yava is the most often mentioned cultivated corn in the Rigveda and is equated with barley by most Vedicists. Rice is 'vrihi' and is clearly mentioned along with barley (yava) at least in a few passages of the Atharvaveda.[74] Picturesquely barley is declared to be inbreath and rice to be outbreath.[75] In another passage[76] they are described as "healing balms, the sons of heaven who never die." It is clear that in the view of Atharvavedic society—and perhaps also Rigvedic one—barley and rice were the two cereals that were the basis of human life.

Rice, in later Vedic literature, is 'vrihi', a word which does not occur in the Rigveda. Vedicists, therefore, have concluded that rice came to be known or in use only from the time of the Atharvaveda which mentions it as "tandula".[77] They have also tended to date its knowledge and use among the Vedic Indo-Aryans from the time they penetrated further east, Magadha, where rice is indigenous. In the YV (*Tait. Sam.*) rice appears

73. *Vedic Index*: 'Krishi'.
74. VIII, 7.20; IX, 6.14; XI, 1.22; 4.13 and XII, 1.42.
75. XI, 4.13.
76. VIII, 7.20.
77. Vide 'tandula' in *Vedic Index*.

as distinguished on three bases. On the basis of colour, we learn of dark or black and white rice; on that of size, 'mahavrihi', 'large rice', as against ordinary sized 'vrihi'; and on that of the period taken by the crop for ripening, as 'swift-growing' or otherwise. The swift-growing rice is otherwise called 'shashtika', 'taking six periods' for ripening. The variety came to be known as 'shashtika', 'ripening in sixty days".[78] Panini, too mentions both these varieties and significantly names one of the compounds 'Bahuvrihi', i.e., 'having a plentiful stock of rice', wealth and riches of a person then being reckoned in terms of the quantity of rice possessed.[79]

Apropos of Vedicists' opinion that the absence of the word 'vrihi' from the RV implies that rice was not known or used by the Rigvedic Indians, we have to examine the meaning of another word which occurs a few times in the Rigveda and is actually glorified in combination with another word in the Atharvaveda and occurs in the later Vedic literature in combination with words for other articles of food and denotes a food-preparation in more or less common use. That word is 'odana', which later commonly denoted 'boiled rice', ready for consumption with some liquid or ghee. In Panini's time it denoted cooked rice. Panini[80] mentions at least two kinds of boiled rice: (1) that boiled in water, 'udaudana' (udaka = "water" + odana) and (2) that boiled in water along with meat added to it, 'mamsaudana' (mamsa = meat + odana). The authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on 'odana' state that it denotes a mess, usually of grain cooked with milk, instancing stanza RV, VIII, 66-77.10, though in the other passage which they have adduced, VIII, 58.69.14, we have 'odana' being cooked without milk or any other liquid or ingredient being added. The authors have noted altogether five varieties of 'odana', besides the Paninian two, that are mentioned in the later Vedic literature, the *Brahmana,* the *Aranyaka,* and the *Upanishad* texts: They are: milk-mess 'kshiraudana'; curd-mess, 'dadhyaudana; bean-mess, 'mudgaudana'; sesame-mess, 'tilaudana' and ghee-mess, 'ghritaudana'.

Odana in the Atharvaveda is quite emphatically deified, there being at least six hymns which are addressed to 'odana'.[81] In almost all these passages Griffith renders the word by rice. Odana is said to be a means to secure 'svarga', 'heaven', for a person. One special sacrifice named "Vishtari", which is glorified as procurer of all kinds of pleasures and bliss in 'svarga', heaven, was based on an offering of a "brew of rice and milk".[82] One who cooks 'odana' gains heaven,[83] Griffith notes on 'odana'

78. *Vedic Index*: 'krishi', 'yava' and 'vrihi'.
79. V. S. Agrawala, p. 205-06.
80. V. S. Agrawala, pp. 106-07.
81. IV, 34 and 35; IX, 5; X, 9; XI, 1 and 3
82. IV, 34.
83. XI, 1.17.

that it is "the general word for the mess of mashed rice". Odana in three combinations, as "Panchaudana" 'five-messed", "Sataudana" "hundred-messed" and "Brahmaudana" "odana meant for or offered to Brahmins" figure in these hymns.

'Panchaudana' denoted the five offerings of 'odana' evidently cooked grain (rice) in water made to the sacrificial goat, five such offerings only being prescribed, while 'Sataudana', hundred 'odana'-offerings were prescribed for the sacrificial cow. These two varieties do not find any mention outside the Atharvaveda. Brahmaudana, however, being a privilege of Brahmins appears to have remained current for a thousand years or so. Patanjali,[84] 150 B.C., states that "*odana* made a decent dish to feast Brahmanas and friends"; and in his exposition he equates "odana" with "tandulah".

From this study we may conclude that probably the Rigvedic people knew and used rice, and used the word 'odana', which happens to be classical Sanskrit usage, to denote that corn. As for the view that rice was "indigenous in the south-east of India" which was accepted by Macdonell and Keith,[85] Schoff[86] has stated on the highly respectable authority of Watt that one variety of rice was "native in the Indus and Ganges valleys, and also apparently in Mesopotamia". He has also stated Watt's "caution" against deriving the Greek word for it 'oryza' and the Arabic 'al-ruzz' (from which the modern rice . . .), from the Tamil 'arisi' *thinking that they are rather from the Old Persian 'virinzi'* (Sanskrit 'vrihi'), indicating an early connection before migrations had radiated from Central Asia".

Four or five other cereals and pulses figure in the later Vedic literature: but I shall have to restrict the study to only one of them to limit the extent of this work. And that is the important cereal, wheat. "Godhuma", 'wheat', is frequently referred to in the plural in the Yajurveda *Samhitas* and *Brahmanas*, and is expressly distinguished from 'rice (Vrihi) or 'barley' (Yava). 'Groats' (saktavah) made of this grain are also mentioned" so note the authors of *Vedic Index*. There is almost no mention of the cereal, however, in later literature besides that in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*[87] as one of the ten cultivated crops. It appears that 'yava' or barley, which, according to the Atharvaveda statements, had acquired the reputation of being like rice a super blissprocuring corn, had usurped and had continued to retain its importance, keeping wheat in the background. This inference is supported by Panini's treatment of it. He has listed 'godhuma' only in the 'Ganapatha'

84. V. S. Agrawala, p. 107.
85. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 345.
86. *Op. cit.*, p. 176; italics mine.
87. VI, 3.13.

and has not commented on it. In contrast the account of rice or 'vrihi' and more so of 'yava' or barley is quite full and shows its great popularity among the Indians of his time. Dr. Agrawala [88] observes about Panini's account of barley: "Barley ripens as a vernal crop, and the season of its harvesting is referred to by Panini by about half a dozen names".

The history of the three cereals as recorded in linguistic usage, however, testifies to 'godhuma' standing out as the Vedic Indo-Aryan's contribution to the stock of cereals common to almost the whole of India. "Godhuma" has coninued to be the same or more or less the same in all the four Dravidian languages and in the slightly modified from of 'genhu', 'ganhu', 'ghaun' and 'gam' in the Indo-Aryan languages. So, too, 'yava' which in the same or more or less same form, occurs in Telugu, Malayalam, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya and as 'java' or 'jau' in Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Pnjabi and Sindhi. 'Vrihi', 'rice', however, disappears and 'tandula' appears as its equivalent in Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* of about 150 B.C. It is this Atharvavedic word alone that has lineal descendants in some of the modern Indian languages, unless we accept Watt's derivation of Tamil 'arisi', 'rice', from the Rigvedic 'vrihi' through Old Persian 'virinzi' and Arabic 'al-ruzz'.

Barley, 'yava', was a fair season crop and ripened in summer, while rice was an autumnal one. Two or three crops a year were thus possible and are referred in some texts as an actuality.[89]

Cattle are described as eaters of barley; [90] and raising of cattle, which the hymners desired in plenty and successful ones among them appear to have received in hundreds and even thousands, was seriously taken in the Rigvedic society. In the hymn addressed to "Cows" (waters), RV, X, 19, which is characterized by Vedicists as "a prayer for the return of strayed cows", describes a herdsman and his duties. The reference to "bulls set free to wander" in another hymn [91] testifies to the provision of stud bulls in Rigvedic times being of the same kind as has been common in rural India throughout later times to about twenty years ago. Household herdsman must have been a common phenomenon; for he figures as a standard of comparison for bringing in things and objects together and safely, in appeals to such great gods as Indra and Vishnu.[92]

The Atharvaveda [93] prescribes some charms for the protection and increase of cattle. In one of the hymns [94] we find Saraswan as the deity under "whose protection all cattle wander . . . to whose command the Lord of Plenty listens . . . the glorious wealth increases". Saraswan is

88. *Op. cit.*, pp. 107-108, 207.
89. *Vedic Index*, 'krishi'.
90. RV, X, 27.8-9.
91. X, 28.11.
92. RV, VI, 19.3; 49.12.
93. V, 16 and VII. 40.
94. VII, 40.

once or twice incidentally mentioned in the Rigveda as the consort of the river-Goddess Saraswati.[95] His elevation in the Atharvaveda[96] argues greater concern with cattle-breeding. This feature added to the invocation of Indra and Aryaman, along with Pushan, the only pastoral deity in the Rigvedic pantheon, clearly implies the increase in concern about cattle-breeding and cattle wealth.

The paraphernalia required at Vedic sacrifices was numerous, requiring the employment of not only potter, carpenter and goldsmith but also cartmen for fuel, gamesters for procuring the large number of animals in the wild state required to be sacrificed at such a sacrifice as 'asvamedha' but also chariot-racers, dancers and singers besides the large number of priests, and attendants both male and female. The large concourse of people gathered at one place requiring huge quantities of food implied the services of tradesmen too. The payments and gifts made at such a sacrifice were very large, necessitating great accumulation of wealth in the hands of performers of these sacrifices and brought about distribution of a large part of it among certain classes of people.

I shall present a very brief account of some of the particularly significant items of this paraphernalia. We read in the Rigveda[97] that at the special sacrifice which Devapi offered for Santanu, Devapi offered up into the fire "nine and ninety thousand waggon loads of fuel" to propitiate Indra. We have already seen the great number of gold things required. They must have required the services of goldsmiths. Drummers and players on certain kinds of instrument were the two chief arts-practitioners needed. In some of the sacrifices a special dance, named 'marjaliya' from the fact of its being executed round Marjaliya fire, was to be performed by women. Its main feature was the carrying of water-pots (full?) on the heads and beating the ground with the feet singing, "this is honey".[98] At the 'asvamedha', a sacrifice whose complete performance took more than a year, two Brahmin lute-players had to sing and play for a year. The author of the *Satapatha Brahmana*[99] recommended that one of the two lute-players should be of the Rajanya class or caste. The reason for lute-playing was to proclaim the distinction attained by the performer of the sacrifices; for "when a man attains *distinction* [Italics mine] the lute is played to him".

As for concourse of people, I may point out that in the Rajasuya, the

95. VI, 49.7; VII, 96.4.
96. III, 14.1.
97. X, 98.9-11.
98. *Tait. Sam.*, VII, 5-10: Keith's trans., p. 628.
99. XIII, 1.5.1.

full session of which took more than two years,[100] and more so at the Vajapeya, there were chariot-races. In the latter sacrifice the specific number of chariots involved is known to have been seventeen. One can see that a fairly large number of persons would be present on the spot. The following list of requirements in terms of human beings at an 'asvamedha' already at hand is found at *Sat. Br.* XIII, 4.2-5: (1) One hundred royal princes clad in armour; (2) one hundred warriors armed with swords; (3) one hundred sons of heralds and headmen, bearing quivers filled with arrows; (4) one hundred sons of attendants and charioteers, bearing staves. Besides, there had to be four hundred female attendants attending and helping the chief queen in the performance of her appointed tasks.[101] Ordinarily seven to sixteen priests were employed in the performance, but on occasions, according to the wishes and capacity of the sacrificer to pay, they could be many more. Thus we are told in an ancient "gatha" (ballad) that at Sachiguna, Bharata Daushyanti, the son of Sakuntala, had invited "one thousand Brahmins and they divided among themselves cows in myriads", which were gifted to them by Bharata.[102] Bharata[103] is said to have brought more than a thousand horses for being sacrificed to Indra. He divided the performance of his 133 sacrifices between the banks of the Yamuna and those of the Ganga, i.e., probably in a fairly restricted area in the Kurukshetra.

The gifts made to the priests comprised not only cows but also horses, camels, even elephants and also girls and women. The number of such items of gifts at a sacrifice, if large, would quite clearly involve supply of food and fodder on a large scale and also could contribute to the swelling of the number of human beings present or living on the spot. These gifts have importance as a distribution of wealth mechanism and a brief account of the gifts recorded in the Rigveda will be given a little later. Here, to emphasize the urbanizing character of the sacrificial paraphernalia in the present context, I shall cite only the ancient record in a *Brahmana* text, of the sacrifice offered by Anga Vairochana under the 'purohitship' of Udamaya Atreya and the extraordinarily large number of animals and human beings offered either as offerings or as gifts.

Anga Vairochana announced to his 'purohita': "O Brahmana, ten thousands of elephants, ten thousands of female slaves, I offer to thee". "Two thousand of the myriads of cows (day by day) Atreya ['purohita'] gave at the middle (offering). Vairochana gave away eight and eighty thousand *white horses*" [Italics mine]. The ten thousand women were "daughters of wealthy men", brought from many countries. They were

100. Eggeling: *Sat. Br.* pt. III, pp. xxiv-v.
101. *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 3.2.8 and 5.2.1.
102. *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 23.
103. *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 5.4.

presented to Udamaya decked with necklaces on them. This sacrifice was performed at Avachatnuka, a place not yet identified. The Brahmin naturally got wearied and, as the text tells us, sought for attendants.[104]

While evaluating these texts from *Brahmanas*, which, having been taken to be priestly compositions, are regarded with a good deal of discount, it should be borne in mind that in the Rigvda,[105] Kakshivan has informed posterity that his patron Svanaya Bhavayavya, an unconquered king, had offered a thousand sacrifices. An Atreya sage[106] vouchsafes the information that the famous king Trasadasyu had offered nine sacrifices and the "God-like" Tryaruna Traivrishna even more.

While appraising the effects and consequences of sacrificial worship for the economic and socio-political aspects of the Rigvedic or Vedic society it should be borne in mind that, first, the great sacrifices were not infrequent and the smaller ones almost routine and continuous, and second, liberality at sacrificial performance was powerfully induced by holding out tantalizingly covetable rewards to the liberal and impelled by the social recognition, the fame among one's equals, and even superiors, it brought to the liberal donor.[107] A whole hymn, 107th, in the X book of the Rigveda, is addressed to 'Dakshina', 'guerdon', or sacrificial fee, as a deity. The purport of it is: (1) Liberal donors of fees at sacrifices not only please the Gods but also "abide highup in heaven"; (2) They render "the world of life free from darkness"; (3) "*They who give are blest with life eternal* [Italics mine]: they who give robes prolong their life"; (4) "The liberal die not, never are they ruined: the liberal suffer neither harm nor trouble . . . the liberal giver conquers foes in battle"; (5) The liberal gain "a fragrant dwelling and get themselves a bride in bright apparel"; (6) "They deck the fleet steed for the bounteous giver: the maid adorns herself and waits to meet him"; (7) The home of the liberal is "like a lake with lotus blossoms, like the Gods' palaces adorned and splendid"; (8) Therefore, wisemen "take Guerdon for his armour". More specifically the hymn to Sraddha, Faith, assigns to the donor of "thousand-fold guerdon" the same high destiny as to the war-heroes who "boldly cast their lives away.[108] Kakshivan,[109] famous as both a great and a long-lived sage, has provided proof of the wide currency of the deep sentiment for liberality at sacrificial sessions in his own words which sound almost like a paraphrase of the above. Delighted with his gains from the liberality of Svanaya he observes: "For those who give rich meeds are all those splendours; for those who give rich meeds, suns shine in heaven. The

104. *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 22.
105. I, 126.1.
106. RV, V, 27.1-2.
107. RV, VII, 6.60.
108. RV, X, 154.3.
109. RV, I, 125.6-7.

givers of rich meeds are made immortal; the givers of rich fees prolong their lifetime". Not fully satisfied with an assertion of the positive benefits of liberality, the sage goes on to pronounce a benediction which wishes away all evil from the liberal and a curse on the non-liberal: "Let not the liberal sink to sin and sorrow, never decay the pious chiefs who worship! Let every man besides be their protection and let affliction fall upon the niggard". Atri Bhauma, praising Brihaspati as one "who comes with abundant wealth to his invoker", observes that the wealthy men blessed by Brihaspati through the sacrifice offered to him remain "unharmed and girt by heroes" and that "wealth that brings bliss is found among the givers of horses and of cattle and raiment".[110]

The so-called 'danastutis', 'praise for the gifts received by the priest, hymner or the singer', scattered almost throughout the Rigveda, even making allowance for likely exaggeration and sure indefiniteness that mark these passages, depict the size of the guerdon received by many of them, as almost staggering, and amply bear out the statements in the *Brahmana* texts, which, because of the aura of and the sanctity attached to the Rigvedic past, might have been an over-exaggeration. However, the actual expectations or rather desires of the Rigvedic hymners were clearly shaped to their measure. Thus Nabhaneshtha, traditionally a son of Manu, pronouncing a prayerful blessing on his patron asks Visve-devas to grant prolific progeny who will "give at once in bounteous gift a thousand kine, a hundred steeds".[111] And Agni himself declares as a fit gift of his a sage who wins a thousand cattle.[112]

A brief statement of the gifts recorded in the RV as actually received by the priests or the singers is quite necessary for us in order to be able to evaluate Rigvedic and Vedic society in its economic and socio-cultural aspects. From the convenient list presented by Dr. S. V. Ketkar,[113] I find that the Rigveda records forty-one different donors who gave away gifts to twenty-five different sages or hymners. Svanaya Bhavayavya, a king dwelling on the banks of the Sindhu, sent to the ancient and long-lived sage Kakshivan, hundred necklaces to induce him to be his purohit at a sacrifice. He seems to have wanted a hundred horses and a thousand cows in addition. The hundred horses, which he desired to be of "dusky colour", were to be in addition to, it appears, ten chariots. These chariots were quite clearly four-horse ones; for Kakshivan speaks of forty "bay" horses as having "led the long procession", formed by the 60000 cattle which, were gifted at the sacrifice to him. (I, 126). From another

110. RV, V, 42.7-8.
111. RV, X, 62.8.
112. X, 80.4.
113. *Op. cit.*, 3, p. 478.

king named Srutaratha or Priyaratha, he had received one hundred milch-cows (I, 122.7). Vamadeva consented to serve as priest to Prince Somaka, son of Sahadeva, for two "bay" horses (IV, 15.7). Dvita Atreya's patrons presented him with fifty steeds at their sacrifices (V, 18.5). Tryaruna Traivrishna, who performed many sacrifices, including the 'asvamedha', gave one hundred and twenty kind and two "harnessed bay" horses and "two oxen with a waggon" to an Atreya sage. Another king named Asvamedha gave "one hundred oxen, all of speckled hue" to him and "delighted his heart", V, 27. From the Rusamas, an ethnic group not correctly identified, and their king Rinamchaya, Babhru Atreya received four thousand cattle and "fair adornment" which was sent to him at his residence, as an earnest of his engagement as a priest and as his guerdon. In addition, the big caldron of metal in which milk for a part of the sacrifice was heated was also presented to him V, 30.12-15. Trasadasyu presented to Samvarana ten steeds. It is noteworthy that the hymner characterizes the king as "gold rich chief", V, 33.8. Perhaps that was not a sacrificial gift but a routine one! For the hymner mentions in the next stanza the gift of "twenty powerful" steeds by Marutasva describing it as "sacrificial guerdon". The same sage received "thousand" [gold cows or discs] for personal adornment from a donor named Chyavatana. Dhvanya, son of Lakshmana, too, presented the sage some "bright and active horses" (*ibid* 10). Prabhuvasu Angirasa was given two "dark red horses together with three hundred heads of cattle" by Srutaratha, who is described as "rich in horses", V, 36.6. Purumilha bestowed "a hundred cows in liberal gift" on Syavasva; so too did Taranta, V, 61.10. Abhyavartin Chayamana gave to Bharadvaja "two waggon-teams, with damsels, and twenty oxen", VI, 27.8. Bribu, who figures in the *Sankhyayana Srauta Sutra* as a carpenter and not a nobleman, is described by Bharadvaja as 'pious' and 'noble' chief, best to give his thousands". He evidently gave "a thousand liberal gifts" to Bharadvaja, VI, 45.33. Garga and his Bharadvajas received from Prastoka "ten coffers" and "ten mettled horses", from Divodasa Atithigva "ten horses, ten treasure-chests, ten garments" and as an additional gift "ten lumps of gold". Payu, the brother of Garga, obtained from Asvatha "ten cars with extra steed to each and hundred cows", VI, 47.22-25. Another Bharadvaja sage received two mares from one Puraya, one hundred cows from Sumidha, food from one Peruka and ten "gold-decked and well-trained horses of lofty stature" from Sanda. "Purupantha offered him hundreds, thousands of steeds". Paijavana, Sudas, the famous Rigvedic king, gave the family of Vasishtha, including Vasishtha, his son Parasara and the latter's son Satayatu, two hundred cows, and two chariots with four mares to draw them. *The mares were bedecked with pearls* [Italics mine], VII, 18.22.23.

Medhyatithi Kanva praises Svanadratha for his gift to him of two brown steeds *decked with cloths of gold.* He praises Svanadratha's father and Playoga's son, Asanga, apparently a Yadava king, even more highly for his gift of ten bright-hued oxen, VIII, 1.30-33. The same sage tells us of the bounty he received from one Vibhindu as "thousands four times ten and eight thousand more", i.e., forty-eight thousand, without specifying the items as either cows or coins, VIII, 2.41. Pakasthman Kaurayana is praised by him for the gift of an extraordinarily swift horse of ruddy hue. apparently loaded full with riches, VIII, 3.22-23. Kurunja, the 'oppulent' king of the Turvasas, gave Devatithi Kanva and his people the Priyamedhas, "a hundred steeds" and "sixty thousand pure and spotless kine". The hymner's jubilation so natural tends to confirm the extraordinary size of his bounty. He says: "The very trees were joyful at my coming [kine]: kine they obtained in plenty, steeds in plenty", VIII, 4.19-21. The same sage appealing to Asvins for fresh bounty, lauds the liberality of Kasu Chaidya, who had given him a hundred heads of buffaloes, ten thousand kine and ten kings who were "like gold to look upon", VIII, 5.36-38. Vatsa Kanva and the Priyamedhas obtained "a hundred thousand [cattle?]" from Tirindira, the Parsu chief, who by adding the gift of "buffaloes yoked in fours" matched the fame of the Yadavas as liberal donors. The Yadavas had for one special Samasong of Pajra [Kakshivan?] had bestowed on him ten thousand head of cattle and three hundred steeds, VIII, 6.45-48. Sobhari Kanva tells us that the famous Puru king Trasadasyu, "most liberal, kind, lord of the brave and good lord of gifts" presented him with fifty "brides" [marriageable girls?]; and Syava gave him two hundred and ten ("three times seventy") kine and a strong steed, VIII, 19.36-37, at Suvastu [a place on the Kabul river]. King Chitra, a true king, other kings on the banks of the Sarasvati being mere "kinglings", gave him "thousand, yea, myriad gifts", VIII, 21.18. Visvamanas Kanva's declaration of his bounty is very important for it quite clearly establishes the fact that Rigvedic sages, hymners or singers were wont to carry out forays among their surrounding peoples for acquiring or rather looting all kinds of wealth. He says that between Ukshanyayana, Harayana and Sushaman he was able to put up a fully harnessed chariot drawn by two horses, one a bay and the other white one, both of them "strong coursers" VIII, 25.22-24. Nipatithi Kanva says that he and Indra received "thousand steeds, the mightiest troop" as a gift from Vasurochis, some of brown and others of bay hue, resplendent and so fleet of foot that the brown ones matched the wind in speed. Vasurochis appears to have been a chief of the Paravatas identified as "one of the peoples mentioned by Ptolemy as settled northwards of Arachosia", VIII, 34.16-18 and Griffith's note. Vasa Asvya challenged his contemporaries, calling them names ('godless men') to

come forward as receivers of as great a bounty as he got from Prithusravas Kanita. The bounty that he got included the altogether fabulous number of steeds, viz. sixty thousand, ten thousand kine and two thousand camels [or buffaloes?] and "a chariot wrought of gold". Ten hundred of the horses were brown "with tails long and fair" and fleet. In describing them as "that make my wealth increase" he perhaps had in view depredatory forays, VIII, 46.21-24. Gloating over his sixty thousand steeds received from Prithusravas, the hymner sage is reminded of the great bounty he had received from Tarushka and Dasa Balbutha. In recounting them he waxes poetic and says: "So, as a prize dear to the strong, the sixty thousand I have gained, Bulls that resemble the vigorous steeds. To come oxen like a herd, yea unto me the oxen come. In the grazing herd he made a hundred camels beat for me, and twenty hundred mid the white. A hundred [coins?] has the sage received...". Perhaps he was also presented with a fully bedecked youthful wife, VIII, 46.29-33. Pragatha Kanva prays to Indra for help to Trasadasyu or his son, grandsons of Durgaha, as they had given him "a thousand spotted kine *decked with golden ornaments*" besides "a gift of *gold, pure, brilliant and exceeding great*" [Italics mine], VIII, 54, or 65.10-12. Priyamedha Kanva received gifts from six donors, three pairs of father and son, at one sacrifice. Riksha and his son Srutarvan presented him with two bay horses, Atithigva and Indrota gave him two brown-hued steeds, 6 horses matched with mares, and two car steeds; Asvamedha and Putakratu gave him two red steeds and an indefinite number of "beauteous horses", VII, 57 or 68.14-19. Gopavana Atreya, having successfully completed a sacrifice for Srutarvan received from the latter four steeds of long manes. Savishtha's gift was so much appreciated by the sage, that even though it comprised only one "splendid" chariot with four coursers, that, like some other sages mentioned above, he declared: "there is no man there on the Parushni (Ravi) river who gives more horses than Savishtha", VIII, 63 or 74.4 and 13.

Kavasha Ailusha, who describes Kurusravana, the grandson of Trasadasyu, as not merely "liberal" but more specifically as "the giver of a thousand steeds", appears to have received from him a chariot drawn by three horses, X, 33.4-5. Nabhanedishata's benediction on his patron mentions the gift he received from him. He says "May this man's sons be multiplied, like springing corn may Manu grow, who gives at once in bounteous gift a thousand kine, a hundred steeds", X, 62.8.

This list of gifts, said by Rigvedic sages to have been given to them, for their priestly services by various performers of sacrifices, tends to confirm the veracity or actuality of gifts mentioned in the *Bahmana* texts. At least it militates against rejecting their testimony on the question of the distribution of wealth as an adjunct or consequence of the Rigvedic

and Vedic worship by sacrifice. Apropos of the fact of cattle and horse wealth, figuring so prominently and so frequently in the desires for or actual possession of wealth in the Rigvedic society, the number of cattle offered as guerdon deserves to be relatively evaluated. C. J. Gadd [114] has very obligingly provided the opportunity for easy comparison. Writing about the economy of the Third Dynasty Babylonia, *c.* 2100-1800 B.C., he says: "According to one text in praise of the moon-god of Ur, 'which professes to reckon the number of his cow only in multiples of 3600, there is the factual evidence of accounts tablets". These texts state that in one of the central cattle parks in a particular month 22000 sheep, about one thousand cows and some other meat-cattle were mentioned and that in three months fodder was provided for over 50000 sheep and 1500 oxen.

The preponderance of kine and horses as a component of a sacrificial gift, it is seen, does not preclude large number of gifts involving gold and pearls, the latter only perhaps as ornaments of the horses or the women presented. That gold had begun to flow almost freely at sacrifices in the later Vedic age may be said to be attested by the use of the word 'dakshayana' to mean gold. It is likely that the usage became current after a Dakshayana prince presented Satanika with untold quantity of gold. Gold in the possession of a section of the Rigvedic population was thus plenty. It was distributed in the form of sacrificial gifts to singers or hymners who were Brahmins, a class of people more given to cultivation of learning and to literary and other compositions as well as to priestly functions. Gold coins were donated in hundreds and stringed-up were used as necklaces and ornaments not only for men and women but also for decoration of horses so that a wealthy man meant a possessor of gold, 'hiranyavant'.[115]

To appreciate the amount of gold involved and to measure the economic situation of the time it is necessary to bear in mind the nature and size of gifts or guerdon offered to philosophy teachers figuring in the Upanishads, when well ordered and fairly large kingdoms with their capital cities had come into being in North India, i.e., the whole region from the northern portion of present Pakistan to the easternmost limit of present Bihar. The state of routes and communication and the volume of human mobility throughout that region reflected in the activity of the peripatetic preachers, who moved freely from the Kekaya country in the west to the court of Janaka of Videha, north Bihar, imply the existence of urban civilization in that age. The wealth of the people other than the kings or princes, too, can be inferred. Thus Yajnavalkya, the

114. *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, vol. I, pl. 2, pp. 622-23.
115. RV, IX, 112.2; *Vedic Index*.

famous teacher, used to drive in a horse-chariot.[116] One Janasruti Pautrayana, who was quite clearly not a prince, approached Raikva, a particularly temperamental philosopher, master of valuable knowledge, with a chariot drawn by mares, a gold coin and six hundred cows and his daughter as guerdon to be offered to the philosopher for revealing the special knowledge.[117] Janaka, the Videha king, on one occasion was impelled by the desire to test the philosophical knowledge and achievement of the Brahmins, who had assembled at his court all the way from the western end of the present U.P. State, Kuru Panchalas in the terminology of that time. He brought together one thousand cows to each horn of everyone of which were tied ten gold coins (pada), and offered them as prize to the Brahmin who would prove himself to be the wisest among them in a philosophical discussion.[118] As the word used is 'pada' and not 'nishka', the Rigvedic word for a gold coin, 'pada' may have been a coin, one-fourth that of a nishka.[119] If this interpretation be accepted the total number of gold coins of the standard Rigvedic type would be 5000.

From Panini's rule regarding the formation of a word showing possession of a certain number of gold coins (nishka), it appears, the standard of opulence then current, perhaps two centuries later than the time of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, was indicated by the possession of one thousand nishkas or one hundred nishkas, but not lower. As the Mahabharata, too, refers only to these two categories of 'nishka-dhana', 'having the wealth of nishka' and 'satanishka-dhana', 'having the wealth of hundred nishkas'[120] we may conclude that ordinarily in Panini's time possession of one thousand 'nishkas' was considered to be great opulence, perhaps the highest! Eastwards, i.e., in Magadha, to judge by the stories of Anathapindika and other merchant admirers and followers of Buddha, much more wealthy persons or families lived about the time of Panini. The size of wealth to be considered as opulence in the time of Kautilya may be taken to have varied between possession of one hundred cows and one thousand cows, the possessor of the latter number of cows being considered to be opulent. For his *Arthasastra*[121] sees no wrong in abandoning or deserting a person who, though an owner of 1000 cows, does not perform a Vedic sacrifice.

Jewels, like pearls or precious stones, have not separately figured in the Rigvedic or even Vedic concept of wealth. But that does not mean that

116. *Sat. Br.*, XI, 6.2.5.
117. *Chandogya Up.*, IV, 2.
118. *Brihadaranyaka Up.*, III, 1.
119. *Vedic Index*: Nishka; V. S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
120. *Agrawala*, p. 260-261.
121. III, 14.37-38.

they were not coveted or not available. As a matter of fact the word 'mani', figuring only twice in the Rigveda and quite a number of times in the Atharvaveda, has been taken by Vedicists to denote a 'jewel', whether pearl or diamond not being decided. If 'mani' or 'jewel' is rather rarely mentioned in the Rigveda we should not infer that jewels were not much known or used then, for though 'krisana' or 'pearl' is mentioned only four times in the same work, there is clear evidence that pearls were rather widely used. Pearls are said to have adorned the chariot of Savitri, the Sungod. But they were so much used for decorating horses that "the horse is spoken of in the Rigveda[122] as 'krisanavant' or 'krisanin', i.e., one wearing pearls. The use of pearls for adorning horses was so common or routine that in the Atharvaveda we find the image of pearl-decked dark horse used to describe the "sky ("heaven") with constellations".

There is a whole hymn in the Atharvaveda[123] a charm accompanying the investiture with a protective shell-amulet, which deifies and glorifies the shell. It is clear from that hymn that the pearls known to the Vedic people were shell-borne ones, the shell getting its importance evidently as the mystic agency that turns the rain water into the beautiful covetable article, pearl.[124] In the Rigveda, too, according to Wilson's rendering of X, 106.6, there is mention of jewels born of water, i.e., sea pearls! Shell is "gold-born", i.e., as Griffith notes "excellent by nature". It was the sea-shell that was used as an amulet and was known to be the mother of pearls. Pearls were evidently used as personal ornament as the singer or incanter describes pearls as "peerless amid golden ornaments". Pearls were used to decorate arrow-quivers and chariots too.[125] There is a rather intriguing reference which suggests or implies that the pearls known to Vedic Indians were brought from the Indus, though sprung from the sea. May we not conclude from this that pearls were imported from the Persian Gulf at Indus ports and thence found their way into the hands of the Vedic peoples in East Punjab and West U.P. in the Vedic age?

Kautilya's detailed statement of the then known centres of pearl production does not mention the Indus. Kautilya's inclusion of the mountains Mahendra and Himavat as producers of pearls may not be taken seriously; for as he himself says "the sources of pearls are: the shell, the conch and miscellaneous".[126] In the list of countries or places producing pearls figure the southern tip, Kerala and Pandya country, of India and

122. I, 126.4 and VII, 18.23.
123. IV, 10.
124. Vide Schoff, *The Periplus etc.*, 1912, p. 148.
125. AV, IV, 10.6.
126. AV, 10.4, *Arthasastra*, II, 11.2.

three other areas which the commentators appear to identify with Persian Gulf sites.[127] Among the articles of dowry bestowed by Janaka on Sita were hundreds of pearls 'mukta'.[128] In later times, the early centuries of the Christian era, pearls from Bahrein on the Persian Gulf off the coast of Arabia were among the imports made at Broach, though they were known or said to be inferior to those produced in India. In India, in those times the Gangetic streams yielded pearls; but the pearls produced in the Gulf of Manar at the southern extremity of the country were much superior to them. The Gangetic pearls were "small, often irregular and usually reddish", Vincent Smith states that the pearls of the Manar fisheries, the beryls of Coimbatore and pepper of Malabar were "largely sought by foreign merchants, as early as the 7th or 8th century B.C.".[129]

In this context the statement of his conquests by Tiglath Pileser III (745-727 B.C.) has more than ordinary significance for us. He says in his Nimrud inscription that the King of Bit Yakin, Arabian territory at the mouth of the Euphrates, whom he had conquered, had brought ample tribute in which necklaces and vessels of gold in plenty and *"precious stones, the product of the sea (pearls)"* were included. He speaks of gold as *"the dust of his land* [Bit-Yakin]".[130]

As for gold we find that in the Rigveda the Sindhu (Indus) and the Sarasvati are described as golden-streamed and the former golden too. Washing for gold is, however, implied only in the *Brahmana* texts and the *YV Samhita*. though the authors of *Vedic Index* assert as a clear fact that the Vedic Indians; "won the metal from the bed of rivers" (vide "Hiranya"). They add, however, that "apparently the extraction of gold from the earth was known" citing one Rigvedic passage and thrree Atharvavedic ones. The Rigveda[131] passage uses the digging up of gold as a similie to describe effectively the ease with which a protege of theirs was saved and brought out safe by Asvins. The Atharvaveda[132] passages are part of a whole hymn, in praise of and prayer to Prithivi, the earth deified, which is very remarkable as an early exercise in demography. Two of the three passages characterize the earth as "gold-breasted" and the third more explicitly describes it as one "who bears her treasure stored up in many a place, gold, gems and riches, giver of opulence . . .". That ore was smelted for extracting gold is mentioned in the *Brahmana* texts.[133]

127. Kangle: *Kautiliya Arthasastra,* pp. 111-112.
128. Ram., I, 47.5.
129. Schoff, *op. cit.*, 47, 151, 156, 210, 256.
130. Schoff, p. 123; italics mine.
131. I, 117.5.
132. XII, 1, 6, 26, 44.
133. *Vedic Index*: 'Hiranya'.

That some or many rivers had gold-bearing sand stands out clear in the later names of some of them. But they lay much more to the east or the south of the main habitat of the Rigvedic people. The part of the country wherein the Ikshvakus flourished contained not only rivers but also a site and a mountain with "hiranya" as the first member of the names. Hiranyavati, the Little Gandak, flows through the district of Gorakhpur. Hiranvati, another similar river though the first part is not in the standard form of the word for gold, was probably at the western extremity of Kosala. The third river in that region but on the southern horizon, is the rather fame Sona, known to the Greeks, from its Sanskrit name Hiranyavaha, as the Erannoboas.[134] A celebrated place of pilgrimage at Kalinjar was known as Hiranyabindu. The mountain Hiranyaparvata is further east in North Bihar, though it is possible that the first member, 'hiranya' in it may be a corruption of some other word.[135] In the south in Saurashtra the Girnar river "Suvarnasikata", bearing golden sands, figures in an inscription of the 2nd century A.D.[136]

In the first centuries of the Christian era gold appears to have been noted as a product of the Ganga region. However, it figures among the imports to Broach from Bahrein island in the Persian Gulf mentioned in the Periplus. Commenting on paragraph 63 of the *Periplus*, which mentions Gangetic pearls and gold and gold-mines, Dr. Schoff[137] observes that the reference is to "the gold of the Chota Nagpur plateau . . ., rivers ffowing north and east of the highlands [having] long produced alluvial gold in considerable quantities". In the context he mentions as evidence the significant Sanskrit name of the river Sona, Hiranyavaha. He mentions other sources of gold in India revealed by later scientific authorities. Lastly stating Pliny's mention of Malabar coast gold, which he traces to Mysore gold mines, he quotes Watt's view that "Gold has always been mainly an article of import in India".

Gold and Pearls thus appear to have been in great demand and to have been owned in fairly large quantities by wealthy people in the Rigvedic and later Vedic times. The sources of these valuable commodities are known to have been largely outside the main centre of living and activity of the people. The situation quite clearly posits fairly well developed trade and commerce activities in the society. In the Rigveda the word 'vanij', the same as the later Sanskrit and modern Indo-Aryan languages have, occuring at least twice denotes 'merchant', travelling or 'wandering' as the text has it, merchant being meant at V, 45.6. By the time of the YV the profession had so far become a hereditary occupation

134. Schoff, p. 258.
135. N. L. Dey: *The Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 76, 132.
136. Rudradaman's Girnar inscription: D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 669-70.
137. *Op. cit.*, pp. 36, 47, 160, 258-9.

that the derivative 'vanija' denoted, the son of a merchant.[138] In the III book of the Atharvaveda there is a hymn which is a replica, with slight variation of the 41st hymn of the VII book of the Rigveda. It is a morning prayer of sage Vasishtha; but according to the Kausika-Sutra the AV hymn is to be cited at the beginning of the rite which a travelling merchant performed when about to start on a trading expedition. According to the same authority, thirteen other hymns from the AV have to be recited as accompaniment of the various oblations that were to be offered at the rite.[139]

The original contribution of the AV, to this topic, the 15th hymn of the same III book, however, is almost a pure prayer made by a merchant to Indra, Agni and some other Gods of the Rigvedic pantheon. We can conclude from this that the profession of a merchant had grown in importance. Significantly in the very first line the hymner speaks of Indra himself as a merchant and as such wishes him to be the guide and leader of the merchant (himself) who is, as Griffith notes, "on the point of starting on a journey for business purposes". Addressing Agni, he asks Agni's blessing that the "sale and barter" and "interchange of merchandise" be "propitious" to him, adding "joying in good and in the growth of riches, may we, thy servants, never suffer". Negatively he asks Agni to "chase away those who hinder *profit*" [Italics mine]. Regarding the actual process, frankly and in businesslike maner, he tells us that he carries on the traffic "seeking wealth with the wealth" he offers.

In the Rigveda, though the word 'kraya', meaning 'sale, does not occur but only the verb from which the word is derived, there is fair evidence to show that the trafficking mentioned in the AV hymn was well established and well-known. Thus Pragatha Kanva[140] flatly declines to barter away or sell Indra "a mighty price ['sulka'], for a thousand, ten thousand [or] for a hundred", because Indra is "lord of countless wealth [and consequently is] more [to him] than sire or a niggard brother". Vamadeva[141] goes further and lays bare the psychology behind trafficking very bluntly thus: "He bid a small price ['vasna'] for a thing of value [Indra]. I was content, returning, still unpurchased. He heightened not his insufficient offer. Simple and clever both milk out the udder". Griffith's note on the above which brings out the sense completely reads: "Both the simple or needy, buyer and the shrewed seller make as much as they can out of the bargain, i.e., the buying and selling of Indra, meaning the settlement of the fee to be paid to the priest for obtaining Indra's favour by sacrifice". In the next stanza, the hymner offers to sell

138. Vide *Vedic Index*
139. Griffith's note.
140. RV, VIII, 1.5-6.
141. RV, IV, 24.9.

his services at one sacrifice to Indra for ten milch-kine. This fee appears to be a strikingly low price on the background of the guerdons stated as received by a number of sage-priests listed earlier!

The two words used to denote 'price' or 'value' in the Rigvedic society were 'vasna' and 'sulka'. 'Sulka' from before Panini's time came to be restricted to denote 'tax'. 'Vasna', however, continued to denote 'price' or 'value'. In the Rigveda, we find at least one derivative from it, and that is 'vasnya' meaning 'costly', X, 34.3. Panini has recorded for posterity the extended use of derivatives from it, used to meet the more complex needs of the economic situation. By Kautilya's time, however, 'vasna' was replaced by the word 'mulya'.[142]

The concept and prevalence of 'debt', 'rina'—the word has continued down the ages from Rigvedic times upto date in Indo-Aryan languages with unchanged denotation and connotation!—is not necessarily bound up with the existence of trade and commerce in a society. Yet it is an indication of a certain economic development which is likely to be an accompaniment of trade and commerce. In the Rigvedic society the concept of debt principally operated in the field of gambling, gambling debts being repeatedly mentioned. All the same as the authors of *Vedic Index* observe, indebtedness was "apparently a normal condition among the Vedic Indians". "Paying off a debt" or repayment as well as the use of the word for debt in a metaphorical sense imply that debts outside the game of dice were incurred. The amount of interest if any is not ascertainable, though in the Rigveda in one passage one-eighth, 'sapha', and one-sixteenth, 'kala' and 'one-eighth' and 'one half of one-eighth', i.e., one-sixteenth in one passage of the Atharvaveda,[143] in repayment are mentioned. In the latter work,[144] borrowing without the intention of repaying the debt is mentioned, and the above-mentioned references must be taken to have this practice of cheats in view. Rinamchaya, 'collector of debts' as the name of the Rusama prince in the Rigveda testifies to the importance of the concept.

The use of a fairly convenient standard of exchange in the Rigvedic society is attested in a number of the gifts recorded in its hymns and briefly stated earlier. The use of the words 'satam', 'sahasram' without any noun along with them has been construed by no less a Vedicist than Geldner to imply the existence of a coin. It might have been the gold 'nishka' or another coin weighing 'mana', 'krishnala' or some definite number of 'krishnalas'.[145]

142. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-42.
143. RV, VIII, 47.17; AV, VI, 46.3.
144. AV, VI, 119.1.
145. *Vedic Index*: 'Krishnala', 'Nishka', 'Mana', 'Hiranya'.

Wandering or travelling trader as recorded in the Rigveda is mentioned above. In that connection and as evidence of wider commerce, the rescue of Bhujyu referred to or mentioned in some detail in so many passages of the Rigveda, nearly twenty, can be said to bear testimony. The authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on Samudra are ready to go to the extent of opining that "the story of Bhujyu seems to allude to marine navigation" though in its earlier portion they almost accept Zimmer's view that the Rigvedic Indians can hardly be said to have had much knowledge of the sea. In only one passage, RV, VII, 95.2, Zimmer was prepared to admit that 'Samudra' denoted the sea or the ocean. The authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on Bhujyu declare that Buhler's view about the passages mentioning Bhujyu refer to his having been saved from shipwreck "during a voyage in the Indian Ocean" rests on "inadequate evidence".

Apropos of the question whether the Rigvedic Indians had direct acquaintance with the sea or ocean, the evidence provided in RV, V, 55.5 and supplemented impliedly in RV, IX, 97.44, should be held to be conclusively in favour of sea. The first passage directly and the second impliedly between them show that the Rigvedic Indians had divined the origin of rain as from the vapours of the sea water. They read: "O Maruts, from the Ocean ye uplift the rain, and fraught with vaporous moisture pour the torrents down [and] Be sweet to Indra when they cleanse thee, Indu [Soma], and pour down riches on us from the ocean". RV I, 116.5 is quite conclusive proof that ocean-going and sea-faring was perhaps a part of the business of Bhujyu and his people the Tugrians. Griffith's translation of the passage reads: "Ye [Asvins] wrought that hero exploit in the ocean [Samudra] which giveth no support, or hold or station, what time you carried, Bhujyu to his dwelling, borne in a ship with hundred oars [aritra]". In one of the passages mentioning Bhujyu's rescue we are informed that Asvins had despatched four "ships (boats) in the midst of ocean" to save him.[146] In another passage the word "samudra" is qualified by 'the word 'arnas', the whole expression 'nih samudrat arnasah', meaning "from the billowing sea".[147] Billows can hardly be spoken of in connection with any other water sheet than the sea proper. The billowy nature of the waters of the sea is brought out beautifully in the homely image of the swing and in the physical image of mountain ridge by Vasishtha. In RV, VII, 88.4 we read: "When Varuna and I embark together and urge our boat into the midst of ocean, we, when we ride over ridge of the water, will swing within that swing and there be happy". Lastly, I may mention that 'arnava', which,

146. RV, I, 182.6.
147. I, 117.14.

like 'samutra', throughout later literature denotes the 'sea', 'sindhu', and 'samudra' occur in one stanza, RV, X, 66.11. This quite clearly implies that the sea or the ocean, as distinct from the sea-like big river Sindhu was known to the people.

Boats (nau) were always propelled by oars it appears; for while in one passage a boat (nau)—the same word has continued to denote a boat even in contemporary nay Indo-Aryan languages—is described as 'aritra-parna', 'oar-propelled'. In at least two other passages we have the agent noun 'aritri', 'oarsman' or 'rower' (*Vedic Index, Aritra*). When we find in another passage, RV, II, 18.1, sacrifice characterized as 'dasaritra' we can visualize a boat propelled by ten oars.

It is very interesting to note that joining together of two boats for greater stability in water was known and practised. Gritsamada inviting Asvins, the twin-god, to his help does so by likening them to many objects, animate and inanimate, which have only duality as the point of resemblance with them. Thus are instanced two lips with which "mouth speaks honey", "two breasts that nourish our existence"; two hands [that] give increasing vigour" or "[are] most helpful to the body"; "two eyes [that give] quick vision". And Asvins are asked to "bear us across the rivers like two vessels".[148] This is interesting because in much later ages, 2nd century A.D. and after, two boats joined together, known as 'sangara' to the Periplus, was a characteristic feature of the shipping activity on the southern coasts of India and further in the Eastern Archipelago.[149]

It may be brought to the notice of the reader that the Indo-European "naus", which is the regular word for a 'boat' or 'ship' in the Rigveda and later, is considered to have been the prototype of the Hebrew word *oniyah* for "seagoing ship", and scholars believe that such ships were introduced to the Levant by the Mycenean Greeks.[150]

The Rigvedic Indians, had, if not currency, at least a convenient standard of exchange to facilitate external trade and they were perhaps as voracious for gold as their descendants today; pearls, they appear to have required in much larger quantities than present Indians. We can therefore afford to be more positive than the authors of *Vedic Index* and maintain that the Bhujyu affair, which looms so large in the Rigveda, testifies to sea-borne trade in Rigvedic India. The learned authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on 'Samudra' themselves have pointed out that there are in the Rigveda "references to the treasures of the ocean, perhaps pearls or the gains of trade".

148. RV, II, 39.
149. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 and 243; Hornell.
150. Sara A. Immerwahr in *Archaeology*, 1960, pp. 12-13.

The authors of *Vedic Index* have listed from the Atharvaveda the following articles as "possible objects of commerce": (1) 'garments'; (2) coverlets; (3) goatskins—according to Griffith "deer skins". To these we must add as fourth article mentioned in AV, IV, 1.6, "woven cloth".

In the Atharvaveda[151] the names of the semi-divine and enigmatical females called Apsarasas are significantly different from those occurring in the Rigveda.[152] Two of these names are based on the names of two of the famous scented articles, one a gum and the other a herb. They are "guggula" 'bdellium' (*Balsamodendorn mukui* of *Burseracea* order) and 'nalada', 'spikenard' (*Nardestachys jatamansi*, of *Valerianaceae* order). Both these perfumes ingredients are mentioned by Panini in the Gana-patha.[153] Bdellium is an exudation from "a small tree in the north-western India, Baluchistan, Arabia and East Africa", while spikenard is "a perennial herb of the Alpine Himalaya, extending eastward from Garhwal"[154] Both these substances were exported to Rome where they were greatly in demand for being used as ingredients in ointments in the first century A.D. and perhaps earlier. They were evidently brought for upcountry through Ujjain and shipped at Broach (*ibid*). Panini's men-tion of them implies that they were objects of internal trade. However, the chance description of 'guggulu' as a product of the sea occurring in the Atharvaveda,[155] I think, was quite correctly interpreted by Zimmer as indicative of sea-borne trade in view of its production on the coastal region of western India.

Two other articles that form the bases for charms and get glorified and even deified in the Atharvaveda deserve mention in this context. One is 'kushtha', a root of the tall perennial tree of the same name, "growing on the open slopes of the vale of Kashmir and other high valleys of that region, at elevations of 8000 to 13000 feet". It is "pro-minent in the Atharvaveda which speaks of it as growing along with Soma on the high peaks of the Himalaya" and is made the basis of charms against a number of diseases. Besides its high medicinal pro-perties it has aromatic qualities and though the Atharvaveda makes much of its medicinal properties it has classed it with 'nalada' and 'anjana', testifying to its appreciation of the aromatic and also perhaps its eye-soothing qualities. In the Roman Empire it was used both as a culinary spice and as a perfumary ingredient of many ointments. It was "shipped to Rome and China" from some port at the mouths of the Indus in the time of the Periplus, first century A.D. In the Exodus of the Revised

151. IV, 37.3.
152. X, 95.6.
153. Agrawala, pp. 133-34.
154. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-4, 188-89.
155. *Vedic Index*: "Gugulu"

Version of the Bible it is mentioned as "one of the ingredients of the anointing oil of the Hebrew priests". It was known to the Roman world as 'coshis' which Schoff [156] rightly derives from Sanskrit "kushtha", "standing in the earth".

'Anjana', 'ointment', the other article, was so important as a potent charm against "hostile and malignant eye", against jaundice and also eye diseases that the Atharvaveda [157] addresses a whole hymn to it "for protection from all sorts of evil and for the acquisition of wealth". It was "used to anoint the eyes". It was found on the mount Trikakubh in the Himalaya and also in some place in the Yamuna region, which Dr. Agrawala,[158] on the authority of Panini, locates as Dehradun District. Though it was believed to have been produced from the eyes of Vritra, the great fiend famed in the Rigveda for being killed by Indra. it appears to have been a mineral product. Yajurveda mentions a female ointment maker.[159]

In the Rigvedic society it appears to have been usual for ladies and grown-up girls to anoint their eyes with unguents on festive occasions like bridal feast and on social occasions like a gathering.[160] Dr. Agrawala has referred to a passage in Karnaparvan of the Mahabharata where the women of the then Punjab are described as anointing their eyes with the 'anjana' from the Trikakut or Trikakubh mountain.

Excepting 'anjana', the other three articles were exported to Rome and China perhaps in the early centuries of the Christian era. These articles, at least 'Kushtha' and 'anjana', which appear to have been more specifically North Indian, might have encouraged sea trade even much earlier, early Egyptians having been known to be fond of such articles.

In the concept of wealth cherished by Rigvedic people, besides cornlands and their produce and cattle-wealth, horses and some other items along with fame for riches were also included. Thus Bharadvaja sage asks Indra to "grant the singer food with store of cattle, splendid with horses and the fame of riches. Send food to swell the milchcow".[161] An Atreya singer asks Savitar to provide "excellent, beneficial and respondent treasures" and Indra to vouchsafe "cattle, prosperity and pious patrons.[162] Vamadeva prays to Indra, from whom he says he "has obtained a gift of ten water-ewers wrought of gold," a thousand steeds "well-trained and fleet of foot" and assures him that he and his people will rear the cattle very well, turning a hundred given by Indra in to a thousand.".[163] One Kanva hymner asks Indra to graciously "respond to his wish for cows, steeds and chariots, as of old", implying that these forms of wealth he

156. *Op. cit.*, pp. 165, 168-69.
157. IV, 9.
158. *Op. cit.*, p. 133.
159. *Vedic Index*: "Anjana"
160. RV, IV, 58.7-8; X, 85.7.
161. RV, VI, 35.4.
162. V, 42.3-8.
163. IV, 32.17-19.

has possessed in the past. Another Kanva hymner goes into greater details and lists the following items as his needs, which he expects Indra to grant him: (1) a thousand [coins], (2) one hundred kine, (3) cattle, (4) an ornament, (5) "embellishment", (6) steeds, (7) two rings of gold; and (8) ample store of jewels to adorn the ear". As if winding up his address by summarizing, the singer in the last two stanzas of the hymn apprises Indra that he has speeded his hope to him that he may get the gifts of corn, kine, gold and horses and assures him that he has prepared himself for the agricultural operation, trusting wholly on Indra for plenty of barley as its fruit.[164] Another sage desires Indra to give him "riches manifold with noble horses".[165] That kine, gold and horses did not exhaust the forms or species of wealth as conceived by the Rigvedic elite follows from a singer's assertion that Indra who has won all these "deals out wealth [rayah] and gathers all treasures [vasvah]".[166] The praise of the river Sindhu as "rich is good steeds, rich in cars [chariots] and robes, rich in gold, nobly-fashioned, rich in ample wealth" presents perhaps the full Rigvedic concept of material wealth.[167]

Besides the above two words, 'rayah' or 'rayi' and 'vasu', 'vitta' and 'dhana', too, are used in the Rigveda to denote wealth, riches, treasures. That the concept of wealth, the collective and abstract notion had gone deep into the texture of the Rigvedic social fabric can be inferred from the fact that just as in later ages we find names like Dhanabhuti, we come across Vasurochis, which word, according to the authors of *Vedic Index*, was the name of either a family of singers (hymners or sages) or a patron. Vasurochis may be translated as "replendent with wealth", i.e., rolling in wealth(?).

We have an Atreya sage named Puruvasu, "much-wealth-owner", and 'Rayovaja', "powerful with wealth" as the name of a seer of chants in a *Brahmana* passage.[168] Still another word, which occurs more frequently than 'rayah' and has the same sense of 'treasure' or 'store' or 'place of deposit', is 'nidhi'. Nidhi like 'rayah' can be used in the plural number as 'nidhayah', though, it appears, its use in the singular as a collective noun is commoner.[169] In RV II, 24.6 the treasure (nidhi) of Pani, niggardly people, whose main occupation appears to have been caravan trade, is said to have been hidden in a cave, while in X, 108.7 the Panis are said to have kept their treasure (nidhi) of "precious things, of kine and

164. VIII, 46.10; 67 or 78.1-3.
165. X, 113.9.
166. IV, 17.11.
167. X, 75.8.
168. *Vedic Index*: Puruvasu and Rayovaja: 'rayah' is not listed there but the word occurs more than once in RV. To the passage referred to above add VII, 67.9.
169. I, 182.4; II, 24.6; V, 43.8; VII, 67.7; 69.3; X, 108.7.

horses" in "treasure chamber paved with rock". This last description of the store-house of treasure sounds like that of a strong chamber or a safe deposit vault of these latter days! We may conclude that among the Rigvedic people fairly large accumulation of four or five different kinds of valuables in individual hands or in families was a fact reflected in or necessitating the maintenance of strong rooms in the houses to conceal and guard it. That accumulation of wealth was both a fact and a desire present in the Rigvedic society is further brought home to us by the vocabulary of the society. The two words, 'vasavi' and 'sevadhi', the former meaning 'treasure-house' and the latter 'treasure', cannot but lead one to the conclusion. The glorification of wealth implied in RV, V, 51.14, where actually "bounteous paths" are deified bears testimony to the widespread existence of desire for accumulation. This deification appears more frankly in AV, III, 4.7.

In their note on 'vitta' the authors of *Vedic Index* have drawn our attention to the fact that a man's greatness depends on his wealth is found as early as the *Taittiriya Brahmana*. That this feature was present already in the Rigvedic society from fairly early times—how early of course we are not in a position to state—can be gathered from some passages in the Rigveda. Here are some: as already referred to, the statement of Bharadvaja sage in VI, 35.4 means that riches was valued for the fame it brought to its possessor; "He who bears gifts unto the Kings, true Leaders [Adityas]; he whom their everlasting blessings prosper, moves with his chariot first in rank and wealthy, munificent and lauded in assemblies" declares Gritsamada, II, 27.12; Vasishtha describes the en-kindling of sacrificial fire in a "richman's dwelling" as "making himself apparent at ease reclining" with manifest envy, for "well-placed within the chamber [he] gives to a house like this [richman's] wealth worth choosing", VII, 42.4. RV, VII, 74.6 speaks of men who are guardians and leaders of men as not offending anyone, i.e., their greatness in acknowledged, just as in a chariot-race the one who leads and wins the race is accepted as first without evoking anyone's ire or envy. And "leaders of men", we have a Rigvedic singer's authority to presume, were bedecked with "bright ornaments like spotless gallants". In X, 78.1 he speaks of Maruts as "fair to behold" like such leaders of men. Another hymner likening the same deity, Maruts, with young suitors, incidentally vouch-safes to us further evidence in support of the above statement. Young suitors, who came from wealthy houses wore gold ornaments.[170]

A Bharadvaja sage[171] includes, in his notion of the function of wealth along with thousands [of coins?] and corn lands, the vanquishing of

170. RV, V, 60.4.
171. VI, 20.1.

foeman quite explicitly. Sage Kakshivan[172] assures a famous and pious donor that Indra, when offered his favourite drink, makes the sacrificer "rich in gold and kine and bestows on him great vital power". A sage of Visvamitra lineage asks Indra "abundant wealth that brings all blessings" and adds a request that he may be granted a life-span of one hundred years.[173] An Atreya sage imploring Mitra-Varuna on behalf of his patron though not explicitly, supports my statement about the distinction wealth was believed to and did bring to its possessor. He expects "to win noblest men *that shall stir the envy in the homes of wealthy chiefs* [Italics mine] and those who praise" (V, 64.4-5). Trisoka Kanva, imploring Indra to bring him "the wealth for which he longs", repeating the desired clause in the first three stanzas of his hymn, specifies that wealth as "*Great riches which the world of men shall recognize as sent by thee*".[174] That the circle in which fame was desired was a very wide one, as wide as mankind in the fashion of the later Manusmriti, which speaks of its ordinances as meant for the whole of humanity, follows from what we read in RV, X, 93.10: "To these men present here [as the participants in a sacrifice] O Heaven and Earth, grant lofty fame *extending overall mankind* [Italics mine] ['covering one universe' as the text has it]!

172. I, 125.2.
173. III, 36.10.
174. V, 64.4-5; VIII, 45.40-42.

10

Vedic Society: Socio-Cultural Aspect

ECONOMIC activity of the Rigvedic society, the kind of wealth it produced, the concept of wealth in the minds of the Rigvedic people, which included a desire for wide renown, fairly widespread accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals and families, constitute only a part of the civilization of the Vedic people. The wise Sumerian poet, with whose selection of elements of civilization I prefaced this brief study of Vedic culture and society, lists among such elements, some which are non-psychological states and non-moral qualities; (1) art; (2) music and musical instruments which account for six out of the sixty-eight elements listed by Kramer.[1] As I have briefly dealt with arts and crafts, occupation and professions, whose main contribution to individuals' pattern of living is purely material, though basic, I may follow the lead of the Sumerian poet and place before the reader a very brief account of Vedic arts whose main contribution was beautification, and joyful enjoyment as components of the pattern of living in the Vedic age.

Art of dance as we have seen was engrafted as the accompaniment of Vedic sacrifice, the dance mentioned was a females' performance and quite clearly was a specialised form or variety of dance. In the dance as described by Dr. Ketkar,[2] maids carrying vessels filled with water on their heads, standing in a circle, moved round thrice, at the completion of the round all of them slapped their right things with their palms, saying "this is honey". Quite clearly the dance had a sexual import. Dance was so much ingrafted into the Rigvedic society that the sages address Indra, the national war-god, as dancer.[3] An Atreya sage[4] instead of addressing Indra as a dancer simply asserts that Indra "dances forth his hero exploits" while Bharadvaja[5] says the same in a more ornate and poetic manner. He says: "Robed in a garment fair as heaven to look on ['having starlets on the body'] thou [Indra] hast displayed thee like an

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 148-9.
2. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 133.
3. *RV*, I, 130-7; II, 22.4; VIII, 24.12; 57(68).7; 81(92).3.
4. V, 33.6.
5. VI, 29.3.

active dancer". Indra's lieutenants, Maruts too, are, once at least, addressed as dancers whose breasts are adorned with gold. (VIII, 20.12). Asvins, the twin-god, too, are once described as "dancing through the air" (VI, 63.5). The Goddess Ushas, Dawn, is not only said to arrive "dancing" (X, 29.2) but is described as dressed in "embroidered garments" like a dancer and as baring her breast as a cow yields her udder (I, 92.4), implying her readiness to yield for sexual congress like a hetaera.[6] Lastly we have, in RV X, 72.6, a reference to group dancing and the implied suggestion that a dance of Gods was the origin of the earth. It reads: "When ye Gods, in yonder deep [water] close clasping one another stood, thence, as of dancers from your feet a thickening cloud of dust arose". Griffith quotes by way of a comment on the passage the following observation made by Wallis in A.D. 1887 in his book *Cosmology of the Rigveda:* "The gods are said to have kicked up in dancing the atoms which formed the earth".

Group dancing and that too mixed, sisters partnering brothers, among Rigvedic peoples is clearly implied in the description of the Soma-press-stones in operation, which reads: "They [press-stones] cry aloud, with strong exhilarating drink . . . Bold, with the sisters they have danced, embraced by them, making the earth re-echo with their ringing sound" (X, 94.4). Very vigorous dance probably accompanied by singing is what appears to be implied in the above description. That singing was an accompaniment of dance and that dance involved stamping the ground are both clear from a later (14th) stanza of 94th hymn referred to. It runs: "They have raised high their voice for juice, for sacrifice, striking the Mother Earth as though they danced thereon".[7]

Women coming close to their lovers at a festive gathering were such a known phenomenon that a Bharadvaja sage uses that image to describe the joining of the two ends of a bow by the string being fastened on to them (VI, 75.4). In the previous stanza the hymner has fancied the placing in position of an arrow on the bow-string to be a woman's pressing close to her "well-loved friend" and holding him in her embrace to whisper into his ears! Indrani in her frank dialogue with Vrishakapi asserts that "from olden times the matron ['nari'] goes to a sacrifice and to a festal gathering ['samana']" (X, 86.10). The statement implies that women enjoyed great deal of freedom in festive gatherings. Dancing in a circle was quite well-known, the Atharvaveda picking out its main feature, impossibility of pointing out who is first and who second or lower from among the dancers, their dress being similar.[8]

Intensity of love for dancing as an activity of joyous life can be judged

6. *RV*, VIII, 20.12; VI, 63.5; X, 29.2; I, 92.4.
7. X, 94.
8. *RV*, VI, 75.4; X, 86.10; AV, X, 7.43.

from the fact that people including relatives of a deceased person, while disposing of his final remains, thought of their own continuing lives in terms of dancing and laughter. The so-called funeral hymn of the Rigveda (X, 18) has a stanza (the 3rd) whose second half reads: "We have gone forth for dancing and for laughter to further times prolonging our existence". The hymner not stopping with the individuals present at the funeral or with their contemporaries goes on to speak of succession of generations. The Atharvaveda (XII, 2.22) repeating part of the Rigveda passage, changes its last portion after 'laughter' significantly. It expresses the desire and wish to have "brave sons speaking in the assembly", i.e., not merely to probing life and create successive generations but to continue them as glorious scions! Dancing was thus not inconsistent with intellectually conspicuous living. Equally noteworthy is the association of Gandharvas with dancing pointedly made out in the Atharvaveda (IV, 37.4-7).

The Atharvaveda passage further associates singing and instrumental music with dances. Addressing the great trees of India, Asvattha and Nyagrodha, both Ficuses, it says "your swings are green and bright [the sinewy branches hanging down almost to the ground are evidently meant!] and lutes (karkari) and cymbals [aghati] sound in tune". The last quarter of the seventh stanza of the 37th hymn of the IV book of the Atharvaveda referred to above as a significant variation from its Rigvedic original or counterpart, occurs as the final passage of the last hymn (43rd) of the II book of the Rigveda. And there, too, it completes a statement on the singing of Indra in the form of a bird, Indra being likened to a lute (karkari). The sound produced by 'aghati' is, in the Rigveda (X, 146·2) likened to the shrill chirping of the grass-hopper and the cricket. The authors of *Vedic Index* opine that 'aghati' beating accompanied a dance. Perhaps we may say that dance was executed to the accompaniment of cymbals-beat.

That music was well-developed even in the Rigvedic period follows from the mention, in passing, of at least four musical instruments besides the two mentioned above. In VIII, 58 (69).9 are mentioned 'gargara', 'godha' and 'pinga'. The first two appear to have been wind instruments played by blowing and may be equated with flute, while the third was some stringed instrument, guitar, harp, lute or lyre. The fourth instrument is 'vana' which from its description in the *Brahmana* texts as 'sata-tantri', 'hundred stringed' must have been a harp or a lyre. The Rigveda (X, 32.4) clearly refers to seven notes, 'dhatu' played on it. There is a doubt as to whether they were also known as 'vanis' (vide *Vedic Index*). Thus it would appear that the seven basic notes of Indian music were already fixed in the Rigvedic period. We cannot say that their notation was the same as the one that

is known from later ages. That singing was fairly common can be inferred from the fact that Ushas, Dawn, who is said to don embroidered garments like a dancer is also said to sing songs like women active in their tasks.[9]

Two more instruments of music are known from the Yajurveda and the *Brahmana* texts. One is a flute named 'vina'. From the detailed description of the instrument occurring in the *Aitareya Aranyaka* and the *Sankhayayana Srauta Sutra*[10] it appears to have been very much like the 'vana'. 'Vinagathin', or 'Vinavada', lute-player, is known from Yajurvedic and *Brahmana* texts. That bands or group playing of instrumental music, too, was known in the later Vedic age is attested by the word 'vinaganagin' occurring in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (XIII, 1.5.1; etc. vide *Vedic Index*). A special variety of 'vina', known as 'kandavina' 'vina formed of joints of reed', whose precise nature is not ascertained, was played upon at the Mahavrata sacrifice. at which as we saw earlier slave maidens had to execute the 'marjaliya' dance. This sacrifice, which is known by the special Pauranic or later Brahmanic terms for sacred observance, 'vrata', was to be performed annually at the winter solstice.[11]

In the world of Yama, the Rigvedic hereafter, [virtuous] dead are said to be received, "minstrels blowing the flute for them and glorified with songs". The *Satapatha Brahmana* records a legend about "Vak", Speech, and Gandharvas. The Gandharvas it appears purchased Vak from the Gods in exchange for Soma and recited the Vedas to her. The Gods evidently got jealous and to secure the return of Vak to them they created the lute and sat playing on it and singing. Immediately Vak returned to the Gods. "Hence", says the text, "it is to him who dances and sings that women readily take a fancy".[12]

The importance of singing or music, i.e., singing, dancing and instrumental music, can be gauged from the fact that the class of mythical beings called Gandharvas and their female counterparts, Apsarases, who figure so prominently throughout the later history of Indo-Aryan and Brahmanic civilization, were already there in the Rigvedic society, particularly and emphatically glorified in the Atharvaveda. As *Vedic Index* does not contain any note on either of the two classes of beings, it is necessary for me to make a few quotations from the original texts. In RV, VII, 33.9-11, we learn of the birth of Vasishtha from Urvasi, referred to as an Apsaras. In X, 95.8-11, in the dialogue between Urvasi and Pururavas, we are acquainted with the names of six of Urvasi's maids described as 'non-mortal', 'non-human'. In X, 123.5-7 Apsaras is said to

9. *RV*, I, 92.3-4.
10. Vide Ketkar, 3, pp. 424-25.
11. *Vedic India*: Dundubhi.
12. *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 1.5.1; III, 2.4.6; RV, X, 135.7;

"support her Lover, Vena the Gandharva, in sublimest heaven". That Gandharvas and Apsarases are superior beings treading heavenly paths is clear from the description of Munis, spiritually advanced human beings, as treading the path of these beings (X, 136.5). We are privileged to know the name of one Gandharva at least, and that is Visvavasu, who figures as the guardian of Soma and of maidens and is asked to leave them on their wedding.[13] The Atharvaveda mentions three more Gandharvas, including Chitraratha, who in later mythology figures as the chief of them; provides the additional information that the Gandhavas were significantly so-named. For they and the Apsarases are said to have shared scent, 'gandha', arisen from the earth. Six of these Apsarases are named, being quite different from those named in the Rigveda. What is interesting about these names is that at least four of them are traced to the names of "fragrant plants or sweet scents", while those of the Rigvedic Apsarases "refer to their looks and habits". One may conclude from this feature the greater importance that scent had come to have during the later years of the Rigvedic period. Significantly one of the half-a-dozen desirable objects that a person knowing or understanding the charm-hymn, AV, VIII, 10, is that "round him ever breathes delicious odour. It is interesting to find in the hymn of praise of mother earth that scent is equated with sweetness and is believed to have the power to keep away another's hate from one who has the scent. In AV, XII, 1.21-23 all the sources of scent, the earth being the primary source, Gandharvas, Apsarases, lotuses, men and women and the scent that was prepared at the marriage of the Sun's daughter, are charmed into pouring that into the person praying.[14] Delicious odour round one's person had come to be cherished as a value or covetable acquisition in the later years of the Rigvedic period. This sounds like a pre-visage of the Parisian society of the 18th century!

The Apsarases are declared to be the consorts of Gandharvas. Both of them have "their home in the sea so men have told me—whence they come quickly hitherward and vanish" (AV, IV, 37.12; II, 2.3-5). In the Atharvaveda, though the Gandharva is described as "dancing", the main function of these beings, particularly of the Apsarases, is their role as some kind of deities of the charm designed to protect and to bring success to the dice-player (AV, II, 2; IV, 38). The dance of the Gandharva appears to be that of evil spirits, who, too, are said to dance round and round, the dance of some of them being described to be like the dance of eunuchs.[15] The Yajurveda prescribes among other objects for symbolic

13. *RV*, X, 85.21-22; 139.4-6. 14. *AV*, IV, 37.3-6; VIII, 10.27; XII, 1.24.
15. *AV*, IV, 37.12; II, 2.3-5; IV, 38; VIII, 6.10-11. Today dance of eunuchs can be seen in Bombay at the houses of well-to-do Sikhs and some Sindhi and Panjabi Hindus on many occasions of demestic event and festivities.

sacrifice at the Purushamedha[16] a stable master for Dance and a public dancer for Song. This prescription testifies to dancing and singing having become a part and parcel of routine social life. It is to be noted that professional dancers had perhaps got distinguished from private or domestic dancers and had come to be known as public dancers. We, therefore, find a flutist, and a lutist as additional victims and a hand-clapper as one for Dance.

By the time of the later Vedic literature, the development and currency of these rhythmic arts, singing, instrumental music and dancing, had got so far that in the *Kaushitaki Brahmana* we find the composite or integrated concept of the three, specifically named in the word 'silpa'. The three kinds or strands of 'slipa', 'art', are there named as (1) 'nritya', 'dance', (2) 'gita', 'song', and (3) 'vadita', 'instrumental music'. In the Yajurveda 'sailusha', 'an actor or dancer' is prescribed as one of the victims at the 'Purushamedha'. If 'sailusha' can be taken to denote an actor, a meaning which the word regularly has in later literature, then we will have to admit the existence, in the later Rigvedic period at least, of the dramatic art which later is denoted by the word 'natya'![17]

The fondness for singing and instrumental music had become quite intense before the end of the Vedic age. For in the *Chhadogya Upanishad*[18] we learn that a milieu where song and music were plentiful and continuous was one of the desired ends of human achievement, other such desired regions being, one of food and drink, one of mother and brothers, one of friends etc. Probably even in the Rigvedic society singing was not only a desired object but was a domestic accomplishment and accompaniment of some of the daily routine. Gotama Rahugana addressing Ushas, 'Dawn,' referring to succession of dawns, speaks of them as "singing songs like women active in their tasks".[19]

Chariot-race, was an essential feature of the Vajapeya sacrifice. It was a sacrifice which unlike Rajsuya, could be and was performed by a Brahmin or a Kshatriya, two of the three well-to-do classes of the Rigvedic society. The authors of *Vedic Index* are inclined, on the authority of a *Srauta Sutra*, to hold that "once" it could be performed by any Aryan. The feature of games, of which chariot-race was the principal, was such a universal or pre-eminent feature that Hillebrand compared the festival with the Greek Olympic games. As we have seen, horses and chariots were plentiful and very frequently formed objects of guerdon for sacrificial services. It would have been a wonder if horse-

16. *Vaj. Sam.*, XXX, 11 and 20.
17. *Vedic Index*: Silpa and Sailusha.
18. VIII, 2.8.
19. *RV*, I, 92.3.

racing or rather chariot-racing was not a prominent feature of the social life of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans.

The importance of horse-racing in the Rigvedic society can be gathered from the fact that the word 'aji' which, in later times, denoted a 'battle', in the Rigveda stood for a 'race'. The authors of *Vedic Index* observe: "Horse racing was one of the favourite amusements of the Vedic Indians". Vedic Indians' passion for the sport or game may be judged from the fact that particularly swift horses received the appellation of 'vagin' or 'atya', 'swift one', and also from the fact that such horses were "often washed and adorned". The use of the horse-race or chariot-race and its elements for illustrating or comparing some of the features of the sacrificial complex, too, indicates the same. Above all, the fact that Indra, the national war-god, is not only invoked to aid the hymner and his folk in battles but also in winning horse or chariot-race is a sure index of the importance and of the extent of horse- or chariot-racing in the Rigvedic and Vedic society. One feature of the racing was the prize for the winner. A prize-winner not only got the treasure of the prize, whatever it was, but also achieved fame or prestige in his society.

Competent hymners and singers entering the synod for starting a sacrifice are likened to the horses that enter the race-course. Bharadvaja tells us that singers invoked Indra not only for aid in battles but also for help on the race-course, where their horses run so that they win "wealth and power". Hymn 69 (or 80) of the VIII book is almost a prayer-charm addressed to Indra to secure success in horse-races. "O Indra, help our chariot on, though [if] it lag behind; Give this my car the foremost place; make my chariot to be the first and bring the fame of victory near . . . Assist our car that seeks the prize . . . So then make us victorious . . . Let not our portion be disgrace. Broad is the course, the prize is set. The barriers are opened wide", so proclaims the Kanva sage who composed the hymn. Another Kanva sage asks Indra, whom he characterizes as the best of charioteers, to "Set our car in front, in the foremost place to win the spoil". Kutsa, the favourite of Indra, asks the gods Agni and Ushas together to place the car of the person who offers them sacrifice foremost of all.[20] Gritsamada asks Varuna and Mitra, allied with Vasus, Rudras and Adityas, to help his car and his people so that "our horses may fly forth, glad and eager for renown" in the chariot-race, "as the wild birds of the forest from their home" (II, 31.1). In X, 68.2, sage Ayasya implores God Brihaspati, who is generally a god of prayers, hymns and similar items, to strengthen his horses for the chariot-race. The illustration that Ayasya offered to induce Brihaspati to grant his request is Brihaspati's own great deed of effecting

20. *RV*, VII, 93.3; VI, 46.1; VIII, 45.9; I, 94.8.

fruitful union of man and woman, through Aryaman and his institution, on marriage!

Maruts, Indra's lieutenants, are said to have enlarged the race-course and perhaps to have compelled horse racing in knee-deep water; and their favour is declared to be a guarantee for earning treasure with one's steeds, perhaps in races or perhaps in battles. The coming of Maruts is described as "racings at which the earth trembles as if weak and worn". The purpose of their "yoking their cars is victory". Race and victory both closely connected appear to have been a common reality among the Rigvedic peoples so that their singer-poet could not but use the imagery for his poetic description of the impetuous deities. A Bhargava sage fancies the deities, Maruts, themselves to be "noblest steeds", because they are fleet in travelling and to be "bounteous charioteers" because they long to obtain the prize", the prize in Maruts' case being the offerings at the sacrifice, to which they are hurrying, and in the case of the charioteers, the stake in the race. Another sage speaks of the gods, Aditi, Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman, proceeding to partake of a sacrificial session as "vigorous courses speeding on their way to win thousands. The thousands that the gods are said to be winning are the oblations, "the priestly meed" as the text has it. They are, therefore, like horses that run in the races and "gather for themselves great wealth in every race".[21]

The 74th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda is addressed by Gauraviti to Indra, which, as Griffith has noted, has "a coming horse-race" as its subject. The sage therein invokes on behalf of his client, the performer of the sacrifice, "the Vasus, racers who have won the prize in former times and the men who owned them". Thus the hymn would appear to be a kind of sympathetic magic formula. It begins with the declaration that the sage "is prepared to laud with song or worship the Noble Ones [Vasus] who are in earth and heaven, or Coursers [Arvantah] who have triumphed in the contest, or those who, famed, have won the prize with glory". Then the Gods [Vasus] are imagined as present and interested in the race. Immediately the horses are said to have touched the earth lightly and run off. Lastly, the sage imagines Indra to be present and the conquest, the winning of the prize, as achieved!

The popularity of horse-racing in the Rigvedic society can be judged from the use of its features as similies. Thus the fabled marriage of Surya, the daughter of the Sun, with Asvins is described with the help of such a similie thus: "Nasatyas (Asvins) have ascended the chariot of Surya like horses reaching the goal first". Soma is asked to flow powerfully out when pressed at a sacrifice, just as a strong courser, that is

21. *RV*, I, 37.10; 64.13; 87.3; X, 78.5; 64.5-6.

bathed (for the race), does to win the prize ('dhana'); and the flow is likened to the running of swift horses on the race-course. Hymns or songs that successfully appeal to the deity are likened to chariots speeding with their display and gaining wealth (in a race). At least one sage goes further and fancies the sacrifice as a chariot and the whole ritual as a race. For he says: "Refresh the horses, win the prize before you: equip a chariot fraught with happy fortune".[22] A physician, speaking of the success of his herbal remedies which secures him gain, employs the imagery of mares winning their race. The appearance of Agni, enkindled, is graphically described in the imagery of races, as "the course is single but the cars are many", referring of course to the many flames in all directions. Gritsamada likens his "earnest prayers" to a race-horse, wishing that "they may win the notice of the Gods as a car horse might win the goal". Even the hymner himself is likened to a race-horse, he fashioning his hymn to win the God's favour, the horse putting up all its strength to win the race and its stake.[23]

It appears even women drove their own chariots in these races and competed for the prize as the hymns about Mudgalani and Usinarani indicate.[24]

In the *Brahmana* literature we meet with an expression for "to run a race" and for the institutor of a race too; and Indra is specifically called 'ajikrit', 'race-maker' and 'aji-pati', 'lord of the race'.[25]

Horse or chariot-races were both a sport, a mainly one at that, and a source of gain to the bold and clever people but dice-play, which was another feature associated with another sacrifice, Rajasuya, was quite clearly a vice indulged in for easy gains. As an accompaniment of the Rajasuya sacrifice it appears to have been a magical charm intended to prophesy success in his work for the King, who was the centre of the sacrificial performance, but as a practice of the common people it was accompanied by and it encouraged cheating and led to the ruin of many youngmen and rising families. At Agnyadheya, too, the ritual required dice-play.

The authors of *Vedic Index*[26] observe that "along with horse-racing dicing was one of the main amusements of the Vedic Indian"; and we find the association of the two "amusements" in the Atharvaveda. The fiftieth hymn of the VII book of that Veda is one of the four hymns about dice and gambling occurring in it. It is a prayer for success in "gaining". Of the three stanzas constituting the hymn, the last one

22. *RV*, I, 116.17; IX, 109.10; 21.7; VIII, 3.15; X, 101.7.
23. *RV*, X, 97.3; 142.5; II, 31.7; I, 130.6.
24. *RV*, X, 102; 59.10.
25. *Vedic India*: 'Aji'.
26. Vide 'Aksha'.

is addressed to Agni, "who guards his treasure", that he may "pile our winnings". In the land of the Maruts, the hymner says about his presents to them: "As it were with racing cars I bring my presents"! The point of comparison between the race-won-wealth and the offering of the presents is that the one is won by rounding a mark on one's right, and the other, the presents to Gods, are offered after "making reverential salutation in the same manner". This particular stanza forms stanza 'one' of the 60th hymn of the V book of the Rigveda. We may, therefore, see the association of racing and gaming as having been a feature of the Rigvedic society.

The close association of dicing with racing which is recorded in the Atharvaveda [27] as stated above, is matched in the same text with its intimate connection with Apsarases, the traditional danseuse and songstresses of the Divine world. The so-called charm for success in gambling occurring in that Veda is a string of calls on them. The call is made because they "play skill", "win the stakes in games of dice", and "revel in the dice". They are asked to "dance around the players with their dice winning the wager by their play". With protection against loss, provided through a semi-divine and highly emotive agency, dicing could be expected to thrive and not decline!

Words like 'svaghnin', which means "gamester or professional gambler", occurring in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda, and 'kitava', "gambler", occurring in both these Vedas and also in the Yajurveda, quite clearly establish the presence of habitual or professional gambler's in the Rigvedic society. The place of 'gaming', it appears certain, was mainly the local assembly hall or 'sabha'. A gambler was, ironically enough, known as 'sabhasthanu', "the pillar of the assembly hall". This means that the activity that kept the 'sabha' a live institution was that of gaming! It is noteworthy that in later times the place where gambling was carried on was known as 'sabha'. In later Vedic literature the word 'sabhavin' occurs and Vedicists give it the meaning of the "keeper of a gambling hall", so that we may conclude that 'sabha' had come to mean a private gaming hall. 'Sabha' continued to denote a 'gaming hall' though 'assembly' or 'assembly hall' also continued to be one of its meanings. But the keeper of a private gambling hall or house came to be named "sabhika", as for example, in the 5th or 6th century A.D. play by Shudraka named the "Toy Cart", 'Mricchakatika".[28]

The emergence of private gaming halls implies wider currency of gambling in the society, which occurred in spite of elite opinion against and that too perhaps already in the later period of the Rigvedic age. In the Rigveda there is a whole hymn, 34th of the X book, which is

27. IV, 38.

28. Vide *Vedic Index.*

one of the poetic gems of that great collection of early hymnal poetry. We may call it the Aksha hymn, the 'dice' hymn. Kavasha Ailusha, whom tradition makes out to have been the child of a Brahmana by a slave woman, is the reputed author of it and of three previous hymns of the book. Kavasha has made a powerful indictment of dice-play and voiced a fervant appeal to all against dice-play. He has ended his brief dissertation on gambling thus: "Play not with dice: no, cultivate thy corn-land. Enjoy the gain, and deem that wealth sufficient. There are thy cattle, there thy wife, O gambler, So this God Savitar [the Sun god] hath told me". Then to save himself from dicing he conjures the Dice themselves to desist from enticing him! Individual efforts against the dicing habit appear to have been common too. For one father is said to have chastised his son for gambling.[29] Cheating at play was depicted by an Atreya sage to be as great a sin as any other one and His address to Varuna, the high God of the moral law, reads: "If we, as gamesters [kitava] cheat at play, have cheated, done wrong unwittingly or sinned on purpose; cast all these sins away like loosened fetters, O Varuna". Vasishtha, in his prayer to Varuna for forgiveness,[30] has frankly admitted that dice along with wine, seduction and thoughtlessness are the causes of one's going astray and committing breach of Varuna's laws.

However, the presence in the AV of four hymns, designated as 'charms of securing success at gambling', and one, a prayer for divine forgiveness for the hymner's or rather gambler's cheating at the play, is a clear indication that gambling was being indulged in more and more. Among the special anti-charms to counter the evil charms of another there is one designed to protect a gambler against such evil influence on his game. It is very full and reads: "[I destroy] the spell that they have cast upon thy public room [the gambling house or hall], the gambling board, Spell they have cast upon thy dice, this I strike back again on them". In a rather lengthy hymn accompanying the preparation and presentation of sacrificial offerings Gods, Truth and Tapas (Fervour), are appealed to preserve the offerer's treasure in the meetings and when at play with dice, 'dyuta'.[31]

The technical names of the different sorts of gamblers occurring in the Yajurveda point to the same conclusion, that of the proliferation and spread of gambling with dice in the Vedic Society. The Yajurveda[32] further prescribes a gambler, a minstrel, a harlot and a eunuch, not belonging to Sudra or Brahmin caste, to be dedicated to Prajapati at the

29. *RV*, II, 29.5.
30. *RV*, V, 85.8; VII, 86.6.
31. *AV*, IV, 38; VI, 118, 119; VII, 50, 109; XII 3.
32. *Vaj. Sam.* XXX, 22.

Purushamedha, indicating that gamblers had become a routine fixture in the society of its time.[33]

The symbolic play of dice in the ritual setting had evidently imparted to it a halo of respectability, which, added to the desire for easy gain, so common to human mind, had conspired to make dicing a fairly common game of chance in the Vedic Indo-Aryan society. The lists of expressions connected with dicing given in the *Brahmanas* clearly imply this. We find that even in the philosophical treatises like the *Chhandogya Upanishad* analogies based on specific features of the dicing game are used to explain some of the abstruse doctrines.[34] Dr. Agrawala[35] has expounded the currency of the game in what would appear to be a different form and style from the Rigvedic one but similar to the later Vedic type in the time of Panini. He has also adduced evidence from the Buddhist *Jatakas*, in which the notorious dicing of Kuru-Pandavas clearly forms the social background, for the practice of dicing.

Dr. Agrawala has also adduced data from the Mahabharata to suggest that the dicing of Sakuni, the arch deceitful gambler, with Yudhishthira, was of the same kind as known to Panini. Sakuni was a Gandharan, being the brother of the queen of Dhritarashtra, the Kuru head. In view of the proximity of Kekaya country to Gandhara, which lay a little to the north of Kekaya, that Asvapati, the king of Kekaya, boasting of his success as a good and moral ruler, should not have mentioned anything about the currency or absence of dicing among his people is strange. He certifies their freedom from drink-habit and lechery but is silent about dicing (*Chhand. Up.* V, 11.4). We may conclude from Asvapati's silence about Panini's detailed data on dicing as well as Sakuni's mastery of the game that in the western part of the Vedic Indo-Aryandom the game of dice had gone on spreading among the populace. Finally dicing got enshrined in festivals of a religious nature. Thus during the very popular festival of 'Divali' 'Rows of lights', dicing is commonly played.

Cultured amusement, provided by dance and music, play and pastime, combined with cultivation of warring spirit and skill secured in horse- and chariot-racing enriched the pattern of living of the Vedic people, and heightened the quality of their civilization, the last item putting a stamp of modernity on it to some extent. Dicing grown out of the religious context and taking hold of the popular mind, cannot be said to have contributed anything worthwhile to the culture-complex. On the other hand, it must have fostered the low tendencies like cheating, which appear to be lurking in the human mind, it has tended, from the days of the Rigveda till late to humiliate men and to destroy household peace as in

33. *V.I.*: 'Aksha', 'Kitava', 'Devana', 'Dyuta', 'Svaghnin', 'Sabah' and 'Sabhavin'.
34. *Chad. Up.*, IV, 1.4 and 6; VII, 3.1.
35. *India* etc. pp. 162-166.

the famous epic-story of Nala and Damayanti. In the well-known case of the Kurus and Pandavas, who lived in the later years of the Vedic age, it actually led to a highly destructive war.

Dicing, as we know, was only incidental to Vedic worship and that too the worship to be offered by the King. There is another item, which was more deeply involved, nay was basic, in the worship-complex of the Vedic peoples. And that is drink, Soma-juice no doubt, but whatever its taste, whatever its other effects, physical and spiritual, it appears to have been an exhilarating and exciting drink.[36] In RV, VIII, 21.5 the 'madhu' that Indra is asked to drink and which he habitually drank is described as 'madira', 'exalting', i.e., intoxicating. "Madira", along with 'madya', is the regular word for wine later on, so that in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*[37] we find 'Madira' as a Goddess and a temple raised to her.

Another drink, though not involved in the most important and general form of worship-complex as Soma was, which is often mentioned in Vedic literature is 'Sura', 'wine',—beer, ale or brandy.[38] As mentioned already, it was basic in the Sautramani sacrifice. It also played a part in the more common sacrifice called 'Vajapeya', in which chariot-race was the most important item. The sacrifice was a 'must' for one to be entitled to be called a king, and also was likely to be much patronized by the Brahmins. For it was the minimum requirement for anyone to be qualified as a priest. In it, too, 'sura', 'wine', was to be offered as libation offering in Fire and was also to be drunk by the performer.[39] The actual performance of the Sautramani sacrifice is testified to by the statement that Dushtaritu Paumsyayana was restored to his kingdom through the performance of this sacrifice.[40] Keith has pointed out that the Sautramani was also a part of the Rajasuya sacrifice which extended over two years. He has also noted that, according to Hillebrandt's view, it was originally an un-brahmanical rite current among "barbarous Aryan" tribes addicted to 'sura'-drinking, and was taken over by the Brahmanical Indo-Aryans from them. These Brahmanical Aryans then modelled it on the analogy of a four-day Soma sacrifice. Hillebrandt further suggested that 'sura' was a drink akin to 'madhu', 'honey' or "honey-like drink", which was closely connected with Asvins. In support of this view it was pointed out that "the Vandidad [of the Zoroastrians and Iranians] shows 'sura' to have been an honoured drink".[41]

36. *RV*, VIII, 48.4-8; VIII, 12.1; VIII, 2.12; IV, 107.14, 16.
37. II, 4.; Kangle's trans., p. 80.
38. *Vedic India*: Sura.
39. Ketkar: II, pp. 71, 78, 142.
40. *Sat. Br.*, XII, 9.3.1.
41. *Taittiriya Samhita*, trans. by A. B. Keith, p. cxxii.

In the Rigveda, Asvins are said to have poured down a hundred jars of wine, 'sura', evidently to invigorate Pajriya Kakshivan. In the Sautramani hymns of the Yajurveda, Asvins and Sarasvati, who are said to have helped Indra in his exploits against Namuchi, are characterized as "joint drinkers of the Sura draught".[42] According to the *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra*[43] at the "anvashtaka pitrimedha" the offering of "sura" and the scum of boiled rice is prescribed to be made to the wives of the Fathers to whom the sacrifice is offered. Thus 'wine' or "rum" or "brandy"—these last two renderings are Oldenberg's—came and continued to have a religious footing.

Wine in religious offerings figured in Sumerian civilization,[44] a thousand or so years at least before it made it's appearance in the religious complex of Indo-Aryans. In the list of the elements of his civilization made by a Sumerian poet already mentioned, among the items, however, wine does not figure. Of the religion-oriented items "priestly office" occurs four times, including one of female priestess; "descent" and also "ascent" from the nether world, "holy purification", "cult chamber", and "exalted shrine" figure once each. Of the non-religious items not only such abstract entities and qualities as 'truth', 'goodness', 'justice', 'judgement', 'wisdom', 'counsel', 'peace', 'rejoicing of the heart', 'straight-forwardness' but also 'falsehood', 'enmity', 'fear', 'terror', 'the troubled heart' and 'weariness' are listed. Even the purely physical and elemental element "sexual intercourse" is mentioned, and as if to emphasize its imperious demands "prostitution"—unless of course so early as that prostitution, too, had become a religious institution—is listed alongside. "Eunuchs", receiving four entries, emphasize the significance of the unfortunate class of humans in the Sumerian civilization. In a list so wide and catholic that wine which was an offering to the gods should not figure strikes me as rather strange.

This drink, in some form or another, has been the hallmark of Western civilization since at least the promulgation of Christianity, in which the rite of Eucharist is based on its use. In Indian civilization it was the contribution of one section of Indo-Aryan ethnic units, made more than three thousand years ago, and that too, with a religious base. However, the Rigvedic singers, who were no analysers of their culture, but were keen observers and discerning participants, having noticed the antisocial consequences of the habit of drinking the liquid, came to entertain a certain abhorrance towards it. The authors of *Vedic Index*[45] very

42. *RV*, I, 116.7; Vaj. Sam. XX 76 and Griffith's note.
43. II, 5.5.
44. S. N. Kramer: *History Begins at Sumer*, 1958 ed., pp. 150, 188, 197, 271.
45. Vide 'Sura'; *RV*, I, 116.7; 134, 4.5; VII, 86.6; VIII, 2.12; 21.14.

properly stated the position as that "In some passages it is referred to favourably, in others with dreaded disapproval".

Passing over any account of the history of this drink and the result of the sectional elite opinion about it, I should point out that at least in one ethnic or demic unit of the Vedic society as it was about 700 B.C. its leader or king, claming this kingdom to be very well and morally running, boasted that among its citizens there was none who was a drinker of 'madya' (wine). Asvapati, the king of the Kekayas, an ethnic state just to the south-east of Gandhara, i.e., in the western region of the Pakistani Panjab, is reported, in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*,[46] to have asserted that in his dominion there were no thieves, no destitutes, no illiterates, no lecherous man or woman and none who drank wine (madya). As the authors of *Vedic Index* remark 'madya' for 'wine', a word which later regularly was used to denote 'wine', made its first appearance in Vedic literature in this passage. This by itself implies proliferation of drink which means a wider spread and deeper penetration of the drink-habit. Making allowance for this implication and also for exaggeration not unlikely in such cases, we have left us no choice but to accept the proposition that abhorrence of drink had been effectively implanted in a section of the people. At least it shows that the Vedic society, i.e., elite of the society, had come to hold drink-habit as an evil to be avoided by all good people or by persons who would like to be considered good by their society. The Dharma Sutra of Gautama,[47] one of the norm-setters of the 5th or 6th century B.C., contains an injunction against drinking of wine, "surapana".

Sura, though its effects were not beneficial and though its respectability appears to have suffered heavily in the north-west, is seen enthroned in the Atharvaveda.[48] Sura is there said to have accompanied Ekavratya in his approach to the people at large. Both 'Sabha' and Samiti'. 'Hall' and 'Assembly', too, are said to have been in the same company. A priest's prayer for power and glory begins with asking for glory first and then for the "sweetness that is found in nectar and in flowing wine". Wine is said to be as intimately associated with flesh as dice with the gaming-board and "an enamoured man's desire" with the dame of whom he is enamoured. 'Svarga' or heaven is described as "full of lakes, full of butter and milk, with their banks of honey, flowing with wine and milk and curds and water". This description of heaven constrasts with the one we get in the Rigveda. The Rigveda, which tells us that rich men drank wine and those that did so did not show any regard for the Gods, speaks of the felicity of heaven as the most exalted, not disfigur-

46. V, 11, 5.
47. XXI, 1-7.
48. XV, 9; VI, 69.1; IX, 1.18; VI, 70.1; IV, 34.6-7.

ing the description with any specification of the objects, contributing to it. The AV thus registers very clearly the great gain in popularity scored by 'sura', or wine, since the Rigvedic times, or in the Atharvavedic society, perhaps more eastern than the Rigvedic. In the *Taittiriya Brahmana,* Soma and Sura are considered as a couple, husband and wife, the former being the best nourishment for the Gods and the latter for men.[49]

This appreciation of 'sura' in the elite counting appears to be very well reflected in the life of the elite and semi-elite of the later Vedic society. For the Yajurveda, the Maitrayani and the Kathaka Samhitas, have recorded a common case of high impropriety in social behaviour as having been due to potation of drink. It is that of a young married woman not showing due regard to her husband's father under the influence of liquor.[50] The Rigveda [51] knew only some rich men drinking liquor and then disregarding the Gods.

The appreciation of 'sura' and its wider acceptance in the society of later Vedic times, probably more in the eastern section of that society, must have led to its being treated like other objects of civilization, which has throughout tended to cause rise of variation and the proliferation of varieties of the objects. For, in the grammatical work of Panini, we find not only words for 'distillery', 'distiller', 'vintner' and 'drinking booth', which of course was a special place different from 'Sabha', but also two new words, in addition to the Rigvedic Sura and Brahmanic 'madya', 'maireya' and 'kapisayana', denoting special wines. The 'maireya' wine, which appears in later literature as the wine of the elite par excellence, was known in two varieties, with the probability of five further varieties of it having been offered. Besides these standard wines there were in Panini's time a member of 'kashayas' 'decoctions' which Dr. Agrawala thinks were milder drinks.[52]

The statement of the prevalence of singing and dancing, of chariot-racing and dicing and of drinking of spirituous drink, in the Rigvedic society provides a fairly concrete picture of some aspects of the pattern of living in that age. To get an idea of the full pattern of living we must know the household and family pattern, the social organization and at least some features of the polity in which the Rigvedic and later Vedic people were living. The source from which we can gather together or cull out the relevant data is far from the right kind of literature used in contemporary times for such a purpose. What we have is not only not the literature of descriptive sociology but not even the genre known as

49. *RV*, IX, 113.7-11; VIII, 2.12; *Tait. Br.*, I, 3.2; *AV*, XV, 9 and Griffith's note.
50. *Vedic India*: 'Snusha'.
51. VIII, 2.12.
52. Agrawala, pp. 116-18, 120-21.

'novel', realistic or even romantic. We have poetry which is religious in intent and extempore or inspired when religious situation called for it.

Generalised statement of a culture or the analysis of it in terms of disparate cultural entries or theoretical basis is an exercise, which man, barring two or three exceptions, has entered upon only recently. Among the early civilizations, the enterprise of the Sumerian poet which, by presenting it in a convenient and neat form, Dr. Kramer has obliged all students of civilization and culture, is almost an exception. Asvapati, the Kaikeya king, whose assertion I have quoted, and who must have lived in the latter part of the 8th century B.C. cannot be said to have stated the ethos of the Vedic culture of his time comprehensively. To make Asvapati's assertion of values a comprehensive statement of the culture-elements of the Vedic society we have to add to it the valedictory address a preceptor gave to his student, when the latter had completed his studies and was ready to embark on the open sea of life, as we find it, for example, in the *Taittiriyopanishad*.[53] Even then the picture thus gained would not have been valid for the Rigvedic age. One is, therefore, very glad to find that the genuinely wide outlook and broad sympathies of the Rigvedic sages have resulted in giving a number of valuable insights into the ideal pattern of living conceived by the Rigvedic society. I shall, before going on with a brief statement of the actual practice in respect of other aspects of the Rigvedic culture enumerated above, present some of those insights.

To begin with, I may, mention that, entirely in harmony with the forward-looking and longevity-minded Rigvedic milieu, the elite attributing the creation of "the world of man" to the most moral of the Rigvedic Gods, Mitra and Varuna, assert that they have made it "beautiful as light". The Earth is the Queen of all that is to be and is prayed not to get "over-crowded by the crowd of Manu's sons", i.e., human beings. The scent the fragrance which "growing herds and plants and waters carry, which entered and possessed the lotus" is appreciated. "The scent in women and men, the luck and light that is in males, in heroes, in steeds, in sylvan beasts and elephants, the splendid energy of maids" is asked of the Earth to be granted to the hymner and his men. The Earth is paid homage to; for there "men sing and dance with varied shout and noise" and also "meet in battle and [raise] the war cry" with resounding drum, and "barley and rice" thrive; there, too, are "castles" which are "the work of gods". She "bears all things in her womb, treasure stored up in many a place, gold, gems and riches". Earth is adored for these and many other material blessings.[54]

53. XI.
54. *RV*, V, 66.2; *AV*, XII, 1,1-2, 23-25, 41-44.

Curiously the hymner who has recorded his and his people's appreciation of the material gifts of Mother Earth has, like a modern writer, dwelt on some of the man-made transformations of the natural earth. Describing the tributes paid to Earth by men, he mentions the woodland, the hamlets, the assemblages, the gatherings and the folk-meetings as the places where her praises are sung. Still more deeply contemplating upon the earthly predicament, the hymner has struck a note which sounds almost like the utterance of an Indian intergrationist or of an International federalist. He says: "Earth bears folk of many a varied language with diverse rites as suits their dwelling places"; on "the many ways which the people travel, the road for car and wain to journey over, meet both the good and bad"; Earth supports "both the foolish and the weighty", is "in friendly concord with the boar" and "the wild swine that roams the forest", and "bears the death both of the good and evil". The Rigvedic singer's assertion that "the old is near to lead astray the younger", though said only to explain away his or any Rigvedic man's plea to excuse himself for any moral dereliction of his, sounds not unlike that of a contemporary Indian young man who puts the blame at the door of his elders for most of his ills.[55]

The nature of the Rigvedic social milieu appears fairly modern in respect of the variety of work and skill and the mobility, both horizontal and generational, of the people in regard to it. Sobhari Kanva (VIII, 21.15) addressing Indra, expresses the hope and desire that he and his people may not, like fools, waste their lives at home, sitting idly by the poured-out juice, when he is friendly (but should go out on active enterprise). Another singer, conscious of his own life-pattern generalizes it and imparts to us the valuable information that in his society "striving for wealth with varied plans and following one's desires (about them)" was so common, as to appear not only natural but beastial in so far as he could liken it to the living mode of kine. Diverted of the singer's pejorative view of the social situation of his time, he has very well stated it in IX, 112. He says: "We all have various thoughts and plans and diverse are the ways of men. The Brahman seeks the worshipper, wright seeks the cracked and leech the maimed", just as we say that the barber looks at the heads while the shoemaker at the feet of men. Thus having illustrated the horizontal diversity he gives his own example for generational diversity and mobility. He says: "A bard am I, my dad's a leech, mammy corn upon the stones [grounding or pounding]". His last observation is: "The horse would draw an easy [light or easy moving] car, gay

55. *AV*, XII, 1.45-49, 55; *RV*, VII, 86.6.

hosts attract the laugh and jest, i.e., professional jesters desire the possession of jocular speech; the penis desires hairy balls (?)![56]

In the vein of a modern champion of the poor and the downtrodden a Rigvedic sage proclaims[57]: "It is not only the hungry, i.e., the poor and the destitute, that die, even the well to do have to die". His purpose, however, was more to encourage liberality on the part of the 'haves' than to excite hatred for the 'haves' in the minds of the 'have-nots'. For he observes: "the riches of the liberal never waste away" by giving some of it, on the other hand, one who does not 'give' finds no one to comfort him. More hardened niggard is one who does not give to a needy person though the latter had done the former some good turn. The hearts of people are hardened against such. More positively, the sage recommends charity to the "beggar who comes to one in want of food and feeble" by assuring that the charitable not only "'make friends of those [whom he helps] in future troubles [of his] but achieves success in battles". The former bait the sage has emphasized by putting it up in another stanza in other words, which are more utilitarian, nay commercial. He says "Let the rich satisfy the poor implorer; bend his eye upon a larger pathway", i.e., "carefully considering the future and not viewing only the present". To drive home the need to be charitable and liberal, he repeats the same point in other words deprecating the food-stores as ruinous, if not shared with the needy, and asserting that he "who eats with no partaker is all guilt" and that "no man will love him". To clinch the issue, the sage sets out the observed incontrovertible truth of the pre-modern world about wealth, that it "comes now to one, now to another, and like the wheels of cars and ever rolling". In these observations and exhortations we can easily discover the ancestors of identical ideas and sentiments that have been current in Indian civilization down through the ages to our own times.

In the last stanza of the hymn we find a surprisingly modern notion very well expressed in a language which can convince the reader that the Rigvedic society was one which fully appreciated differences in capacities existing among individuals and perhaps also groups. "The hands are both alike: their labour differs. The yield of milk of two cows that are sisters is unequal; even twins differ in their strength and vigour (an observation not quite true of monozygotic twins)—two kinsmen differ in their bounty". Therefore the sage would not, and nobody should, expect all to be equally bounteous! Differential abilities in other spheres, too, were appreciated and stressed. Thus Speech[58] herself declares, "un-

56. *RV*, VIII, 21.15; IX, 112.1-4.
57. X, 117-8.
58. *RV*, X, 71.1.

equal in quickness of their spirit are friends endowed alike with eye and hearing". That differences in achievement in respect of learning should have been duly noticed in a society where disputations in synods was a regular phenomenon is but to be expected. And Vak, Speech, again is the announcer of this perception in a familiar ideology. She says: "Some look like tanks [so full of water] that [they] reach the mouth or shoulder, others like pools of water fit to bathe in".

Such, in very brief outline, was the ideal pattern of living as revealed in the didactic or normative vein of the Rigvedic elite. The items covered in it are very few. To fill in the picture to some extent I shall draw upon the appeals to Gods made by various sages for gifts and blessings. The gifts and blessings asked for must have been the values current in the Rigvedic society.

Let us note the items listed by a Kanva Sage in a refrain, which accompanies four stanzas of a hymn.[59] The desires of the singer or the values of his society were: (1) success in all frays with chariot; (2) mastery of fleet steeds; (3) to be unequalled in actions; (4) none to hold him far or to keep him off, i.e., being liked by or being in demand by everyone; and (5) unsurpassed strength of hero-sons. The refrain of 9 hymns of a Gritsamada sage,[60] generally going in the last stanza of each, embodies a much less ambitious or wide panorama of values. It, however, is a complement of the five values stated by the Kanva sage and is a very significant unit-value comprised in the Rigvedic pattern of living. It is the desire for convincing success in the assemblies, for their sons, mostly for ritual and religious discussions. There is still another refrain which occurs in 11 out of the 12 stanzas of the hymn, 100th in the X book, which is refreshingly general and strategically wide. The sage to whom the hymn is ascribed is not known to fame. He "asks for freedom and complete felicity".

The numerous individual requests made to Gods both corroborate the the data gleaned from the refrain-bearing hymns spread over three of the ten books of the Rigveda and in some particulars extend them. Though fame, prestige, i.e., 'sravas', is implied as a value in some of the above-listed appeals, yet it is quite explicitly stated, and that too in fullest measure, in some of the individual and single appeals. Bharadvaja's request to Indra on behalf of himself, and his patrons of course, expresses best the great value Rigvedic elite attached to fame or prestige. He asks Indra to "bring fame that is excellent, mightiest and enriching". Another singer, perhaps of the nobility, implores both Savitri, the Sun-god, and Dyavaprithivi, Heaven and Earth, to grant "lofty fame extending

59. *RV*, VIII, 31.
60. II, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 39, 40, 42 43 the last hymn of the family collection.

over all mankind". Gritsamada hopes that Agni would help him and his patron to achieve success both with the horse and with the hymn, surpassing all men in both activities. "Let our glory shine high, over the Five Races [the main Indo-Aryan component of the Rigvedic society], like the realm of light, unsurpassed". Kakshivan Pajriya, a highly respected sage found for his very long life of a century, tells us that his patron, the unconquered king Svanaya Bhavayavya, offered thousand sacrifices in order to achieve glory himself and for Kakshivan, his 'purohita'. And sage Gautama Rahugana informs us that Soma, the third important God of the Rigvedic pantheon, Indra and Agni being the first two, grants to his worshipper: (1) milch-cow; (2) fleet steed; and (3) "a man of active knowledge" [or activity], "skilled in (a) home duties ('sadanya'), (b) "meet for holy synod", ('vidathya'), (c) "meet for council meet" ('sabheya') and (d) "a glory to his father". One singer speaking of Adityas as the Kings and the true leaders, tells his readers that their worshippers, attain everlasting prosperity, "moving in his chariot first in rank and munificent and lauded in assemblies".[61] The hymners have not omitted to seek guarantee against scoff and scorn, the opposite of fame and prestige. Maruts the helpers of Indra are asked to "bear their worshippers over trouble, to free them from scoff and scorn".[62] A hymner praising liberality in feast and gifts at the successful performance of sacrifices assures the Rigvedic society that the liberal will live in spacious houses and have good (fine looking and obedient steeds to draw their chariots so that their chariots will roll lightly without crashes or even jolts.[63]

Before completing the brief description of the atmosphere of the household of Rigvedic people based on their pattern of living which, I hesitate not, to characterize as spacious living, I feel it necessary to apprise the reader of the Rigvedic ancestry of two of the most outstading and characteristic traits of Indian civilization throughout its history till recent times. It is this: the great importance attached to speech, personified as Vak in the Rigvedic age and as Sarasvati in later ages, and to learning as the communication agency in the social process.

Communication as a basic element of the social process is both horizontal and vertical, that between individuals, and that from generation to generation. The process of transmission of culture, particularly mental and spiritual, from one generation to another, involves the perception of the future and the past along with the present. The tendency to carry the past into the present is natural, as the older generation is in large measure the past-incarnate. To keep the future in view is difficult and requires a radical learning process to achieve it. The instructive

61. II, 27.12.
62. II, 34.15.
63. X, 107.10-11.

aspect of the learning process is not adequate for the task. View of the future, not of the individual, which in spite of the highly divergent views of makind on it, refers to the other world, but to the society, very rarely occurs in the early civilizations. It is, therefore, gratifying to come across in the Rigveda a declaration that the most important feature of the Rigvedic culture, the patheon and the worship were viewed as the objects or subjects of future ages. The declaration is made by Brihaspati himself; and Brihaspati as Vedicists[64] tell us is a purely Indo-Aryan deity, posited perhaps very early in the Rigvedic age. He presided over hymnal activity and devotion, later figuring as the ocean of knowledge and learning. The declaration runs: "Let us with tuneful skill proclaim these generations of the Gods, that one may see them when these hymns are chanted in a future age". Further on, it is stated in the same text that "existence arose out of non-existence" in an earlier age of the Gods, and that Aditi, the mother of Gods, had gone out to meet the Gods of the earlier age.

"To teach the race that cometh" appears to have been one of the ideals of the Rigvedic society. And Vasishtha calls upon the wise god, the Great Ruler Varuna, who knows all the secrets, to speak out the secrets of Aditi or the Divine cow in pursuance of that ideal. Change was not only not frowned upon but was very much desired. Vak, Logos, herself proclaims that those Brahmins, who have mastered the lore and merely go on repeating or rather holding it in store are like spinsters who go on spinning cotton, it being implied that their not having married and procreated the next generation there is no extension of their life or energy into the future.[65]

Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati,—both forms are equally Rigvedic—a deity "of considerable importance" and a "companion and ally of Indra", the national God, in the Rigveda is the most important of the five deities that were purely the creations of Indo-Aryans as indicated by the last portion of their names being the same word 'pati', 'lord'. Of the other four, Rathaspati, utterly minor one, and Kshetrapati, not so minor, have already been mentioned in other connections. Another minor deity of this group, minor because it has no hymn addressed to it, "Vachaspati", "lord of speech", occurs in the Rigveda as an epithet twice of Soma and once of Visvakarma Prajapati.[66] Vachaspati was soon raised to a position of some importance. The Atharvaveda, in the fashion of much later works, which begin with an invocation to one's tutelary deity, or better yet of the still later ones in Modern Indian

64. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
65. *RV*, VII, 37.4; X, 72.1, 4; VII, 87.4; X, 71.9.
66. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 118.

languages with a homage to Ganapati, or Ganesha, begins with adoration of and appeal to Vachaspati. It reads: "Now may Vachaspati assign to me the strength and powers of those, who wearing every shape, and form, the triple seven, are wandering round [Maruts or Gods in general]; . . . May knowledge and sacred lore [srutam] adhere to me . . . [Thus] hath Vachaspati been invoked: May he invite us in reply . . . Never May I be reft of knowledge and sacred lore [srutam]". In a hymn addressed to one form of Agni, the same Veda, identifying Vachaspati with Prana and Parameshthin, the Supreme, has devoted three stanzas in it, which embody requests and appeals to him to grant certain blessings. Among them the wish that "the earth be pleasant" is first followed by the usual Rigvedic one for "pleasant dwelling" and a new one, for "our couches to be pleasant". Further he is asked not only to "breed joy and understanding", which can be the most specific and significant function of a deity presiding over Speech, but also "kine in our stall and children in our consorts". These last two items were the most usual values of the Rigvedic society, the only difference being in their wording, particularly in that of the last request.[67] How near and dear to the soul of the Vedic Indians Vachaspati was can be judged from the fact that he is one of the four deities after whom individual names came to be formed in the *Brahmana* period of the Vedic age, the other three being Agni, Indra and Rudra. One Alikayu Vachaspatya, is "twice mentioned as an authority in the Kaushitaki Brahmana". Vachaspatya means a 'son or descendant of Vachaspati'.[68]

The peculiar wording of the last request, which instead of being simply stated as "grant us children or progeny" speaks of "breeding children in our consorts", appears to me to imply the ascription to Vachaspati of the consortship of Sarasvati as Vak. Sarasvati is one of the deities that are invoked in 184th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda to lay the germ in the wife's womb. In the Yajurveda (*Maitrayani Samhita*) and in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, Brihaspati, too, is given the epithet 'Vachaspati' and in the *Satapatha Br.* and the *Aitareya Brahmana* Sarasvati is identified with Vak, Speech.[69] In post-Vedic mythology, Sarasvati is the wife of Brahma who represents Prajapati of the Vedas. Thus the circle is complete. The great importance the Vedic Indo-Aryans attached to speech is quite clear and instructive in the context of the early development of 'Vidyas' 'lores' or what we would call 'disciplines of knowledge'. The phenomenon of a huge learned tradition, which comprised nineteen 'lores' or 'disciplines of knowledge' as early

67. *AV*, XIII, 1.17-19.
68. *Vedic Index*.
69. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 87, 102.

as the 8th or the 9th century B.C. at the latest,* with texts relevant to at least a dozen from among them, being kept intact and almost untampered for almost a millennium before they could be committed to writing as Indian civilization did is almost unique. It is very largely due to this early importance attached to speech, to the attention devoted to the unravelling of its mysteries and to the early appreciation of the differential nature of human capacity to master and retain any knowledge.

Vedic peoples' confidence in the power of speech is reflected in more than one proclamations and assertions which Vak, Speech-incarnate, is believed to have made. Here I shall present only one of them. Vak proclaims[70]: "I make the man I love exceeding mighty: make him a sage, a Brahmana, a Rishi". As to the nature of language, Brihaspati himself has likened it to the sifting process. He emphasizes its role in the social process in homely words and in the homely context by pointing out that "friends see and recognize the marks of friendship: their speech retains the blessed sign imprinted". That it is interest in and devotion to learning that enables one to really master any body of knowledge is stated in the appealing image both of friendship and marital love. Vak declares that she shows her beauty or imparts her power, to one who is friendly as one friend to another or who is like a loving husband to whom "a fond well-dressed woman shows her beauty".[71]

Gritsamada[72] in his panegyrics of Indra asks him to bestow upon him not only "the best of treasures", and "good fortune", the spirit of ability", "bodily safety" and "pleasant weather", which on the whole comprise a mighty lot of goods of this world, material and non-material, but also pleads for "charm of sweet speech", "Svadmanam vachah". In the Atharvaveda,[73] a hymn to Viraj, identified more than once in that Veda with Vak, is almost an incantation for acquiring extraordinary charm of speech and manner. We read "She (Viraj) mounted up, she entered the Assembly. He who knows this becomes polite and courtly, and people come as guests to his assembly". Another hymn, AV, VII, 12, is characterized as "a prayer or charm for influence at deliberative and religious meetings". In it we read as requests made or achievements desired "O Conference, thy name is interchange of talk: let all the company that join the Conference agree with me... Indra make me conspicuous in all this gathered company". The Veda[74] provided also a restrictive incantation, a charm against an opponent in debate. The YV, *Tait. Sam.*,

* See "Vidyas" in my Anthropo-Sociological Papers.

70 *RV*, X, 125.5.

71. *RV*, X, 71.1-2, 4-6.

72. *RV*, II, 21.6.

73. *AV*, VIII, 10.5-7.

74. *AV*, II, 27.

supplies the actual example of one Babara Pravahani,[75] wishing to become an orator, as having "obtained rhetorical power by the use of the Pancharatra sacrifice". This means that almost since the Rigvedic times the Indo-Aryan folks, valuing soft, sweet and courtly speech, had invented some rituals and concocted some charms to achieve it. Success in assembly, triumph in the debate was greeted with joy by the friends of the victor in the Rigvedic society, as a sage has vouchsafed to us in RV, X, 71.10. The Indo-Aryan society of the later Vedic age had even concocted a prescription, for procuring a son, who would not only attend the assembly or conference but would have naturally cultured speech, "Susrushita vak", and learned in the lores, as the passage from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, VI, 4.17-18, makes clear.

Instruction and teaching was naturally to be expected and we find it mentioned in the Rigveda either with the help of words derived from 'siksha' or from 'sis' or 'sas', a pupil being called 'sikshamana'. The blessing of instruction ('sikshamana') is that one finds the path that leads directly forward, as the sage Kavasha Ailusha, who is speaking, himself did, having got instruction from Indra. Kavasha dilates on the instructional process remarking that in it the "stranger" (ignorant) asks the way of him who knows and proceeds as instructed.[76] When it was the text that was to be learnt, "One recites, another repeats what was recited" was the method of instruction.[77] And this was the method followed in Indian civilization for a very long time since quite early; and it produced excellent results, as regards preservation of its learned tradition.

With so much preliminary regarding the Vedic social milieu and socially approved values we are in a position to appreciate any account of the Vedic household, and the Vedic settlements in their proper perspective as elements of what I have called spacious living.

We have seen above that the ideal of a home of the Rigvedic elite—and it is almost wholly of the elite that we can, in truthful strictness, speak of, when we draw our information from the hymns—was one of a well-ordered house. The well-ordered house appears to have been three- or four-roomed one. For we are told of an apartment called 'agnisala', where Fire was evidently kept burning, and also a woman's apartment. Both these components of a house, according to *Vedic Index* are mentioned in the Atharvaveda. 'Patninam Sadana', "presumably the woman's quarters" is the expression which in AV specifies that part of the house. However, the Rigveda, VII, 55.8, refers to more than one type of sleeping arrangement for women of the house without naming

75. *Vedic Index.*
76. *RV*, X, 36.6-7.
77. *RV*, VII, 103.5.

specific parts as such. The passage is crucial for concluding, as I have done, that the elite way of life in the Rigvedic society was spacious and opulent. It is in the book ascribed to the Visishtha lineage and thus has to be taken almost at its face value. Moreover, the passage under reference does not occur in the only hymn addressed in the Rigveda to this special deity; the hymn in which it occurs follows the other and is itself addressed conjointly to Indra and Vastoshpati. Like the other 'pati'-ending four deities, Vastoshpati was a special creation of the Indo-Aryans. The Grihya Sutras prescribe the propitiation of Vastoshpati when one occupies a new house.[78]

The passage mentioned above is supposed to refer to Varuna's house. It appears to me that it refers to any house of elite, into which a thief is seeking entrance; and the thief appears to be uttering a charm to lull everything to sleep and to enable him to accomplish his work, as taken by Sayana. In the last stanza, 8th, the thief is said to have lulled to slumber all the women who could have raised an alarm. Some of them were lying in the part of the house named "proshtha"—the interpretation of this word as a 'bench' when there are two other words, one of them, 'talpa', quite clearly meaning a 'couch' and the other 'vahya', which, according to the authors of *Vedic Index*, occuring in the AV, means 'a couch or bed of a comfortable kind', is not reasonable. It should be taken to denote the special apartment of women. The passage from the Atharvaveda which speaks of 'agnisala' as a specific part of the house also speaks of "the ladies bower" besides "residence". The whole hymn, 3rd of the IX book of that Veda, is a charm prescribed for being cited when a new house is erected. While the 7th stanza mentions the Fire-hall and women's "bower", the 20th mentions the "laying" of "compartment upon the compartment". That 'proshtha' is likely to have denoted the outer verandah of a house is rendered likely by the fact that 'parishtha', which is fairly near to 'proshtha' in formation, means in the Rigveda a 'fence', as in X, 97.10. That the Rigvedic hymn referred to above was intended as a kind of charm is rendered very probable by the incorporation of this particular stanza, the 8th, as stanza 3 in the 5th hymn of the IV book of the Atharvaveda, which is known to be a charm used by lovers to gain access to their loves.

Special apartment for Fire is, I think, similarly implied in a Rigvedic passage. In VII, 42.4, a passage, which, speaking as it does of the dwelling of a rich person, is quite relevant here for us to get an idea of the nature of a house in the Rigvedic society, we read of Agni described as reclining at ease and well-pleased; and is also said to be "within the chamber". That the chamber must have been a special apartment in

78. Macdonell, p. 138.

the rich man's house emerges as a natural conclusion from the statement. The conclusion is strengthened by the fact that while the house is denoted by the word 'durona', for the 'chamber' another word 'dama', meaning also a 'house' is used.

That the Rigvedic house, especially of the well-to-do people, was a fairly big one may be inferred from the above discussion and is supported by the desires for ample room and wide dwelling so often expressed in the hymns. Singers have conceived of the house of Varuna or of Mitra-Varuna as not only of gold or golden with pillars of iron but also as having one thousand pillars (RV, I, 136.2; II, 41.5; V, 62.6-7). This imaginative model of a house must be reflecting the nature of the houses of the rich only in a highly magnified form. It is not unlikely that some of the houses might have had spire-like eminences or were very high; for in RV, I, 164.43 we find a hymner describing the rising column of smoke issuing from a burning heap of cow-dung cakes, using the word "vishuvat". The authors of *Vedic Index* under 'vishuvant' tell us that the word is used in the AV, IX, 3.8 to mean the 'ridge of the roof'.

The sum total of a well-to-do person of the Rigvedic society is thus stated by the authors of *Vedic Index*.[79] While 'griha', 'dama' or 'dam' denoted an ordinary house, 'pastya' and 'harmya' denoted "especially the home with its surroundings, the family settlement. The house held not only the family which might be considerable size; but also the cattle and the sheep at night. It was composed of several rooms . . . and could be securely shut up". The door is often referred to and from it the house is called 'durona'. This summation falls short of the actual scene, as either actually described or as held up as desirable and covetable, in more than one respect. Thus, if the cattle within the household compound were to some extent a source of trouble, the Rigvedic elite enjoyed the sight of young calves or/and "beauteous" colts frisking about. That they loved that sight is clear from a hymner's call to the bright and beauteous gods, Maruts, to linger around his patron's house, like calves and colts.[80]

The hymn, RV, X, 107, addressed to 'Dakshina', 'guerdon' personified, promises the realisation of a complex of desirables and values that were cherished as a pattern of living by the elite of the Rigvedic society, provided a person distributed guerdon in proper measure at appropriate rites. One of these to-be-achieved-covetables, which is pronounced in stanza 9, is the acquisition of a "fragrant [surabhi] dwelling", and of a "well-dressed [suvasas] bride". The next stanza, 10th, dilates on this and states the nature and content of the covetable in fuller deails,

79. Vide, 'Griha' and 'Harmya'.
80. *RV*, VII, 56.16.

which form another aspect of the domestic scene of the elite of the Rigvedic society missed by the authors of *Vedic Index*. It reads: "They ['the people', i.e., the society] deck the fleet steed for the bounteous giver: the maiden adorns herself and waits to meet him. His home is like a lake with lotus blossoms, like the Gods' palaces adorned and splendid". The house was to be so well decorated as to be compared with Gods' palaces, the other and earthly standard of comparison being a lake full of lotuses. The house was to be as beauteous and fragrant as a pond full of lotus blossoms. In another hymn, RV, X, 142.8, the last three stanzas of which appear to have been used as a charm for protecting a house from fire—the earliest fire insurance system of a sort—we read of a compound full of 'durva'-grass growing, and lakes of lotus blooms on the way to it. No doubt it is a ruse to dissuade Fire from walking into the chanter's house by stressing the extinguishing capacity of his house and its surroundings; all the same the imagery used does imply a desire and need for such beautifying and cooling accompaniments to a house in the Rigvedic society. The last stanza, in which this imagery is employed, begins the 106th hymn of the VI book of the Atharvaveda, which is "a charm to protect a house from fire", the later two stanzas completing the hymn, being slightly different from the two of the Rigvedic hymn. Such surroundings of a house and abundant use of scented unguents and flowers by the women inmates are what appears to have been implied in the promise of a fragrant dwelling held out in the hymn addressed to 'Dakshina', guerdon deified.[81]

Rigvedic[82] women's use of unguents on occasions has already been mentioned in an earlier chapter. It will now suffice to quote the passage which directly speaks of "sweetly odorous" women sleeping. It runs: "The women sleeping in the court, lying without, or stretched on beds. The matrons with their odorous sweets—these one and all, we lull to sleep". Griffith's comment on it reads: "Women decorated with perfumes or wearing garlands of fragrant flowers"! As for lotus blooms and lakes and ponds full of them adjoining and adorning an elite's house, to the Rigvedic promise of such equipment through liberality at sacrifices, I may add the Atharvavedic[83] assurance of it in heaven for one who offers a particular sacrifice. The Atharvaveda[84] has in view ponds and lakes full of lotuses of two or three kinds here on earth for a man to enjoy life with too; for it asserts that among many other desirable things that a man has to miss in his pattern of living, if he seduces or abducts the

81. *RV*, X, 107.9-10, quoted earlier.
82. VII, 55.8.
83. IV, 34.5-7.
84. V, 17.

wife of a Brahmin, "lilies with oval bulbs growing and lotus-pool in his field", too, are included.

Apropos of "sweetly odorous" women sleeping on couches mentioned in RV, VII, 55.8, I should like to stress the luxurious nature of living current among sections of Rigvedic[85] society by drawing attention to a laconic description of Kuyava's household. It reads: "Both wives of Kuyava in milk have bathed them: may they be drowned within the depth of Sipha". Kuyava, however, according to Vedicists was a non-Aryan chief, a member of the Dasa or Dasyu people of the country. Rijrasva, who had a very queer and costly hobby, that of feeding his pet wolf with young lambs,[86] was evidently an Indo-Aryan as he and his brothers are said to have won some race through Indra's favour. That monkeys might have been kept as pets is rendered probable by a hymn in the RV, X, 86. It is highly interesting, though a somewhat enigmatic piece of literature. It may be called the Vrishalrapi hymn because along with Indra, Vrishakapi, or 'male-monkey', a pet evidently of Indra, are the target of criticism and are addressed by Indrani, the wife of Indra, complaining against Vrishakapi.

Silver vessels, perhaps both dishes and drinking vessels, made of silver, are mentioned in the *Tait. Br.*,[87] as Couches had both bedspreads and cushions or pillows as both 'upabarhana' and 'upastarana' are mentioned in the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, adding 'astarana'. The description of the household of a prince in whose dominion the wife of a Brahm'n is abducted occurring in the Atharvaveda,[88] implies the employment of stewards or food-servers and those too "golden necklaced", in the households of the people of a dominion in which such an outrage was not practised. This inference is supported by the mention of "attendants with vessels in their hands" in another hymn IX, 6, which is "a glorification of the hospitable reception of guests". The existence of the feminine form of the word for a "steward" or "waiter", "pariveshtri", may be taken to establish the presence of 'hand-maids'. The actual presence of attendants in households of the Rigvedic society may be inferred from the words 'anuchara', 'attendant', and its feminine 'anuchari' in the Yajurveda.

The chariot, which appears to have been fairly common as a vehicle among the Rigvedic elite, required the services of one person, who is known to have been called "sarathi". In the case of a king, generally his chaplain, 'purohita', used to discharge this function. There is a tale fairly elaborated in some of the *Brahmanas* and preserved and used to

85. I, 104.3.
86. *RV*, I, 116.16; 117.17.
87. *Vedic Index*: 'rajata'.
88. I, 17.14.

explain some of the passages of RV, V, 2, in the *Brihaddevata* in which Vrisa Jana, the 'purohita' of King Tryaruna, an Aikshvaka by family, and the king were riding in a chariot. The chaplain was holding the reins but the king appears to have speeded the horses. The fast-driven chariot killed a boy—perhaps the earliest recorded road-accident so characteristic of modern cities. There was casuistical argument to fix the blame. Ultimately the chaplain with the help of a certain magic formula revived the boy.[89] The Atharvaveda,[90] describing the journey of Ekavratya, speaks both of a charioteer of his and also of two attendants or footmen, 'parishkanda', "running beside" his chariot. When I read this description, some fine two horse-buggies that I had seen in Bombay when I came there in 1908 passed before my mental vision!

The Rigvedic household, as the so-called marriage hymn (X, 85) makes clear was desired to be composed of persons of three generations living together under one roof—grandparents, parents and children. However, the ideal might not have been universally achieved as we presume from the lament of the gambler who had lost heavily in his gambling as he is concerned in it with his wife and his wife's mother and does not mention any other relative.[91] It is possible, too, that his case was an exceptional one. However, it may be for the composition of the Rigvedic household and family, it clearly shows that a man was very much concerned about the opinion his wife's mother entertained about him and valued her good opinion about himself. The young wife when she entered her husband's family as its member was expected to show great respect to both the parents of her husband, though the marriage hymn wishes her to domineer over them, this wish being more intended to pronounce benediction of long life on her, so long indeed that her husband's old parents would gladly accept her dominion over them.

Probably marriage was adult or near-adult. At least wooing or courting and suitors for hand of a lass were well-known social phenomena in the Rigvedic society. Kavasha Ailusha, the sage who has obliged posterity by his graphic description of the evils of dicing referred to above, has also vouchsafed information on this feature of his society. He describes the relationship between waters and Soma plant ready to be pressed, as being like "maidens bowing before the youthful gallant who comes with love to them who yearn to meet him".[92] Rijrasva's fancy for his she-wolf and his feeding it with a hundred sheep, or goats or lambs is likened by the famous sage Kakshivan[93] to the lavish presents made by lovers to their young lady-loves. Gatherings known as 'samana' were visited by maidens fully adorned, as we learn in RV, VII, 2.5, a

89. *Vedic Index*: 'Tryaruna' and 'Vrisa Jana'.
90. *XV*, 2.
91. *RV*, X, 34.
92. *RV*, X, 30.6.
93. *RV*, I, 117.17.

feature of the Rigvedic society which implies wooing and seeking by maidens and bachelors for their marriage. How eagerly women used to attend such gatherings is made clear by the fact that their hurrying to such meets is used as a standard of comparison for the movement of the chariot of Vayu, the Wind-god.[94] A riddle-like statement about a blind maiden, which poses a question, quite clearly implies seeking and wooing of maidens either by the intending bridegroom or his friend. The sage[95] asks the question who would be more wrath with a blind maiden who is sought in marriage, her father or her husband? In the next stanza the observant sage voices a remark regarding choice of life-partners which is perennially true about a fairly large section of marriage-able young men. He says: "How many a maid is pleasing to the suitor who fain would marry for her splendid riches? If the girl be both good and fair of features, she finds herself a friend among the people". Un-married men's eagerness to get a wife, is dulled to some extent for various reasons only in recent times. The Rigvedic[96] sage did not find it such a feature in his society and uses the eagerness of such men for wives as a standard to press his claim on Sarasvan, the consort of the river-goddess Sarasvati, by likening his call in its intensity of earnestness and eagerness with it. The presence of charms and incantations for compelling love of woman or man with the paraphernalia of potions in the Atharvaveda, and one or two spell-stanzas in the Rigveda bear testi-mony to seeking and being sought after by woman and man evidently for marriage.[97] The marriage ritual contains evidence of the cohabita-tion of the couple soon after wedding, perhaps on the fourth night. The 37th stanza of the hymn which describes the bridal of the daughter of the Sun, RV, X, 85, and which is considered to be the ritual text, reads: "O Pushan, send her on as most auspicious, in whom as man my seed may be sown, who desiring embrace does not press her thighs close together and in whom I may strike my penis". So bland is the descrip-tion of the copulation that the husband was accustomed to expect and to wish for on the first night! The unabashed expression of the pro-posed sexual act was a consequence and a measure of the absence of inhibition about sex-matters in the Rigvedic society.

This modernist feature in combination with seeking and wooing man and woman for marriage and of unmarried girls and unmarried men perhaps growing old in their parents' homes, which, too, is another feature of modern societies, portrays the Rigvedic society and culture as in essence an urban one. I have placed some data and referred to their authoritative interpretation by eminent Vedicists like the authors

94. *RV*, X, 168.2.
95. *RV*, X, 27.11.
96. VII, 96.4.
97. *Vedic Index*: 'Patni'.

of *Vedic Index* about spinsters growing old in their father's houses. Vamadeva has left us a very interesting record of the kind of free behaviour women showed in the Rigvedic society. We read in RV, IV, 58.8-9, "like women at a gathering (samana) fair to look on, gently smiling, libation of ghee approach Agni, Fire" or "like maidens decked with gay ornaments proceeding to join the bridal feast". This clearly implies that married women joining in gatherings, some of which at least, as the authors of *Vedic Index* mention, were nocturnal affairs, did not mind being appreciated, by strangers in the meet, for their good looks and even put in such accessories as a smile to attract attention to themselves!

I shall now present some evidence of absence of inhibition about sex from the Rigveda itself as *Vedic Index* has wholly ignored that aspect of the Vedic society. The great and old sage Kakshivan has reported a dialogue that tradition believes to have taken place between a wealthy and liberal sacrificer named Svanaya Bhavayavya and his wife Romasa, 'hairy one' (?). Sayana, the great Indian interpreter of the Veda, has quite frankly commented on stanza 6th of the hymn which contains it (RV, V, 126.6). The contents may be thus stated: "When Romasa, the wife of Svanaya Bhavayavya, requested her husband for copulation, the latter thinking that Romasa was not a fully developed woman fit for pleasurable copulation told her that he required a woman who is fully developed; who is like a she-mungoose that has given birth to a young one and engages in sexual sport and congress for a prolonged period and can give him a hundred copulations and one whose vagina is full of the liquid which prolongs the act of copulation". Romasa's reply, as rendered by the same great commentator, is equally open and challenging. She asks Svanaya to touch her private parts and see for himself that her private parts are as hairy as the downy wool of the ewes of Gandhara or as those of the pregnant women, who during pregnancy are forbidden to cut them! In another hymn, I, 179, we find the august sage, Agastya, recording what is believed to have been a dialogue between him and his wife Lopamudra with a male disciple of his intervening in it.

The hymn is quite significantly supposed to be addressed to Rati or Love, who figures as the wife of the male deity presiding over love and sex in later Hindu mythology, Kama. Kama as Love, Sex and Desire personified, it is important to note, first appears in the Atharvaveda. Hymn 25th of the III book of the Veda in which Kama, Desire, is personified and in which his arrows are asked to be directed to the liver of the person in whom a desire is sought to be generated, is described as a charm to win a maiden's love. Therefore in spite of Macdonell's assertion [98] that Kama in the AV "is not a god of love" we have to

98. *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

assume that at least in intention he was supposed to be one whose desire-creating potentialities were adequate to generate sex desire. In his notes on another Atharvavedic (II, 30), charm, to win a girl's love, Griffith has described the procedure laid down in the *Kausika Sutra* for the employment of the charm, among the paraphernalia of which figures an arrow as a symbol of Kama, the God of Love or Cupid.

Griffith, whose susceptibilities in the last decade of the 19th century led him to omit the translation of the Rigveda hymn, I, 179, from the main body and to relegate it to the appendix, noted: "Lopamudra is represented as inviting the caresses of her aged husband Agastya, and complaining of his coldness and neglect. Agastya responds in stanza 3, and in the second half of the stanza 4, the disciple or the poet briefly tells the result of the dialogue. Stanza 5 is supposed to be spoken by the disciple who overheard the conversation". Here are some excerpts, mostly in Griffith's words, from this uniquely free and frank description of sex between an aged husband and a young and beautiful—later tradition asserts that Lopamudra was specially created out of the famous natural beauties compounded into one—wife: "[Lopamudra]: Through many autumns have I toiled and laboured at night and morn and dawns, so that today our bodies look impaired through age; [yet you have not come close enough to me], though husbands are always expected to do so for their wives".

The third stanza as interpreted by Sayana gives us Agastya's reply. Agastya assures Lopamudra that there is no cause for despair and that all her desires would be fulfilled, and particularly that they would achieve joyous and successful coitus. He supports his general expectation and promise of victory in the struggle of life by informing Lopamudra that owing to his ascetic exercises his semen was withheld. Now that through Lopamudra's contact he has relaxed from his ascetic exercises his semen is fully available. He invites her to copulation whole-heartedly and taste the successful ejection of semen!

There are two other dialogues almost equally bland, which add quite a few details, as if to portray the sex-play and sex-act in its entirely; but they are between mythical, semi-divine or divine personages One is between Pururavas and his nymph-mistress Urvasi. The other, between Indrani, the consort of Indra, and Indra the national war-god, resembles the Agastya-Lopamudra hymn in so far as there is a third party involved in it. The third party in the Indrani-Indra hymn is an apeman, Vrishakapi, a pet of Indra, against whom Indrani seems to have a complaint or grievance. For the seems to have assaulted her, in all probability, for sexual satisfaction or sexual testing [?]. Indrani blames Indra for his apathy towards the pranks of his pet Vrishakapi in general terms. Indra asks her the specific cause of her anger against his pet. Indrani

tells him that Vrishakapi has "marred the beauteous things, all deftly wrought, that were her joy". As Griffith, differing from Sayana, has quite correctly stated, the statement of Indrani really means that Vrishakapi having assaulted Indrani, has inflicted injuries on her person. To force the enormity of Vrishakapi's audacious wrong-doing Indrani quite openly speaks of her sexual charms, which one expects Indra to have known by experience and therefore not to be pointed out in so many words. She says[99]: "No dame hath ampler charms than I, or greater wealth of love's delights * (sexual embraces, "Yasu"); none with more ardour offers all her beauty to her lord's embraces [literally: none raises her thighs higher and wider"]. She further informs Indra that owing to the outrage her whole body—head, breasts and hips—is quivering. Perhaps she meant to convey both her rage against Vrishakapi and her eagerness for copulation with her lord Indra! This makes Indra give up his silence and assure Indrani of his appreciation of her sexual charms. He praises her limbs, hand and arms, broadly plaited hair and her ample hips. Indrani changes the items of her charge-sheet against Vrishakapi and tells Indra that her anger against him was due to the fact that his attempt at raping her implied that he thought her to be without or deserted by her lord Indra, who in reality rules supreme over all. To assault a woman in that way is against all established pattern of loving according to which in that age, the Rigvedic, "from olden times matrons freely participated in gatherings whether purely, social and festive or sacrificial and religious". Vrishakapi, who appears to plan flight away into the forest is finally pacified for Indra's sake perhaps by Indra and Vrishakapayi, the wife of Vrishakapi.

The reader is requested to note that this hymn follows the hymn of the bridal of the daughter of Surya, which is used as the marriage-hymn for weddings and from which the open mention of the sexual act, expected to take place on marriage, in bland words is quoted above!

Ninety-fifth hymn of the X book of the Rigveda, traditionally ascribed to Pururavas, the son of Ila, and to Urvasi, an Apsaras, has been interpreted as a dialogue between the two. And tradition asserts that it had taken place when a certain condition, on which the semi-divine woman had agreed to live with a human being as his consort was broken. The condition, asserts tradition, was that Pururavas, the male, should not be seen by Urvasi in the naked state anytime. This implies that the copulation and preliminary sex-play, if any, must be carried out in utter darkness or without removing the lower garment of Pururavas. The circumstances under which Urvasi happened to see Pururavas naked makes it

99. *RV*, X, 86.6.
* "Yasu"-Sexual embrace"; "Suyasutara", "one who can provide more satisfying sexual embraces".

clear that coitus or sex-play without the removal of the lower garment worn by Pururavas could not have been the practice. For if Pururavas were not to get naked for copulation and preliminary sex-play, the lightning flash, however sudden and bright, could not have presented him naked to the eyes of Urvasi. Urvasi was to go but Pururavas wanted her and he pleads with her. At last she relents and in due course a son is born to them. The hymn is interpreted to narrate the dialogue that took place between the two when Urvasi had suddenly departed on the breach of the condition stated.

Stanza fourth tells us that Urvasi was so far reconciled that she agreed to live in her father-in-law's house nearby and that Pururavas should visit her there. She further informs us that she "accepted day and night her lord's embraces", specifying further that "thrice in the day he embraced her, though she coldly received his fond caresses, merely yielding to his desires and made him the king of her body". Her six maids-in-waiting, who are named, appear to have helped in the process. For it is stated that "those have hastened forth, the bright ones, and like milch-cows have lowed in emulation" (6th stanza). Perhaps they had assisted in the progress of the sex-play by "laying aside their raiment" and thus exciting both the parties. For Pururavas informs us in the 8th stanza that her maids-in-waiting finding that Urvasi had enclosed in her embrace a mere mortal simply get terror-stricken and fled away unmindful of their condition. Urvasi explains to him the situation about sexual yielding by Apsarases. A mortal, when he has to converse or commerce with nymphs, can have it only in such manner and measure as they permit. Their wont is that "like swans they show the beauty of their bodies and like horses at play they bite and nibble [each other?]". He found complete satisfaction thereafter in Urvasi's embrace, which resulted in the latter's conception. Urvasi describing her satisfaction observes: "Amid men in altered shape I sojourned, and through four autumns spent the nights among them. I tasted once a day a drop of butter and even now with that I am content".

This freedom from inhibition about sex must have highly benefitted the Vedic Indo-Aryan society. For the thinkers and leaders appear to have early formulated a rite for first sexual approach of a man to his wife, providing in it some practical guidance calculated to obviate shock or such experience for the wife, and involving some elements of preliminary sex-play. What is further significant for the free attitude to sex of the Vedic Indo-Aryans is that the rite in its essentials is laid down in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* at its end, implying that its knowledge is very important. Approaching his wife, after feeding himself and her with a cooked mess, compounded of rice and flesh of ox or bullock, the husband was to recite one or two specified Vedic passages, apparently

gently stroking her. Then he was to slowly part away her thighs to the accompaniment of a short Vedic text. Then placing 'artha', 'substance', i.e., penis, in, he was to place his mouth over hers and thrice stroke her body gently smoothening the hair down. During the sex act he was to recite a Rigvedic prayer for good progeny!

It is noteworthy that in that Vedic society, which was rather unrestrained about expression of sexual matters, women hymners like Ghosha were known, as well as racers like Mudgalani prospered. One Rigvedic sage speaking of Vak, deified speech, likens her to an eloquent woman, i.e., a woman who successfully and impressively participates in a discussion or a public business meet, she being referred to as "sabhavati yosha".[100] In the later period, that of the Upanishads, we find at least two women philosophers. One by name Gargi Vachaknavi, was so acute that I think she proved more than a match for the redoubtable Yajnavalkya, the philosopher of the time. For we know from *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, (III, 6) that she was the only one of the half-a-dozen disputants engaging Yajnavalkya in a philosophical discussion who could not be answered properly and was estopped by cross-questioning, by a threat hurled at her in an outraged mood. Another lady was Maitreyi whom Yajnavalkya[101] himself describes as "Brahmavadini", "possessor of high spiritual knowledge", as against his other wife Katyayani, whom he describes as "having the ordinary mind of an ordinary woman", i.e., devoted to worldly and material things (*Brih. Up.*, IV, 6). And one of the most eloquent disquisitions on the nature of Brahman and the relation between Brahman and the individual soul was evoked from Yajnavalkya by Maitreyi's question!

There must have been many more able women, competent teachers, disputants, poets, singers and managers of men and affairs in the Rigvedic and Vedic age; for one of the most striking features of the naming system of the Vedic age, among those intensely patrilineal and patrilocal people, is that, from fairly early times, individuals bore names derived from their mothers only. Thus Kavasha Ailusha, a Rigvedic hymner, was so called because he was the son of a woman, perhaps Ilusha (?). According to tradition, however, she was a slave girl, Kavasha's second name being thus due to the Brahmin father's not owning him, owing probably to the social barriers between certain groups being fairly rigid. The hundred-year-old sage Dirghatamas is referred to in RV, IV, 4.13, and I, 158.6 as Mamateya, i.e., the son of one woman named Mamata, but in I, 158.106 as Auchathya, son of Uchathya. Kakshivan Ausija is another hymner having a metronymic, being similarly born of a slave

100. *RV*, I, 167.3.
101. *Brih. Up.*, IV, 6.

girl; but he was also known as Pajriya, i.e., descendant of Pajras. Satyakama of the Upanishads, too, was named Jabala after his mother's name Jabala who was serving in many households and had Satyakama as an illegitimate son. Krishna Devakiputra of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, on the other hand, was evidently named after his mother who had no such blemish as Jabala.

The lists of teachers appearing in the 'vamsas', 'spiritual genealogy', of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* are full of teachers and pupils bearing metronymics.[102] This does not mean that there are no metronymics in other Vedic literature. Pratibodhiputra, Brihaduktha Vamneya (son of Vamni); Mahidasa Aitreya (son of Itara) and Tumunja Aupaditeya (son of Upodita), occur as names of individuals in the *Brahmanas* and the *Aranyakas*.

I have traced from *Vedic Index* the spiritual genealogy of one Vaiyaghrapadiputra. He stands out as the 23rd or 24th in descent from Yajnavalkya, the great philosopher who was a contemporary of King Janaka of Videha and was at his court. All the teachers intervening between Yajnavalkya Vaiyaghrapadiputra, the pupil, except two immediately following Yajnavalkya, bear a metronymic without even a personal name added to it. This feature of the succession emphatically can put out of court the suggestion of the authors of *Vedic Index* that such name-bearers were sons of maidens, i.e, illegitimate children born before marriage. I have not counted all the genealogies but a reading through of *Vedic Index* for such names has left the impression that there were quite a number of them. And they must have formed the main bulk of the intellectual elite of the Upanishad and Brahmana periods. We know from Patanjali, 150 B.C., that the great Panini was known to him and his age by his metronymic as Dakshiputra, and Panini himself has recorded the currency of metronymics in his day, though by his time in his region or in some sections of society, they implied "censure", suggesting that the father was an unknown entity. However, Patanjali states there was honour in one's being known by his mother, e.g., as Gargimata, "one whose mother is Gargi.[103]

One explanation of the large number of metronymics in the age could be that priests, teachers, and Brahmins were not very much bound by the strict rules of marital sex-morality and they freely indulged in sexual gratification with their maid servants, or cooks, whether Brahmin or not, married or unmarried, and that the progeny of such connections was expected and permitted to sport metronymics. In this connection two facts may be particularly stressed: First, the

102. *Vedic Index*.
103. Agrawala, pp. 9, 189.

Mahabharata, informs us that it was Svetaketu who first laid down the law of monogamy for Brahmin women,[104] implying hat previously they did not mind being the wives of more than one man; second, a number of Rigvedic sages were given as guerdon a number of girls or women and they were right glad about such gifts. We know from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* that Janaka was prepared to offer as many Videha women to Yajnavalkya as he would like or take, for expounding the abstruse philosophy of Brahman to the king. Pargiter[105] suggested this feature as the origin of the practice of metronymics prevalent among Brahmins of the later Vedic age. The other explanation and the more acceptable one, is made possible by Prof. Morton Smith.

More than fifty years after Pargiter evolved a fairly acceptable order of kingly lists out of the cumbrous and contradictory-looking data of the Puranas, Prof. R. Morton Smith has valiantly come forward to champion the cause of the spiritual genealogies, "Vidyavamsa", handed down in some of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*.[106] He has contended, *inter alia*, that the lists, which might have been finally settled in about the first or second century B.C., are not independent of one another. He has sought to establish through the linking-together of the metronymics of the spiritual genealogy of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* with the personal patronymics in other such lists, that more or less the same teachers or pupils figure in the data. The metronymics, therefore, are special specifications of the individual teachers and pupils mentioned elsewhere under their personal names or patronymics.

Accepting Prof. Smith's lead in the matter of the explanation for the use of metronymics in one of the spiritual genealogies I must point out that we cannot use them for checking or framing chronological disputes. It becomes evident that the discipleship implied in these lists did not imply a full course of twelve or twenty years. Facts about instruction in certain rites and doctrines with the use of the standard terminology of the preceptor-pupil relationship preserved in the *Brihadaranyaka and Chhandogya Upanishads* establish my contention. A certain rite is said to have been taught by Uddalaka Aruni to his pupil ('antevasin') Yainavalkya who taught it to his pupil ('antevasin'), Madhuka Paingya, Madhuka Paingya taught it to his pupil Chula Bhagavitti, who passed it on to Janaki Ayasthuna, who was his "antevasin". Finally Satyakama Jabal obtained it from Janaki, having been his pupil, 'antevasin'. Of these Uddalaka, Yajnavalkya and Satyakama met in disputation at the court of Janaka of Videha. Satyakama is said to have divulged that rite

104. Chitrav, 'Svetaketu'.
105. *Op. cit.*, p. 328, fn 8.
106. *East and West,* 1966, pp. 112-25.

to one Gosruti Vaiyaghrapadya.[107] Uddalaka Aruni again was instructed in some doctrines by Asvapati, the king of the Kekayas.[108] Two Vaiyaghrapadyas, Indradyumna Bhallaveya and Budila Asvatarasvi, too, were there and therefore were Uddalaka's and Asvapati's contemporaries[109] Budila, one of the two Vaiyaghrapadya's, was instructed in some doctrine by Janaka of Videha.[110] Aruni, Yajnavalkya and Janaka were contemporaries. Both Aruni and his father Aruna were instructed by Pravahana Jaivala, the Panchla King, who was a contemporary of Janaka of Videha and Svetaketu, the son of Aruni and also Budila.[111] Aruni, Janaka and Yajnavalkya were contemporaries.[112] Satyakama is said to have imparted the knowledge of a certain rite to one other Vaiyaghrapadya named Gosruti.[113] Thus, Aruna, his son Uddalaka Aruni, his son Svetaketu, Yajnavalkya, Satyakama, Asvapati of the Kekayas, Pravahana Jaivala of the Panchalas and Janaka of the Videhas were all contemporaries, of whom perhaps Svetaketu was the youngest. It is thus clear that the so-called spiritual genealogies cannot be a reliable source for fixing chronology of the Vedic age. The fact that two Vaiyaghrapadyas were junior contemporaries of these, one of them being taught by Satyakama, who was as junior as Svetaketu, militates against attaching any importance to the genealogy which removes Yajnavalkya about 20 steps above or before them.

Vamsa represented spiritual as well as filial succession according to Panini. In the Vedic age, the post-Rigvedic period, the idea of family or the lineage was conveyed by the word Kula. In the Rigvedic period, though the word Kula does not figure to denote the home or the family, we find in X, 179.2, the word 'kulapa', 'protector of the house', side by side with 'vrajapati', 'the leader or chief of the settlement'. Indra attended by Maruts is, there, likened to 'vrajapati' being attended by 'kulapas'. It is quite clear from the passage that heads of households or lineages were in some kind of subordination to the leader or chief of the whole settlement, apparently comprising many households or lineages. The word 'kula' as denoting 'family' or 'lineage' had so deeply penetrated the Rigvedic social fabric that it was used metaphorically as the designation of a particularly important sacrificial vessel, a bowl or a cup. In RV, I, 161.1, the sage assures Ribhus, the artificer gods of the Vedic pantheon, that he has not blamed the bowl, called 'Mahakula' which was their

107. *Chh. Up.*, V, 2.3.
108. *Chh. Up.*, V, 11.2-4.
109. *Ibid.*, V, 14.17.
110. *Bri. Up.*, V, 14.8.
111. *Br. Up.*, III, 7.1; V, 14.8; VI, 2; *Chh. Up.* V, 11.1; 16.1.
112. *Br. Up.*, III, 7; IV, 1.6.
113. *Chh. Up.*, V, 2.3.

handiwork. We may note in passing that the authors of *Vedic Index* have seen in this metaphorical use of the word 'kula' the recognition of "the high position of certain families", of course in relation to others not so high in the Rigvedic society.

Had the Rigvedic families or lineages names of their own, which like our so-called surnames today were handed down and used from generation to generation by persons who were their male scions? This question crops up when we speak of a lineage or a household with three generations of individuals living as one unit as a part of the larger community called the settlement. For as the Rigvedic[114] sage himself, singing the need and power of speech, has stated "giving of names to objects" has not only "disclosed all that was excellent and spotless treasured within them", but has also "enabled friends to see and recognise the marks of friendship". Though this is said of individual objects and, therefore, about personal or object names, it is even more true of unit groups, like the family or the lineage. Without entering into details I shall point out that the Rigvedic society appears to have satisfied itself with pluralising the elderly male of the family or the lineage to fix up a name for the family or 'kula'. Thus Visvamitras, meant the immediate family of which Visvamitra was the head. However, we have in the same breath a mention of Kusikas, and Visvamitra himself is called the son of Kusika. In another passage the home of Visvamitra is referred to as the "house of Jahnu". According to Puranic data, Visvamitra was Gadhi's son, Kusika's grandson and the sixth or seventh lineal descendant of Jahnu (Ghurye: *Two Brahmanical Institutions*, p. 47). Most of the hymners and sages mentioned by name in the RV figure with a derivative from their father's name added to their personal one. Thus we notice: (1) Usanas Kavya; (2) Kanva Narshada; (3) Gaya Plata; (4) Gavishthira Atreya; (5) Vasa Asvya; (6) Visvak Krishniya; (7) Shobha Bhrigavana; (8) Satyasravas Vayya; (9) Sunitha Sauchudratha; and (10) Sumitra Vadhryasva. The last named individual's name occurs in the very same hymn in which he is called as above in the plural, indicating that his descendants were already known or specified with the help of his name, which was thus the lineage name of the future. And this was exactly the process, i.e., turning of the father's or rather the grandfather's or perhaps great-grandfather's name in its derivative to be the name of the lineage, as Panini's elaborate rules demonstrate.

The same appears to have been the case in families or lineages of other than those of sages. priests, hymners or Brahmins, i.e., in the families of princes, noblemen, wealthy donors or sacrificers. As a matter of fact I have found almost the above number of two-unit names among them in

114. X, 71.1-2.

the Rigveda. They are: (1) Abhyavartin Chayamana; (2) Asvamedha Arksha; (3) Asanga Playogi; (4) Kavausravana Trasadasyava; (5) Chyavatana Marutasva; (5) Tranta Vaidadasvi; (7) Trikshi Trasadasyava; (8) Trasadasyu Paurukutsya; (9) Duhsima Prithavana; (10) Devaka Manyamana; (11) Nami Sapya; (12) Paviru Rusama (?); (13) Paksthaman Kaurayana; (14) Pasadyumna Vayata; (15) Prithusravas Kanita; (16) Rathaviti Darbhya; (17) Rama Mayava; (18) Vena Parthya (19) Srutarvan Arksha; (20) Srinjaya Daivavata; (21) Somaka Sahadevya; and (22) Svanaya Bhavayavya. As in the case of sages or Brahmins among the princes, noblemen or wealthy donors rarely a third unit was added to specify an individual neatly or completely. Thus we read in the Rigveda of Tryaruna Travrishna Trasadasyava. We find Sudas referred to as Paijavana, and Purukutsa as Daurgaha after their grandfathers (?).

Lineage names which have been found such a social need by civilized society, it appears, have originated from various sources in different societies. In the Indo-Aryan society tradition asserts that they are derived from the personal name of some distinguished ancestor (see my *Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture*). The thirty-odd Rigvedic individuals, sages, priests, Brahmins and kings, wealthy sacrificers and noblemen, enumerated above, reveal that the names of the two groups are utterly different. Perhaps there is one exception and that is that Vadhryasva was quite clearly a prince, and, therefore Sumitra Vadhryasva who figures as a hymner presents one name that may be said to be common to the two groups! However, we cannot frame a valid conclusion from these data, for there are many other individuals who are not listed here. So I shall content myself with picking up a few personal names which, like the 'asva'-based and 'ratha'-based names already dealt with, might yield some interesting or useful information. Personal names as Panini's characterization of them as 'samjna', 'name', 'designation', a word which in its verbal form means to "know", to "understand", were things by which persons were known, recognised and distingu'shed.

Of such personal names those ending with 'u', of which there is not a single one in the thirty-odd Rigvedic names listed above, attract one's attention through their frequent occurrence in the Rigveda. I have noted from *Vedic Index* and checked most of them from the Rigveda itself, the thirty-nine personal names which end in 'u' (short). I have not come across a single name ending with long 'u'). I have left out the 'u'-ending names of ethnic units, as though they might have been and in some cases quite clearly were, in origin the names of individuals, they were ethnic units in the Rigvedic society. The total number of Rigvedic personal names as I have counted amounts to 240. The 'u'-ending personal names in the Rigvedic society had thus formed about 16.2 per cent. of the total. To these one may add 'Taku', which as a

personal name was the basis of the Rigvedic individual named Takavana and raise the percentage to 16.7.

As hinted in my discussion of the 'asva'- and 'ratha'-ending names, Panini's[115] disquisition, in tabloid form, on personal names current in his time provides a convenient and interesting frame of referrence for not only personal but all names and designations; and I have drawn on it in my statement about the ethnic units of the Rigvedic period and of the later Vedic age. The principles on which personal names had come to be fixed had quite clearly changed radically. 'Asva'-ending of names is at least mentioned and included in the relevant aphorism of his. Other words used to end personal names known to and analysed by Panini were: (1) parts of the body, e.g., 'karna', 'kantha', 'griva', 'prishtha', 'udara', 'jangha'; (2) certain adjectives or participles indicating possession of certain qualities or things—of the greatest interest because of the frequency of such names in the period following his age, some of which have continued till today; e.g., 'sruta', 'datta', 'mitra' and 'sena'. Among other endings of personal names we have the suffixes 'iya' and 'ila', and the ending 'ka' but not 'u' or 'u'-ending suffix. The only possibility of an 'u'-ending personal name was when a person's name was based on the star or asterism under which he was born. Among the Indian asterism-names there is only one, Punarvasu, that ends in 'u', which is and ought to be, however long 'u', Geminorum of European astronomy.

This near complete absence of 'u'-ending personal names in Panini's time whets one's appetite to know how the situation was in the later Vedic age, i.e., in the post-Rigvedic period ending about a century or so before Panini's time. My scanning of *Vedic Index* has yielded to me only thirty-six (36) 'u'-ending names among four-hundred-forty (440) individuals who are listed as having lived in that period. This gives a percentage of 8.2 as the share of 'u'-ending names among the personal names of the post-Rigvedic period. The percentage share of 'u'-ending names had thus almost exactly halved in the post-Rigvedic Vedic age.

Final 'u' (short) in a personal name appears to have been a device for incorporating one's tender feelings and suggesting the endearing nature of the person whose name is treated in that manner. Today in Andhra Pradesh "Charlu", "Pantalu" etc. are known as endearing addresses of persons of that name. In Karnataka and Maharashtra, too, the same is the case. I know that my frienl Prof. M. S. A. Rao of Delhi University is addressed by his near and dear ones as Anantu, his name being Ananta. In Maharashtra Govinda becomes Gondu, Gopala Gopu, and Ramachandra or Ramkrishna Ramu etc. But the Vedic usage pertained not

115. Agrawala, pp. 183-87; *Vedic Index*: 'Nakshatra'.

to address only. It controlled even formality and appears not to represent a secondary stage of a personal name.

In recent times and today, it is only in Kashmir that one meets with names ending in 'u'. Thus we have (1) Kachru; (2) Katju; (3) Kichlu; (4) Kunzru; (5) Gurtu; (6) Nehru; (7) Renu; (8) Sapru and (9) Vanchu as lineage names among Kashmiris.

The household, where the family unit had its being and living in the Rigvedic age must have been a fairly large dwelling as indicated by our brief discussion of its parts and accompaniments like a pond of lotuses. The lineaments of such a unit of habitation are enshrined in the Rigvedic word 'harmya', 'house', but in later ages more a palace than a house—which in the opinion of the most competent of Vedicists of the last generation, Geldner,[116] too, denoted a palace. If 'harmya' did not mean a 'palace' the authors of *Vedic Index* assure us that it denoted a 'house' "as a unity including the stabling and so forth, and surrounded by a fence or wall of some sort". That this much appears to have been implied in the statements made in RV, VII, 55.6, the Varuna hymn, which I have referred to above for its mention of "sweetly odorous sleeping women", is clear. The dwelling of a family unit thus conceived was itself a unit-grouping as a component of a larger settlement or a community.

The larger settlement or community was known in the Rigvedic society as 'grama' and also as 'vrijana'. Another word which is considered by Vedicists to be an equivalent of 'vrijana' is 'kshiti' on which *Vedic Index* note maintains that it was a "regular word for 'dwelling' [in the Rigveda] and in particular the *kshitir dhruva*, 'the secure dwelling'" and appears "to be equivalent to the *Vrijana* or *Grama* regarded as a stronghold". We find in RV, I, 128.7, that Agni is spoken of as the kindest and the victorious lord set in camps of men, *manushe vrijana*, while in I, 73.2, as Savitar Agni is said to protect all 'vrijana's settlements, and in I, 73.4, he is informed that among men, our men, i.e., the Aryan-folk—Agni is kindled in every dwelling, 'dama', within or in the "firm settlements", "dhruvakshiti".

The settlement of peoples commonly mentioned in Vedic literature, especially the earlier of it, is 'grama' or village. There was a leader for a village, just as there was a head of a 'kula'. He was known as 'gramani', who appears to have been an important person. For 'gramani' was one of the 'ratnins', 'jewels', of the realm or the king, that were required to be present at the consecration of a king. Probably 'gramani' was one of those who are referred to as 'rajakrits', 'king-makers' in the AV. 'Maha-

116. As referred to in VI on 'harmya'.

gramas', 'great villages', which must have been larger settlements of people, are mentioned in one *Brahmana* text at least.[117]

To be a 'gramani', we are told, was Vaisya's ambition and the achievement of it ranked him with a prince and a learned Brahmana (*Vedic Index*: 'Rajanya'; Vaisya). Social differentiation and social distinctions as based on occupation, non-material achievements and wealth have been mentioned in this book oft and on as occasion arose. With 'gramani' we are brought face to face with them making imperative a statement, even if a very brief one, of the total complex of Rigvedic social differentiation. That 'gramani' implied an important office or social status or both follows from the declaration made by the sage, who addressed a whole hymn to glorify 'guerdon', 'dakshina', paid at a sacrifice to the priest and his helpers, in the Rigveda. In X, 107.5, which is so to say an epitome of the social distinctions of the period, we find a guerdon-giver promised two social distinctions: (1) that he would become the foremost among invitees—though to what we are not told we can guess that they must be occasions like social festivities, sacrifices, ritual and other discussions, typified in such institutions as 'samana', 'sabha', 'samiti', 'vidatha' or 'parishad' of the later period; (2) he would become a 'gramani'. The highest status, that of the ruler of men is declared to be the share of the person who began the practice of distributing guerdon!

Another group mentioned in the Rigveda, which was probably a status-group, is that of 'maghavants', i.e., the rich or the wealthy and bountiful class. Indra is said to be the greatest of 'maghavants', i.e., the most liberal of the wealthy and bountiful ones. They stand contrasted with 'rishis'; for Mitra-Varuna are requested not to reglect the 'maghavants' nor "us the rishis", the hymners being grouped together as a class entitled 'rishi'.[118] Rishi was a status-term among singers, hymners, priests or Brahmanas, as the authors of *Vedic Index* remark "rishi was the most exalted of the Brahmanas". Sage Kavasha Ailusha, known to tradition as the son of a Brahmin father and a slave girl or maid-servant, asserts that he is "the priests' Rishi", i.e., as Griffith[119] notes "higher in rank than the other priests". Sage Syavasva contrasts or balances Rishi with Rajan, king, while praising Maruts for their treasures showered on those whom they "direct". Visvamitra, appealing to Indra, expects Him to make Visvamitra not only the guardian of the people ('janasyagopa') but also their ruler (rajan) and also a Rishi and to give him everlasting wealth.[120] Vak 'Logos' proclaims that her great

117. *Vedic Index*: 'Grama' 'Ratnin', 'Rajan'; RV, III, 5.7.
118. *RV*, V, 39.4; 65.6.
119. *RV*, X, 33.4.
120. V, 54.7; III, 43.5.

favour on any person is to make a Brahmana and even a Rishi, implving that Brahmana and Rishi were in the higher ranks of men.[121] As for 'maghavants' the scholars quoted above are doubtful about their having "any special rank as a class in Vedic society". But their judgment is not supported by the Rigvedic evidence they have quoted to support Ludwig's earlier view that the 'Sabha' of the Rigvedic society was composed of only the Brahmins and 'Maghavants'. They state that in RV, II, 24.13, and also perhaps in I, 91.20, the expression 'sabheya', 'worthy of the assembly', is applied to a Brahmin. In RV, IV, 2.5 we read of 'rayih sabhavan', 'wealth fitting for the assembly' which implies that possession of a certain corpus of wealth entitled one to be a member of the Sabha. Maghavants, or persons possessing a certain corpus of wealth would then appear to have been a group and the term 'maghavant', a status term.

Brahmana appears, as the authors of *Vedic Index* state, to have already been almost a caste, though not entirely closed to outsiders, even in the Rigvedic period. In RV. X, 71.8 the difference between true Brahmins who join in sacrificial sessions and others who falsely proclaim themselves to be Brahmins is stressed. This means as the scholars referred to above suggest Brahmins as a group was a caste and an important one, too, I should add, membership of which was, therefore, sometimes falsely claimed by persons not born Brahmins. The word Brahmana denoting a class or rather a caste occurs first in the Purushasukta.[122] It is there that the four classes or castes, Brahmana, Rajanya, Vaisya and Sudra, are declared to have been produced from the sacrifice of the Primordial Purusha or the Universal Soul. Elsewhere the word Brahman when it does not signify merely a priest denotes a Brahmana or Brahmin, which is a fairly infrequent occurrence. However, Brahman is used in contexts which clearly imply that priesthood was already a profession.

That Brahmana as a class was to a fair extent a privileged group may be inferred from the subject-matter of the 109th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda. The content is said to be the abduction of a Brahmin's wife by a Kshatriya who afterwards restored her to her husband. The hymn is more than doubled in extent in the AV, V, 17, the extension specifying the dire consequences of such abduction not only to the abductor but to the whole realm of the king in whose dominion the offence occurs. The AV has two hymns, the 18th and 19th of the V book, which are full of imprecations and threats of terrible consequences of robbing a Brahman of his cow or other possessions. The Veda even asserts that Brahmins are Gods on earth.[123] Though the Rigveda does not explicitly voice this sentiment it presumes the sanctity and invoilabi-

121. X, 125.5.
122. *RV*, X, 90.
123. *Vedic Index*.

lity of the Brahmin to this extent that it records the imprecations that were showered on anyone who eats up a Brahmin's food. In X, 28.11 we read that one who eats up a Brahmin's food was like a person who eats up a bull set free to wander, the sacred bull of later ages, and was cursed to have his foot entangled in leather strap.

Another class of human beings, a section of the Rigvedic or Indian community, said to have been created from the sacrifice of the Primordial Being was named Rajanya as we have seen above. However, the word is almost conspicuous by its absence in the Rigveda outside the particular hymn of the X book, considered quite reasonably, to be a late composition. It occurs quite frequently in the Atharvaveda.[124] The word used to denote the royal or princely or warrior class in the main text is 'Kshatriya', or sometimes simply 'kshatra'. It is noteworthy that in later times althrough Kshatriya has been used to denote that class of the Indian population. In this connection it is not without significance that the word 'Kshatra' is "frequently [used] in the general sense of 'dominion', 'rule', 'power', as exercised by gods and men . . ., from the Rigveda downwards"[125] We may trace 'kshatriya' to 'kshatra' after the pattern of 'janiya', 'damiya' and 'rathiya', from 'jana', 'dama' and 'ratha' respectively. Prof. Burrow[126] who has instanced the three words to illustrate the operation of the suffix—'ya' in Sanskrit has given the equivalent in the Avesta of 'kshatra' but has not been able to find any, it would appear, in Greek or Latin. The word 'rajan', meaning 'prince', 'king', has the Latin equivalent 'regius'.

Rigvedic sages have used the word 'kshatriya' as a qualifying substantive of some of the Gods of the pantheon, almost in the same manner as they have used the word 'asura' in respect of some of the others. Thus a Kanva sage[127] says: "Now pray we to this Kshatriyas, to the Adityas, for their aid, those who are gracious to assist". On the use of these two terms as applied to Gods in the Rigveda Macdonell[128] observes that the "epithet 'asura' is connected with Varuna, alone or accompanied by Mitra, oftener than with Indra and Agni", while the term "kshatriya" translated as "ruler" by Macdonell, in four of its five occurrences, refers to Varuna or the Adityas and once only to the gods in general". Kshatra, "the attribute of sovereignty is in a predominant manner appropriated to Varuna, generally with Mitra . . . [and] is applied only once respectively to Agni, Brihaspati and Asvins". Varuna is said to have proclaimed himself that he is the 'Kshatriya', 'ruler' of the 'rashtra', dominion as wide as the universe. This utterance is the beginning of a hymn traditionally attributed to

124. *Vedic Index*: 'Rajanya'.
125. *Vedic Index*: 'Kshatra'.
126. *Op. cit.*, pp. 185, 4.
127. *RV*, VIII, 56 or 67.1.
128. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

Trasadasyu, who appears to have been the greatest Indo-Aryan king fighting the battles of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans.[129] "Kshatriyasya-rashtram" is the expression used again to urge upon a king or a prince to afford special protection from all kinds of molestation to a Brahmin. It is assured that his sovereignty or dominion, 'kshatriyasyarashtra', will stand guarded if he sees to it that nobody ventures to abduct or seduce a Brahmin's wife.[130] That 'Kshatriya' was not only a class, so to say, born to bear arms and to rule, but almost a caste in the Rigvedic period 'like the Brahmin caste, follows from an imprecation pronounced on one who falsely assumes or claims the title or rank of a Kshatriya in RV, VII, 104.13. It is asserted that Soma never aids nor guides such a pretender just as he does not aid or guide the wicked!

The third section of the Rigvedic society, Vaisya, appears to have been the largest in the earlier periods. For though it does not find mention under that name, the basis of it, 'Visah', figures quite often either as denoting the whole common folk or subjects of a prince or king or perhaps even community in those contexts where Vedicists interpret the term 'Visah' to mean 'settlement'. The fact that some Vedicists are inclined to trace the physical basis for the Rigvedic God Vishnu in the root 'Vis', which, as Macdonell points out, "is used tolerably often in the RV and primarily means to be active", supports the inference that Visah meant the whole of the common people. The god Agni, "is a leader and a protector of settlers [visam gopa]", and "the epithet 'vispati', 'lord of settlers', is mainly connected with him".[131] Again sacrificers in general are spoken of as 'visah', 'folk', 'people', of Manu, the father of man.[132] This inference about 'visah' and therefore about Vaisya in the Rigvedic society is further supported by Panini's statement that in his time, and much before it too, we can add, Vaisya caste or class was designated 'Arya', i.e., the whole people who under that epithet of Arya had distinguished themselves from the Dasas or Dasyus in the Rigvedic period. The Vaisya section probably included not only the traders and merchants but also the farmers and higher artisans.

Panis as represented in the Rigveda were merchants and usurers and though as a class they were niggardly and averse to perform sacrifices involving the distribution of large guerdon, had leaders who were pious and generous donors. Thus, Balbutha, who is called a Dasa, might have been one of such, and he is mentioned along with Tarushka and Prithusravas as a giver of gifts to the hymner in the RV. Bribu, a 'takshan', 'carpenter', who is stated in the RV itself to have been the

129. *RV*, IV, 42.1.
130. *RV*, X, 109.3.
131. Macdonell, pp. 39, 96.
132. *RV*, IV, 37.

leader of the Panis, "a merchant prince" as the authors of *Vedic Index* were prepared to admit, made generous gifts to sage Bharadvaja, evidently at his sacrificial sessions.[133]

Sudra, the fourth section of the Rigvedic society, does not find any mention in any form or base of the standard term for the section later, outside the hymn mentioned above. In the Rigveda in so far as there is an opposition or contrast in unit-groups or classes or sections of the population, it is stated in terms of the Arya and the Dasa or Dasyu. In later ages Arya came to designate the Vaisya or at most the three sections or castes, Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaisya. It is therefore reasonably inferred that the early Dasa, with accretions from the occupational groups which had progressively fallen in grace and had come to be looked upon as low, came to be christened anew as Sudra. This transition might, or must have been facilitated or suggested perhaps by the existence of some ethnic unit bearing analogous name. Tradition preserved in the *Brahmana* literature makes Kavasha and Vatsa, both Rigvedic sages and hymners, offspring of a Dasi and a Sudra woman respectively.

Aupamanyava, one of the exegesists who lived before Yaska and therefore before 600 B.C., included another ethnic unit, the Nishadas, to make up the Five Peoples so often mentioned in the Rigveda, the other four being Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra.[134]

The YV prescribes as a part of the Mahavrata rite the enactment of a fight between an Arya and a Sudra in which the former wins. The AV[135] charm against fever makes a "lascivious Sudra girl" the appropriate host for it along with other despised or hated peoples, like the Balhikas, the Gandharis, the Mujavats in the west, and the Angas and the Magadhas in the east.

The usual and the only epithet denoting the section of the Rigvedic society, which judged by that epithet and its basis, was concerned with dominion, rule, sovereignty, as we saw, was Kshatriya. That it should have been dropped and Rajanya should have been adopted instead in the statement of the theory of the divine origin of the four sections, classes or castes of the Rigvedic society, as it was in the later years of the Rigvedic period, is significant for socio-political aspect of the Vedic civilization. It implies that well before the later years of the Rigvedic period well-knit political units under monarchical form of government had come to dominate the social scene. The whole class of people from among whom Rajans, kings, were emerging and carrying on the war-like and administrative affairs of the community, came to be designated by

133. *Vedic Index*: 'Pani', 'Balbutha', 'Bribu'.
134. *Vedic Index*: 'Nishada', 'Sudra'.
135. V, 22.

a term which is a formation from it. Royal power or royal dominion is conveyed either by the word 'rashtra', or 'kshatra', the term 'rajya' as either kingdom or kingly power not occurring in the Rigveda. Asvins' services to Mandhatar, who must be identified with the first great sovereign of the Ikshvaku house in 'Indian historical tradition', are described by the Rigvedic [136] singer with the use of the directly expressive compound derivative "kshaitrapatya", "the lordship of fields or ploughland".

That kingship was an old institution follows from the fact that in the later portion of the Rigveda collection, the X book, there are two hymns of which the deity is King or 'rajan' (173 and 174). Another hymn in the same book, 128th, though its deity is the Visvedevah and not King, is even more significant in this context. For it is traditionally declared to be dealing with and perhaps to be recited at the start of a 'digvijaya' of a king, i.e., a King's campaign for the conquest of kings, all about the quarters. The first stanza of it "which is a prayer to Agni reads: "Let me win glory, Agni, in our battles, enkindling thee, may we support our bodies. May the four regions bend and bow before me: with thee for guardian may we win combat". In the last stanza the king makes an appeal to both Agni and Indra, Vasus, Adityas and Rudras. The king maintains that he will prevail over his adversaries with the favour of Agni and Indra. Then he proclaims, as if he has won alround, that Vasus, Adityas and Rudras have exalted him and made him "far reaching" ('uparispris') "mighty" (ugra), "thinker" (chettara) and a "sovran lord" (adhiraj).

In RV X, 174, we have what appears to be a text that was recited at the "sprinkling of rulership" on or the consecration of the person that was to be the king by the would-be king. He prays to Brahmanapati that he may "attain to royal sway" for he has performed the same religious rite as the one which secured Indra his victories. He follows with an appeal to the same deity to see that all those who are likely to malign or menace his position may be subdued by the deity so that "he may rule, [as] slayer of rivals rivalless, victorious with royal sway [and] be Svran of the Folk". Some parts of this hymn are incorporated in an AV hymn which is a charm accompanying the binding of an amulet round the neck of a king, calculated to secure supremacy and success to a king who after being dethroned is being restored to his royal sway.

RV, X, 173, is said to be a benediction pronounced by the priests [?] on the person when he is consecrated a king. Proclaiming that 'he' has "chosen" the person to be king he says: "Stand steadfast and immovable. Let all the people wish for thee: let not thy kingship fall away . . . Stand

136. I, 112.13.

steadfast like Indra and hold the kingship in thy grasp". The mood changes into one of wishing or inducing steadfastness by the magical process of analogies: The King is said to be established by Indra and not by the priest and the assembly and both Soma and Brahmanapati are appealed to bless him. The analogies of steadfastness of the sky and the earth, the hills and the whole living world which stand steadfast, are mentioned; and it is added, as a wish turned into an actual fact, "steadfast is this King of men". Finally divine intervention is asked for to secure steadfastness: "May Varuna, the King steadfast, the God Brihaspati steadfast, may Indra steadfast, too, may Agni keep thy steadfast reign your royal sway". The King's dues from the people, the tribute (bali) as it is called, are said to flow to him as he constantly keeps on offering Soma sacrifices. The harping on steadfastness of the royal sway so pronounced in these benedictions cannot but remind us of Vasishtha's earnest prayer to Maruts on behalf of his client and patron Sudas, who had through Vasishtha's expert help just come out victorious against a strong confederation of kings opposing him. Vasishtha in RV, VII, 18.25 prays: "Attend on him (Sudas) O ye heroic Maruts as on Sudas's father Divodasa. Further Paijavana's (Sudas's) desire with favour. Guard faithfully his lasting firm dominion". That ambitious kings or noblemen should be intent on expanding their sway or otherwise creating conflict and bringing on wars was inherent in the institutions of the Rigvedic society. The horse-sacrifice started by a king used to jeopardise honour or freedom and royal sway of his neighbour, as the horse was to roam wherever it chose and was to be liberated by the institutor of the sacrifice if impounded by anybody. Examples of this situation occur in *Brahmana* literature. An example of ambition leading to such a situation is preserved for posterity by a Kanva sage. In RV, VIII, 5.38, he informs us that "at Kasu Chaidya's feet are all people round about, all those who think upon the shield [warriors or princes?]" and that he had given the sage "for mine own ten Kings [!] like gold to look upon". The last expression must mean that they were well-born ones and not ordinary leaders! And it was because of such a situation constantly arising in the Rigvedic society, it must be, that the old sage Kakshivan took particular care to note down the special greatness of his patron King Svanaya Bhavayavya that he was an unconquered king (aturto raja).[137]

Danger to a Rigvedic King's continuance of royal sway came not only from other princes, disgruntled or defeated ones, joining hands to attack his dominion but also from within the realm of the king from his disillusioned, distressed or rebellious subjects, the Visah. Ludwig's interpretation of an almost "unintelligible hymn" (RV, X, 93) is accepted.

137. *RV*, I, 126.1.

Duhsima Prithavana, Vena and Rama, three noblemen, under their overlord, the King, having a quarrel with their Visah, had gathered in force to punish the latter, who, it appears, too, were prepared for a fight. The noblemen and their overlord had yoked five hundred (horses), i.e., two-hundred-fifty chariots were ready, on the spot to start the fight on their side. The priests are believed to have succeeded in bringing about a compromise to resolve the conflict.

The Rigvedic king was elected, though the election might have been uncontested one and in many cases purely formal. For in RV, X, 124.8, a king's election by his Visah is used as an illustration or an analogy. It runs: These wait upon his [Indra's] loftiest power and vigour.... And they, like people who elect their ruler, have in abhorrence turned away from Vritra. That the election was sometimes quite formal is attested by the case of Dushtaritu Paumsyayana,[138] recorded in the *Brahmana* literature. The said king was the tenth in succession of his family to have been crowned king of the particular realm. He was dethroned but was restored to his dominion by a clever and competent minister-cum-commander. The reality of all these situations in the Rigvedic society is further suggested or even proved by the hymns, benedictions or charms or both, which we find in the AV, e.g., I, 9, 29; III, 3, 4, 5; IV, 22; VI, 54, 73, 74, 86, 87, 88, 97. Good care is taken both in the relevant Rigvedic hymns, already drawn upon, and in the Atharvavedic ones, to see that the would-be king is presented as either blessed by the great gods of the pantheon or even as given or deputed or enjoined by them.

The AV[139] contains a charm for taming and training elephants for the king to ride on and thereby to induce the strength and 'lofty glory' like that of that elephant into the king (III, 22). The same Veda assigns divine status to a King. It says of the crowned king: "This is the Lord of Indra, this the Lord of Heaven, the Lord of Earth... Thou art the King of Asuras, the crown and summit of mankind: Thou art the partner of the Gods". Herein lies clearly the source of the later standard identification of a crowned king with God Vishnu!

There were three or four grades of kingship, differing with the nature and extent of the royal sway acquired and enjoyed by the particular king. These varieties of kingship were also different modes of political organization current among different ethnic units or/and different regions of the Indo-Aryan territory of India at that time. The grades or varieties mentioned in the *Brahmanas* are: (1) Rajya; (2) Svarajya; (3) Vairajya; (4) Maharajya; (5) Samarajya; and (6) Parameshthya. That the Rigvedic society was well aware of these grades and distinctions of kingship is to

138. *Vedic Index.*

139. III, 22; VI, 86.

be inferred from the fact that Sobhari Kanva, lauding the bounties that he had received from King Chitra, who had his dominion on the banks of the Sarasvati, tells the world that Chitra was the only king worthy of the title, all others on the banks of the Sarasvati being "mere kinglings". Bharadvaja, eulogising King Abhyavartin Chayamana for his many gifts designates him Samraj and not mere Rajan [140] and lends support to the above-noted inference. In *Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII, 14, at least five of these varieties of kingship are said to have been current in five regions of Indo-Aryan India of that age, two of them being specified in terms of ethnic units. It is interesting to find Panini speaking of monarchical and oligarchic and republican States prevailing among different ethnic units of his time. Political organization in Vedic India was not uniform over the whole territory occupied or dominated by the Vedic Indo-Aryans.

The Atharvaveda contains a more or less contemporary testimony to the efficient and benign rule of monarchs of the Rigvedic period. In XX, 122, the singer announces the extremely large gifts he received from a king of the Rusamas—he is said to have given him sixty-thousand-and-ninety coins to carry, for which he was given a waggon drawn by twenty camels. Further he bestowed on the singer hundred chains of gold and ten wreaths (of gold?), ten thousand cows and three hundred mettled steeds. The camels were accompanied by as many women. He turns to eulogise Parikshit, "the sovran whom all people love, the king who ruleth over all, excelling mortals as a God". The choice and abundance of food in the kingdom of Parikshit who is said to have "given peace and rest" to the people, so large and great that a Kaurava—Parikshit being a Kaurava prince his subjects are described as Kaurava—house-wife asks her husband to choose any one of the three dishes that she is able and willing to place before him for his meal. Mentioning particularly the richness of harvests which the people were able to reap, the singer remarks: "Happily thrive the people in the realm where King Parikshit rules" !

When did this Parikshit live, where was his capital, are questions which easily arise in one's mind, more or less correct answers to which would tell us much about the nature of the Indian or Indo-Aryan culture at the time. But unfortunately no definitely correct answer to them is available. For ancient Indian historical tradition knows two Parikshitas. Parikshit I, stands 73rd in Pargiter's dynastic lists; and Parikshit II, being the son of Pandava Abhimanyu, would stand 96th in it, i.e., there is a time-gap of about 275 years. The authors of *Vedic Index*, pointing out the mention of Pratipa Pratisutvan, a king in AV, XX, 129, draw the reader's attention to the relationship of the two kings, though the latter is not

140. *RV*, VIII, 21.18; VI, 27.8.

described as a Kaurava in the hymn, subsisting between the two in the Mahabharata. They are thus seen to be inclined to identify AV Parikshit with Parikshit II who was the grandson of Arjuna and we cannot do better than follow their lead.

Parikshit, the efficient, benign and beloved Kaurava king, who is the subject of the above-mentioned hymn from the AV, figures in the *Brahmana* literature, through his son Janamejaya III. Janamejaya Parikshita, i.e., the son of Parikshit, performed a horse-sacrifice. An old verse quoted in the *Brahmanas* tells us that Asandivant was his capital. This town or settlement does not find any mention in other literature, either Vedic or Epic, and might have meant only the "place where there was the 'asandi', 'throne'"! The fact is we do not, and I think cannot, know the extent of the dominion of any of the well-known kings, two of whom, as we saw in an earlier chapter, have their four or five ascendants, too, mentioned, and one or two of them very honourably, figuring in the Rigvedic period. We have to try to get some idea about the size of the populations they were dealing with and be content to draw our conclusions about the nature and size of political and administrative communities in that period from that.

Before entering on the task of seeking help from the size of populations mentioned it is well to assemble together a few facts regarding social life of the times, without repeating those already laid out about occupational diversity, generational mobility in occupations, trade and commerce, accumulation of wealth, spacious living and social differentiation and gradation.

To begin with, I would like to dwell a little on the state of knowledge and technical skill quite logically and cogently deducible from observations and statements occurring in the Rigveda. The 'dasarajna', "the Ten Kings' Battle", round which much and good poetry of the Rigveda is centred and which was as famous in the early Vedic times as the Bharata war in later ages, which is mentioned in AV, XX, 128.12, as an illustrious example of Indra's help to his worshippers—furnishes evidence of the high attainment in hydraulic engineering the Rigvedic people had made. Interpreting RV, VII, 18.5 ff, Griffith observes: "The confederates who were on the right or farther bank of the Parushni [Ravi river] intending to attack Sudas and the Tritsus, appear to have attempted to make the river fordable by digging channels and so diverting the water, which, it seems, rushed back into its natural bed and drowned the men who were crossing the stream". K. Chattopadhyaya prefers to postulate a pre-existing dam, evidently somewhere up-stream, which it would appear had rendered the river fordable at the spot where Sudas's army had marched

to engage the confederates. The confederates, Chattopadhyaya,[141] thinks, thought of making the spot unfordable by breaking down the dam, and broke it; but Sudas, according to him, "seems to have made good his escape by a clever retreat" and the confederates "themselves were carried away by the stream". I fall to see cogency in Chattopadhyaya's reasoning and think that Griffith's interpretation offers the best solution of the situation.

Art and science of medicine, including anatomy and surgery, must have reached a high state of perfection even in the Rigvedic period. The cures and feats of help ascribed to Asvins imply it. There are at least five passages, in which their having provided an iron leg to a woman named Vispala who had lost one of her legs in some fight is stated or alluded to. In two of the passages, one ascribed to the famous favourite of Indra by name Kutsa, and the other to Ghosha, an old maid and daughter of the old sage Kakshivan, mention the exploit in a general way as providing "power to move". In the other three, all utterances of Kakshivan, the provision of an iron leg is specifically mentioned, in one the special intercession of Agastya on her behalf being brought in. Plastic surgery is implied in the exploit of Asvins in the curing of the sick and the maimed which is credited to them as in X, 39.3. In restoring decrepit-Cyavana to youthful form likeable by a young wife, and Kali to youth enabling him to marry, Asvins displayed some procedure of surgico-medical technique of rejuvenation.[142] The power of actual restoration of sight posited of Asvins in RV I, 116.16, wherein we read of their having restored the eye-grafting, which is a very recent achievement of modern man! Ghosha, the daughter of Kakshivan, tradition asserts, had long remained a spinster in her father's house, being afflicted with some skin disease, which presumably had disqualified her as a choosable bride. Asvins are said to have enabled her to have a husband by curing her of her ugly-making disease.[143]

It is not only Asvins, famed as physicians of the Gods, that are attributed cures which bespeak and assume great advance in medical knowledge and in surgical skill, but Indra, too, is said to have achieved one or two curative wonders. One lady, Apala by name,—the name is quite naturally not listed in *Vedic Index* as it does not occur in the Rigveda itself—pleased Indra by offering him Soma juice when perhaps he was sorely in need of it. The boons that Apala chose from Indra and got implemented were three. One of them was that Apala's father's head, which had evidently gone bald, perhaps due to some disease, should have

141. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 263.
142. *RV*, I, 116.10; X, 39.8; I, 112.15.
143. I, 117.7; X, 40.5.

a nice crop of hair growing on the bald pate. This implies specially esoteric knowledge of hair-culture. Another boon was concerned with Apala's own self. It seems the skin of the lower half of her body had decayed completely or was afflicted with sores. Apala asked Indra to restore her body to its original form and Indra is said to have given her "sunlike skin".[144] This implies expert knowledge of either skin-culture or skin-grafting in the Rigvedic period!

Appropos of Vispala's artificial leg it should be noted that the Rigvedic sages were quite well aware that certain defects of human legs could be and were actually removed by endowing the patients or the defectives with crutches, 'khrigala', as Rigvedic society knew them. Sage Gritsamada[145] prays to Asvins: "Be like two dogs that injure not our bodies; preserve us, like two crutches that we fall not". The special significance of this passage is that the crutches are not stated to be the gifts of Gods or even that their user was a unique example. It is quite clearly implied that use of crutches for defective-legged persons was a regular feature of the Rigvedic society. It may be noted that *Aitareya Brahmana*, III, 6, mentions a teacher named 'Hiranyadanta' and that the authors of *Vedic Index* have duly pointed out that the practice of using gold to stuff a decaying tooth must have been well-known to the Vedic medical practitioners.

In an earlier chapter, I had occasion to draw the reader's pointed attention to the fact of the Rigvedic society having fairly detailed knowledge of the anatomy of the horse. Needless to say, there were competent dissectionists to cut the sacrificial horse in accordance with the relevant injunctions regarding the various parts of the body. The Atharvaveda has preserved for posterity definitive evidence that before its time the Vedic Indians had so far studied the human body and its anatomy,—which they could not have done without extensive dissections having been habitually carried out—that they could and had distinguished and named. The authors of *Vedic Index* who appear rather enigmatically to be averse to give full credit to the early Vedic Indians for their anatomical work, have to admit that the identification of the various parts as named in AV made by Hoernle as early as 1907-08 in *JRAS* is correct. For as they say "the system [of AV] presents marked similarities with the later system of Charaka and Susruta".[146]

The authors of *Vedic Index* have emphasized one of the features of the economic and occupational climate of the Rigvedic period in their note on "Bhishaj", 'physician' in their remark, though halting, that

144. *RV*, VIII, 80.
145. II, 39.4.
146. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 359.

"the practice of medicine probably was already a profession in the Rigveda", a remark which they have supported by the fact that a physician was included in the list of victims at the "Purushamedha" 'human sacrifice' in the Yajurveda. 'Halting' I say because the Rigvedic passage, which they think refers to the fees of a physician, they have relegated to a footnote. Worse still the much more specific reference to a physician's earnings, as he expects them, which is contained in RV X, 97.4 and 8, they have put down in that footnote with "Cf also". The earnings expected by a physician, perhaps particularly by the successful one, were: (1) Steed, cow and garment; (2) store of wealth. The Atharvaveda has a whole long hymn VIII, 7, which, as Griffith notes, "extols the excellence of medicinal herbs and is an incantation designed to restore a sickman to health". Presumably it was repeated by the physician while administering the medicine and also perhaps while preparing it. The hymn, which names quite a few herbs, contains (sp. 26) the assertion that the medicine being administered contains the elements or essence of "all plants wherein physicians have discovered health-bestowing power". This statement implies that physicians were a profession and that a number of them in successive generations were noting down or keeping in memory the observed effects of administered herbs!

From the above statement in the AV it would seem that a system of medicine as a branch of ordered knowledge existed fairly early. However, we fail to find such a discipline listed in the early enumeration of knowledge-systems. This is the more surprising, because as we saw above, the Rigvedic people at least in their later age had formulated a deity sponsoring and patronizing intellectual exercises and enterprise in the person of Vachaspati. The approach of the Rigvedic Indians to their Sun-god, as pointed out by a famous Egyptologist in his study of Ikhnaten of Ancient Egypt more than fifty years ago, was much more intellectual and spiritual than that of the Egyptian Pharaoh. Discussing the content of the hymn framed by Ikhnaten to his Aten (Sun) as against that of the well-known Rigvedic Savitri or Gayatri stanza, I stated my view in 1965 thus: "The national mind of India yearned for intellectual and spiritual inspiration and urge from divine source as typified by the Sun".[147]

The postulation of two such deities could not fail to urge the elite of that society to acquisition of knowledge and its ordering into disciplines for easy absorption and propagation. And we find at least two, if not three, of the twenty-one knowledge-complexes, or lores or as we should designate them 'disciplines', figure already in the Atharvaveda. They are

147. See my *Religious Consciousness,* pp. 91-92, 198.

characteristically, and as later history shows ironically too, "Itihasa", historical narration of a heroic nature, and "Purana" 'narrative of a cosmogonic nature'. Whatever their precise nature and content in the time of the AV, they were so important to that society and its immediate successor represented in the Upanishadic literature that in the latter they figure as the fifth Veda. I have dealt with the history of organisation of knowledge in India in my *Vidyas*[148] and I shall content myself with stating the conclusion relevant to our purpose in hand. That twenty or more knowledge-complexes or lores should have figured in the later *Brahmanas* and the early *Upanishads* clearly implies a good deal of active enquiry and organisation of the results into orderly system of knowledge in the later years of the Rigvedic period. And the nature and extent of such an enterprise in a society which had not yet evolved a system of writing and was therefore forced to commit all knowledege to memory and pass it on by word of mouth, imply fairly large settlements and congregations of peoples, in short, urban or town-like settlements.

Our inference that settlements of town-like dominions must have come into existence in the Rigvedic period is based on a number of references to not only 'vrijana' but also to 'pur's or forts or fortresses, some of the latter variety being qualified as 'of iron'. Kutsa in RV, I, 101.11, addressing Indra, asks the favour of Maruts on behalf of the guardians of a new settlement, 'vrijana'. Agastya addressing Maruts lauds them for their wont to guard their worshippers with forts, having a hundred walls in RV, I, 166.8. More frequently is Agni said to be saving or asked to guard his worshippers with a hundred forts.[149] In RV, VII, 15.14 quite explicitly "the mighty iron fort for man's defence" that Agni is requested to put up is described as one "with hundred walls". While Indra at least and River-goddess Sarasvati are each described at least once as a fort of iron for protection of their worshippers and the former is also asked to "make iron forts, secure from assailants",[150] we cannot escape the conclusion that fortified settlements were not an infrequent occurrence on the Rigvedic society.

While Kutsa, as stated above, in his address to Indra spoke of the guardian or protector of settlements, "vrijanasya gopa", Agastya in his appeal in RV, I, 173.10 which is couched in words found by Vedicists to be very difficult for interpretation, speaks of the lord of a fort, "purpati". A portion of the translation of the passage by Wilson on the authority of Sayana may suffice for our purpose. It reads: "...like those who, desirous of his friendship (conciliate) the lord of a city [fort] (ruling) with

148. See my *Anthropo-Sociological Papers.*
149. VI, 48.8; VII, 3.7; 16.10.
150. VIII, 69.7; VII, 95.1; X, 101.8.

good government, so do our intermediate (representatives) propitiate (Indra) with sacrifice".

The authors of *Vedic Index* in their note on 'Pur' observe: "Pur is a word of frequent occurrence in the Rigveda and later, meaning 'rampart', 'fort' or 'stronghold'. Such fortifications must have been occasionally of considerable size, as one is called 'broad' and 'wide'. Elsewhere a fort 'made of stone' is mentioned. Sometimes strongholds 'of iron' are referred to, but these are probably only metaphorical [why?]. The reference to stone forts is made in a context which clearly establishes their possession by only the enemies or opponents of Divodasa, i.e., not by the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans.[151] The later word for a fort, 'durga', too, occurs in that sense in the Rigveda. In the Yajurveda 'mahapura' or 'great fortress' is mentioned, indicating growth in the size of forts or fort-like settlements. It is highly significant that among the opponents of Sudas, according to Vasishtha, had "a number of strong places and seven forts [purah]" and that they were destroyed by Indra, i.e., by Sudas being favoured by Indra.[152]

There are at least three statements or assertions in the Rigveda which presuppose fairly large settlements of peoples in that age. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, horse-drawn vehicles appear to have been fairly numerous, a large number of them being two-horse chariots and a few drawn by four horses. The existence of such vehicles presuppose fairly wide and good roads. And we read in RV, VI, 46.13-14 as a panegyric of Indra that in a mighty fray he helps his worshippers. So that they are able to speed their horses on uneven road[153] and on toilsome path.[154] Good roads as opposed, it would appear, to the 'uneven' ones were, appreciated and Vamadeva is known to have prayed to Indra to bestow on his worshippers 'good roads' ['sutirtha'] and perfect safety" (RV, IV, 29.3). We have also noted above the case of a road accident in the later Vedic age, the age of the *Brahmana*. It implies somewhat modern condition prevailing in that period, a car knocking down a small boy.

Another piece of evidence which even more positively points to the existence of settlements of people of a fairly big size is provided by a statement already quoted. While dealing with social differentiation and distinctions in the Rigvedic society. Sage Sukirti of the family of the famous sage Kakshivan, while praising Indra for his willingness to bestow horses in plenty on sages who approach him properly, makes the observation: "men come not with one horse at sacred seasons, thus they attain no honour

151. *RV*, IV, 30.20.
152. VII, 18.13.
153. 'Adhavan', a word not listed in *Vedic Index*.
154. 'Patha', a word not listed in *Vedic Index* which only has a note on 'pathikrit'.

in assemblies". Griffith commenting on this passage, RV, X, 131.3 observes: "It seems to have been considered undignified and disreputable for a wealthy man to come to the sacrifice in a one-horse car; but the precise meaning of the first line is somewhat uncertain". It appears to me that as in the second line we are told by the sage that 'sages' or rather 'wise men', "viprah", i.e., poets, singers, and sages, approach Indra with appropriate worship to win horses from him, it ought to be considered fairly certain that the first is meant to state the reason why they do so. And that is that in the then society anybody going to a meet, festive, discursive or sacrificial, in one-horse-carriage was not treated there, at the hall of the community, with due respect. Wise men, who desired that they should receive adequate respect at such meets, tried to go there in carriages drawn by two or more horses. The statement does not preclude the use of chariots drawn by more than two horses, and quite logically implies that such persons, i.e., persons going to the community hall in four-horse-cars received perhaps more attention.

That the word 'vipra' in the above-quoted passage should be taken to include priests and not be confined to 'wealthy men' only follows from RV, VII, 2.5. As rendered by Griffith it clearly states that the doors of the assembly hall, 'samana', were thrown wide open to receive the priests coming for the ceremony, i.e., sacrifice, in their chariots, 'rathayu'.

Whether the casual or causal statement of Sukirti can or cannot be taken to imply gradations in social distinction, based on the number of horses yoked to the car of the person reaching the assembly hall, it suggests that the settlement in whose community-hall the meeting was taking place was large enough to make the use of a horse-carriage to reach to it from one's home quite necessary. The distance to be covered by well-to-do and intellectual elite from their residences to the local hall of the community being such as needed to be covered in a horse-drawn vehicle, the community settlement has to be construed as fairly big or a town of fair size!

In one stanza, the 23rd in the 32nd hymn of the IV book of the Rig-veda, which Vamadeva has addressed to Indra, there is an intriguing implication in an analogy used. The passage as translated by Griffith reads: "Like two light images of girls, unrobed, upon a new wrought post shine thy Bay Steeds in their course". Were unrobed, i.e., naked, images or effigies of young women, placed in public places or on platforms by way of beautification of the settlement? Griffith's observation in explanation "perhaps as caryatids" does mean that. Caryatids of ancient Greece, so famous for their grace and dignity, are then at least five or six centuries later than these Indian ones. Nearer home, the passage thus interpreted conjures up the image presented in beautiful Sanskrit by

Kalidasa about 15 to 16 centuries later. When describing the city of Ayodhya in the time of Rama's son Kusa, the national poet speaks of the female statues in wood standing at various places in the city. But they were not nude.[155] This interpretation of RV, IV, 32.23, further supports our submission that in the Rigvedic period the Indo-Aryan culture was very probably an urban one.

However, it must be pointed out that in actual fact 'pur', which meant a fort or stronghold, and not the later 'pura' and 'nagara' is the only town-like settlement finding mention in the Rigveda. As authors of *Vedic Index* point out the word 'nagara', in the sense of 'town', began to figure in almost the latest of Vedic literature beginning with *Taittiriya Aranyaka*. In I, 11 we are told that one should not enter 'nagara' after having a particular situation. Sayana has explained the word 'nagara' as a place 'full of a concourse of people'. In I, 31 a 'nagara', city of Kubera is described. As explained by Sayana it had hundred doors or gates and hundred broad roads or quadrangles.

We find Panini mentioning 'nagara' as one of the endings of the names of towns. From his drawing a distinction between the Vahikas and the Northerners, on the one hand, and the Prachyas or Easterners, on the other, it is clear that it was only among the latter that a clear-cut distinction was made between a village, 'grama', and a town, 'nagara'. V. S. Agrawala has sought to explain this difference in usage as being due to the fact of the Punjab villages themselves having grown into town-like agglomerations, obliterating clear-cut distinction between the two types of settlement. This explanation, however, is not satisfactory. For as Agrawala has himself stated on page 55, Panini knew and mentioned Nagara a place on the Beas, which was the "ancient capital" of Trigarta. Secondly Agrawala mentions as "some important towns" of his [Panini's] time, among which figure Kapisi, Takshashila and Sakala, which are clearly of the North-west. The other towns mentioned by Panini in that context are Hastinapura, Samkasya and Kasi, which are the middle-region ones as we should say. But as in the later Vedic age the Bharatas were known as Prachyas, Hastinapura and Kasi-Kosalas were further east, so that all the three towns could be at a stretch, classed as eastern. Eastern towns as such, for Panini, were, however, Mahanagara and later Mahasthana, and Navanagara later Navadvipa, the former in Paundra or northern Bengal and the latter in western Bengal or Vanga.[156]

Though the word 'nagara', meaning 'town' does not figure in early Vedic literature yet as the authors of *Vedic Index* point out, a priest men-

155. *Raghuvamsa*, XVI, 17.
156. Agrawala, pp. 38-39, 51, 61, 64-65, 71.

tioned in the *Ait. Br.* bore the name Nagarin, which is a regular derivative from 'nagara', with the meaning 'one who is a resident of a nagara'. In the YV epithet Kampilavasini has been construed by Weber and Zimmer as a woman living in Kampila, later Kampilya, "the capital of Panchala in Madhyadesa". Panini's Sankasya, too, was a town in the same district in which is Kampila or Kampilya and modern Sankissa lies on the north bank of the Ikshumati. In the *Brahmana* literature many other places are mentioned, mostly as the sites where horse-sacrifices were celebrated.

No town or specific site finds mention in the Rigveda. According to 'ancient Indian historical tradition' or Pauranic account, Sravasti was founded by the Ikshvaku king Sravasta, who, in Pargiter's scheme of chronology, must have ruled about 1970 B.C., being 9th from Ikshvaku in that dynasty. It is identified with Sahet-Mahet in the Gonda and Bahraich districts of U.P.[157] Cunningham, the father of Indian historical archaeology, stated that first Ayodhya was destroyed after the death of king Brihadbala. But it has no place in the Rigveda or, in fact, in other Vedic literature.

In 1963 Prof. T. Burrow[158] propounded that the word "vailasthana", in RV, I, 133.3, stood for a city of that name. And he dilates on place-names ending in 'arma', occurring in *Brahmana* and *Sutra* literature. Most of them, however, excepting the ones from *Katyayana Srauta Sutra* were noted by V. S. Agrawala in his "India as known to Panini", page 69, including Sthularma, a lake north of the Sarasvati. After mentioning 'arma'-ending place names, Agrawala had noted the meaning of the word 'arma', as explained by the commentator on the *Baudhayana Srauta Sutra*, to be a "village in ruins". Prof. Burrow's significant contribution consists in his drawing our attention to one passage from the *Tait. Br.*,[159] which is a very important indication for the full connotation of the word 'arma', to one from *Jaiminiya Up. Brahmana*[160] which corroborates the existence of ruined sites, and to two from the *Katyayana Srauta Sutra*.[161]

On the first passage Burrow remarks: "This is a very clear statement. In the country occupied by the Vedic Indians at the very early [?] period ... there were many ruined sites which had been destroyed by fire and whose original inhabitants had in consequence abandoned them and migrated elsewhere". The second passage is important for its mention of a ruined site by name and also from our viewpoint, for the contents of the statement. It reads as given in Burrow's paper: "As these two

157. Pargiter, p. 216; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 189-90; B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 124-26.
158. *Journal of Indian History*, 1963, pp. 159-66.
159. II, 4.6.8.
160. III, 238.
161. X, 18.3; 19.9.

(horses) had not been given, he called—there is a ruined site called Indrakrosa—standing in that, O Visvamitra and Jamadagni, acquire these cows of the Ikshvakus". The Sutra passages add two places which were ruined sites with names not ending in 'arma'. They are Naitandhava and Vyarna on the Sarasvati. Burrow stresses the significance of these passages for their locating the ruined sites as on the Sarasvati and the *Brahmana* passage for its implication that the Indo-Aryans must have stormed the strongholds of their opponents, the local people, the Dasyus, with Fire, one of the great gods of their pantheon.

Prof. Burrow, guided by his discovery of the Vedic references to ruined sites along the Sarasvati, and evidently encouraged or impelled by Prof. B. B. Lal's discovery of Kalibangan, a ruined town of pre-Rigvedic [?] era, discovered the mention of one such site in the Rigveda itself. And that is Vailasthana in RV, I, 133.1-3, RV, VII, 5.3, supplying even the specific detail of such places in the occupation of the "dark coloured inhabitants" having been burnt down by Agni for Puru. In both the stanzas, 1 and 3, of the I, 133 hymn, Griffith has translated the word, 'vailasthana', which figures in the accusative in the first, by "pit". In the 3rd stanza, the word which is in the locative, is slightly changed to make it a diminutive by the addition of 'ka' at the end, e.g., 'vailasthanaka', and has been provided with an additional qualifying epithet, 'armaka'. That 'arma', denoted a 'ruined site' is quite well-known through Panini's work. That these 'armas' were ruins, in which broken potsherds, hard ones by implication, were found is known from the injunction in the *Taittiriya Brahmana*, referred to by Dr. G. R. Sharma.[162] He has stated that the text lays down the use of 'armakapala', 'potsherds from ruins', as one of the necessary ingredients of the clay mixture out of which the 'ukha', 'fire-pan', of the sacrificial altar was to be made. Why should 'arma' have been diminutized, as it is done in the Rigvedic passage by the addition of the 'ka' ending, making 'vailasthana', if it was the name of that 'arma' as Burrow contends, doubly diminutized, is not at all clear. To make matters still worse for Burrow's interpretation in the passage, the last quarter following reads: "mahavailasthe armke", unless one sees another ruined site known as 'mahavailastha' which in straight contradiction, was qualified as 'small' or 'mini'! It seems Prof. Burrow's endeavour to dig out a ruined town of the local Dasyus by name Vailasthana, as known to and mentioned by the Rigvedic sages, is not quite successful, and will have to be put aside, till it is acclaimed as correct by Vedicists. For the present, I shall rest content with drawing my readers' attention to the fact that Ramayana, II, 71.3, records the existence of a village or town called Ailadhana,

162. *Excavations at Kausambi,* 1960, p. 148.

situated on the Sutluj, and pass on to another approach to the determination of the likely size of Rigvedic settlements.

That approach is the inferential one, through the ascertainment of approximate areal-size of the dominion over which the tribes or ethnic units, which we have listed in another chapter as existing in Vedic Indo-Aryan India, were spread and of the populations involved. As for even an approximate delimitation of ethnic areal-size, it is a hopeless task. The approach through size of populations involved is susceptible of being attempted, however imperfect, as on various occasions battles or fights are mentioned and sometimes the number of warriors killed or taking part in the fray, too, are stated. These statements have, of course, to be taken with a pinch of salt.

To begin with, the numbers of Dasas or Dasyus, i.e., the local population opposing the Vedic Indo-Aryan kings or ethnic units, the statement made by Gritsamada [163] that Indra cast down one-hundred-thousand sons of Varchin, the Dasa, finds support in Vamadeva's assertion that Indra slew one-hundred-thousand and five men of Dasa Varchin.[164] We may reasonably interpret Bharadvaja's expanded statement about Indra's exploit, found in RV, VI, 26.5, to refer to the same event. It reads: "You madest good the land [i.e., acquired the land for your worshippers, the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans] when you rent down a-hundred-thousand heroes". Vasishtha, lauding Indra-Varuna, mentions as their great exploit the fact that they "smote down a hundred times a thousand resistless heroes of royal Varchin".[165] In helping one Pithinas, a worshipper of Indra, Bharadvaja says that Indra smote down sixty thousand [Dasas or Dasyus?].[166] According to Vamadeva, Indra to help his favourite Indo-Aryan worshipper Rijisvan, stormed the forts of Mrigaya and Pipru, "smiting down the fifty thousand swarthy" [Dasas or Dasyus].[167] In aiding Dabhiti, whom the authors of *Vedic Index* are prepared to consider to be "a real person", an Indo-Aryan sage or hero, Vamadeva asserts that Indra killed thirty thousand Dasas (IV, 30.12), Indra and Agni are said to have finished "many a thousand Dasyus", while the famous horse Dadhikras, deified, is said to have sped forward *with his thousands* [i.e., the Indo-Aryan warriors] to fight against embattled *thousands*".[168]

In one passage, RV, VII, 18.14, Vasishtha, who was the architect of Sudas's victory in the Battle of Ten Kings, informs us of the numbers involved by letting us know the number of warriors or followers of the Anavas and Druhyus together on the battlefiled, a site somewhere on the Parushni, i.e., Ravi. The figure is embedded in a difficult piece of verse, which, interpreted by Sayana and accepted by Wilson, gives the

163. *RV*, II, 14.6-7.
164. IV, 30.15.
165. VII, 99.5.
166. VI, 26.6.
167. IV, 16.12-13.
168. *RV*, IV, 28.3; 38.9.

number as sixty-six-thousand-six-hundred-and-six. Ludwig, with his readiness to amend the Rigveda text, amends the passage to make the number to be only six-thousand-six-hundred-sixty-six. Even this number of warriors killed from among the followers of only two out of the ten kings ranged against Sudas must put the total followers of the Ten Kings killed on the battlefield to be more than thirty thousand.

From RV, I, 53.9, it seems there was in the Rigvedic period another big battle, similar to the famed Dasrajna, in which twice ten Kings were ranged against Susravas, who is, by some Vedicists, identified with Turvayana, the king of the Pakthas, whose victories over Atithigva, Kutsa and Ayu as also over Chavana are mentioned in other hymns. Leaving out the doubtful identification, I shall mention here the number of warriors or followers of the twice ten Kings facing Susravas who triumphed over them, owing to Indra's favour, that were killed. Sage Savya Angirasa tells us that they numbered sixty-thousand-ninety-nine.

To aid Abhyavartin Chayamana, Indra smote the vanguard of Vrichivant, who was according to Zimmer, the king of the Turvasas, one of the standard group of Five Peoples mentioned in the Rigveda as the Indo-Aryans par excellence. The number is said to have been three thousand "mailed" warriors. Chayamana is called 'Samraj', "Supreme sovereign".[169] In this context it should be noted that in the *Satapatha Br.*[170] the Turvasas appear as allies of the Panchalas of Madhyadesa for whose help they sent as many as 6033 armed horsemen of theirs.[171]

In this quest of the size of populations involved in the Rigvedic milieu the 93rd hymn of the X book as construed by Ludwig furnishes an important clue. Ludwig thinks that the hymn refers to a quarrel that had arisen between the noblemen or Maghavants and the common people or Visah, and that the two sides mustering their supporters and followers had locked, in the context, for a final showdown. There were gathered there either five hundred chariots or five hundred horses bearing two hundred and fifty chariots. The number of persons assembled is not mentioned. But the fact that two hundred fifty chariots drawn by two horses could be mustered by the King and the three nobles, Duhsima Prithavana, Vena and Rama, is a fair indication of both the wealth, organizational capability, and the number of warriors that could be collected together for a more or less domestic or internal quarrel. The fray, we are told, did not take place. The priests brought about a reconciliation. That the priests are said to have received the two hundred fifty chariots as presents for their diplomatic services speaks even more eloquently for the opulent state of society and also for its well-ordered physical aspect.

169. VI, 27.6-8.
170. XIII, 5.4.16.
171. *Vedic Index:* 'Turvasa'.

A few comparisons in point of numbers easily available from the annals of the thoroughly urban civilizations of the Ancient Middle East would be instructive. Prof. Gurney has culled out some information provided by a Hittite document regarding the siege of the city of Urshu in North Syria by the Hittite king Mursilis I, 1620-1590 B.C., the Hittite General had employed eighty (80) chariots and eight armies, neither the number of horses of a chariot nor the numbers forming one army being mentioned. The horse-chariots may be taken to be two-horse ones because the Egyptians represented them as two-horse-ones. The number forming the armies can be fairly correctly gauged from an account, that too, a contemporary one, of the campaigns of Mursilis II, 1334-1306 B.C., i.e., about three centuries later than that of the siege of Urshu. In his campaign against the city of Sapidduwa, it is recorded in the Hittite annals, Mursilis II had to face an army of 9000 men. Mursilis himself has left the following record of the engagement: "And as soon as the sun rose I advanced to battle—[unfortunately we are not told about the numbers he had with him, but from the account it appears that he had smaller but more mobile army] against him [Pitaggatallis]; and those 9000 men whom Pitaggatallis had brought with him joined battle with me, and I fought with them. And the gods stood by me, the proud Storm-god, my lord, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady . . . and I destroyed the enemy".[172] J. Bottero has quoted some passages in the reign of Phiops I of the Sixth Dynasty, *c.* 2500 B.C., which read not much unlike the descriptions of carnage made by the Rigvedic sages quoted and referred to above. One such passage states that the army "had killed troops [of the enemy by many ten-thousands . . . ".[173] R. M. Adams has estimated that the total population of the entire alluvial plain of the Euphrates and Tigris, i.e., Sumer and Akkad in about 2500 B.C. was between half a million and a million persons, and that Uruk, the largest city of Mesopotamia could not have more than fifty thousand inhabitants.[174]

All in all, considering the likely size of the populations of the twenty and more ethnic units of Rigvedic Indo-Aryan India, the state of occupational diversification and generational mobility and of trade and commerce, the accumulation of various kinds of wealth, the fairly wide-spread possession of horse-chariots among the elite, the social stratification of more than four classes which among the top two grups had assumed almost the form of caste system, and the frequently expressed desire for and consequently existence of in fair number of examples of spacious and even luxurious living, one cannot but describe the culture of the Rigvedic society as essentially an urban one.

172. Gurney, pp. 23, 105, 109, 178-9.
173. *Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 360-61.
174. *The Evolution of Urban Society,* pp. 69-70.

11

Who Were These Vedic People?

In the first chapter I have mentioned a few of the salient features of the inter-affiliations of three or four of the Indo-European languages with Sanskrit, the language of the Rigvedic and later Indo-Aryans in India. These and many other linguistic facts have led Indo-European linguists and culture students to posit a fairly central place to proto-Indo-Aryans among the many members of the Indo-European family. The known spread of these languages over the vast area, quite naturally and logically, has suggested the steppes of Southern Russia in Europe as the pristine home of the family. I have also referred to the recent archaeological work of some Western and Eastern scholars, which, according to them, emphatically suggests that the Iranians, or rather the proto-Iranians, reached the region, which, in later history, has remained their home, Iran, coming from the north-east, i.e., Turkmenia and Central Asia, distinctly much earlier than 1500 B.C. The ethnic unit reaching the north-west part earliest were the Medes, who were there before 1300 B.C. or by 1500 B.C.[1]

I have pointed out that European scholars, both archaeologists and students of literature like John Chadwick, put the date of the first bands of Indo-Europeans, who afterwards became the Greeks, appearing in the country Greece at about 2100 B.C. The intrusion of Indo-Europeans into Hittite-land is considered to have taken place down the Caucasus about 2500 B.C. I have also briefly discussed the bearing of these views on the date of the migration of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans.

I have singled out from the cultural environment of the three or four groups of Indo-Europeans as its most outstanding feature two magico-religious complexes: the bull-complex and the horse-complex. The bull-complex quite positively forced itself, as it would on any student of culture of pre-historic Eurasia, through the brilliant discoveries of Prof.

1. Morton Smith, in *Archaeology,* 1968, p. 159; Deshayes in *Archaeology,* 1969, pp. 10-17; Sylvia Matheson, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

Mellaart. The horse-complex is one of the few magico-religious complexes that cannot but invite serious attention from any student of Vedic literature and religion. Horse-fascination of the Rigvedic people standing out boldly in the hymns of the Veda and the peculiar eulogy of the sacrificial horse excite one's curiosity to inquire in greater detail.

In this chapter, I shall try to specify the cultural and ethnic affiliations of Vedic Indo-Aryans. I shall present a number of similarities and a few dissimilarities between magico-religious complexes, some rites, and mythologies of the Vedic Indo-Aryans and of those of three or four other peoples of antiquity, whose environmental situation is briefly stated in the first chapter. To begin with, I shall start with comparison and contrast which the Rigvedic and Vedic Indo-Aryans present in the two magico-religious complexes: the bull-complex and the horse-complex.

The bull-complex, as we know now, was the widest spread and the most ancient one. The bull-complex of the peoples other than the Indo-Aryans, seen from what has been stated about them in the first and second chapters, comprised: (1) worship of bull in some form or another; (2) sacrifice of bull to a deity; (3) sacrifice of bull as an adjunct of the disposal of the dead and therefore as sacrifice to the deceased person; (4) visual representation of man over-mastering bull as a symbol of power in artistic scenes, and (5) images of bull in power-packed and majestic poses, in stone or in terracotta. Neolithic Anatolians, it appears, had the first four components of the complex. Sumero-Babylonians, the first, second and fifth. The Hittites had the first, second, third and the fifth of the listed components. Among the Cretans the first two components are doubtful but the third, fourth and fifth were current in excelsis. The fifth component took two forms, one reminiscent of neolothic Anatolian, emphasizing or extending it by portraying the dynamic and vigorous figures on a gold bowl. The other form concretised the aspect of bull as symbol of sexual power and procreative vigour, women copulating with bulls.

Among the Iranians, or proto-Iranians—for we do not have evidence to show that the people occupying Iran from about 1500 B.C. spoke any of the recognised Iranian tongues—bull figured in the rites connected with the disposal of the dead, only in the north-west among the royal families, the form of association suggesting that perhaps earlier bulls were sacrificed for the deceased. Humped bulls of pottery with gold rings in the ears of some were discoverd in a "royal cemetery of a forgotten kingdom" at Marlik in northern Iran, not far from the south-west end of the Caspian sea. The divine aspect of the bull appears in the embossing on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, a little to the north-west of Marlik. Bulls are yoked to the car on which a horned weather-god stands and they are portrayed as spewing out water which forms itself

into a river. It also stands out in the art-creation of the winged bulls as at Marlik or bearded bulls as at Khosh Tapa and Fullol in Badakshan, which are earlier than Hasanlu or Marlik by seven to eight centuries, having been dated to between 2500 B.C. and 1350 B.C. Bull-sacrifice appears to have been quite an ancient practice. Majestic side and even perhaps the divine aspect of the animal, however, was present throughout.

The Iranian bull-complex is affined to the Sumero-Babylonian complex on the one hand and to the Cretan one on the other. Sumero-Babylonian influences are quite patent in the frieze of bulls on the silver bowl from Fullol in Badakshan, datable to about 2200 B.C. and as not later than 1800 B.C. The Mesopotamian inspiration of the art of the Badakshan finds is emphasized by the discoverers. The Cretan influence may be read in the gold bowls of Hasanlu and Marlik, both sites being a few centuries later than the famous Cretan Gold vase bearing the bull-figures. But the two gold bowls from Badakshan being much earlier than the Cretan finds and their bulls being bearded proclaim themselves as local creations under Mesopotamian influence.

Iranian bull-complex as it appears in the Avestan literature distinctly bespeaks not only the importance of bull in the act of creation and regeneration but also its divine nature. Not only is bull beneficent but also holy and is called the primeval Bull or the "only created Bull". Sacrifice of bull was an accompaniment of Haoma, Vedic Soma, sacrifice, offered in the night, and accompanied by drunken orgies. It is tantalizing to include in these orgies sexual orgies of the kind attested in Minoan Crete and somewhat later in certain religious festivals like "Bouphonia" but there is no specific indication in the literature, which is quite late in the history of the Iranian peoples. The address to the sacrificial bull recorded in a ritual text of the 8th century B.C., which is quoted in chapter two, and the two Iranian addresses to the bull, that in Vendidad Fargard XXI 1, and the one in Bahram Yasht, also quoted there, appear to be echoes of each other, portraying the animal as the source of fertility.

The Greeks must have sacrificed bulls as an accompaniment to the disposal of the dead from before pre-Homeric times as Homer mentions such sacrifice at the funeral of Achilles. Bulls were sacrificed to both Zeus and Poseidon, a white one for the former and a black one for the latter. Bull cults also centred round Dionysus, who was not an Olympic god to Homer and began to get prominence since Hesiod. However, his bull cults, Conrad assures us, were the oldest and the most popular. It was in the progress of "mysteries" associated with Dyonisus that, among the sexual orgies indulged in, the queen copulated with her mate dressed as a bull and perhaps also with the animal bull!

The Indo-Aryan bull-complex, has only two of the five components; sacrifice to a deity and sacrifice for fat and hide of the animal to be used

in the disposal of the dead. The power and sexual vigour aspect of the animal was very prominent in the social consciousness as the words for the animal clearly show. But there is no indication of either over-mastering of the animal in some kind of sport or of the use of it as a symbol of sexual vigour. No practice remotely suggestive of even magical use of that vigour exists for the Vedic age.

Archaeology has unearthed quite a few sites in North India, the Deccan and West Bengal, whose exploration has shown that they fall within the time limits of the Vedic age, i.e., about 2200 to about 600 B.C. In some of them, terracotta figuriness of bulls are found but they are toys of ordinary importance. Only at Lothal in Ahmedabad district and at Kalibangan on the Ghaggar in Gangasagar district, north Rajasthan, one broken figurine of the animal discovered is such that it can claim to have meant much more to the people of those places in those ages.

The Lothal figurine is reproduced in colour in pl. XIX-G in Dr. S. R. Rao's book. *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*. The figurine from Kalibangan is reproduced by Dr. H. D. Sankalia in his book. *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan* along with the Mohenjo-daro specimen, at page 352, fig. 88i. The Kalibangan bull figurine was evidently done with care and appears to have meant for some purpose more serious than that of being a toy. Dr. Thapar,[2] however, has not considered it to have cultic value among the Kalibangan Indians. For while writing about their religion he observes: "no cult objects have so far been identified among the excavated finds". All the same the same scholar has testified to the immense popularity of the animal, among the pre-historic or proto-historic Indians of Kalibangan in a very effective and useful manner. He informs us that the bull-figures among the animals painted on pots was a feature "not found on the Indus pottery". He has further called our attention to the bull-figurines of Kalibangan, grouping them with those of Amri and Kot-Diji of the Indus civilization. He has commended the figurine mentioned above as figured by Sankalia as "showing the dynamic mood of the animal". It may be mentioned that Thapar's reproduction of the figurine in pl. LXX-B of *Indian Archaeology* better justifies his commendation than that in Sankalia's book.

The Lothal terracotta bull, though reproduced by Rao in his book, pl. XIX-G in colour on an impressively coloured background, does not appear to be coloured in the original. The figurine is reproduced in black and white photo in pl. XVI-A of *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63. The discovery of the artefact, which was made in the "concluding season of excavation at Lothal" is thus described at page 7 of the above journal:

2. In Hammond, *South Asian Archaeology*, pp. 91, 99, 101.

"Among noteworthy finds obtained from the present excavation mention may be made of a terracotta bull (pl. XVI-A) and five seals (pl. XVI, B, C and D)". Dr. Rao in his exhaustive report on Rangpur excavations (*Ancient India*, nos. 18-19, p. 48), while dealing with the religion of the people of Proto-historic Rangpur, says: "A painted terracotta figure of bull found at Rangpur is considered [by whom?] to be a cult-object similar to those from Mohenjo-daro. Significantly enough, no figure of the mother-goddess has been found at Rangpur". At pages 138-139 he has described six out of the twenty pottery "bulls" he discovered at Rangpur. None of them is described as painted. None of the so-called "bulls" is reproduced.

In his book on Lothal Dr. Rao, as stated above, has given a colour reproduction of the bull figurine on an impressively coloured background. However, dealing with the religion of the Harappans, he has forgotten his Lothal bull and has dilated only on the Mohenjo-daro figurine of the animal. While dealing with the arts and crafts of the Lothal culture he has drawn his reader's attention to the two dog-figurines and one hare-figurine, "all in copper" (II of pl. XIX-C). They, too, are reproduced on a coloured background but in their actual colour-tint. He has also described a "couchant bull-figure" which he describes as "an amulet". All these four figurines are evidently in bronze as his description on page 87 implies, though the first three are described as copper objects in their description under the illustration. The full-figurine, measuring 3.6 × 2.5 cms and 1.5 cms in height is described fully in about five lines. Yet it is reproduced in fig. 20 among the 36 objects by a drawing. The terracotta bull-figurine is fully described for its artistic qualities in five lines on page 89 but there is no mention of its being a painted object. Incidentally another bull-figurine, terracotta one [?], "with a small hump and exaggerated snout", the first one being humpless, is described.

Thus it is clear that there is much nebulosity about the actual state of the terracotta bull-figurines and their implication at Lothal. And the black and white photograph of the terracotta rhinoceros-head, figuring in plate XXIII-C, chides anyone who thinks of treating the bull figurine as a cultic object. The existence of small figures of dogs and hare in copper-bronze militates against the copper-bronze bull figure alone having been an amulet. Dr. Rao's[3] account of the seals and sealings does not make it clear whether the animal on the majority of the seals is bull or unicorn. Rangpur did not yield any seal.[4] Thus Lothal and Rangpur may be left out in our search for the pre-historic or proto-historic bull-complex in India (Bharat), Lothal being at the most of secondary importance.

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

4. *Ancient India*, Nos. 18-19.

The Mohenjo-daro figurine, which quite clearly indicates care lavished on its making, is figured in Wheeler's book[5] in pl. XXIV, where the buffalo sculpture just below it chides us against attaching too much importance to the bull sculpture. Not much different is the case with the magnificently majestic and contemplative terracotta bull-head reproduced by Fairservis,[6] who has silently warned us against holding it up as a cultic figure by reproducing a fine feline head from the same excavations by its side. Dr. Fairservis,[7] struck by the serious modelling, has observed that it is "a beautiful little sculpture which certainly should rank high in the history of animal art", taking care to remind us that it counts among toys. However, considered on the background of bull-sculptures of Sumer we have to assign it fair importance as evidence of some kind of bull-complex among the people of Mohenjo-daro and the Indus valley. As Marshall[8] has told us, sometimes the bulls of both varieties whether pottery models or represented on the seals have garlands round their necks. On a few seals and sealings, "individuals apparently bull-leaping in the Cretan fashion, that is, somersaulting from the horns of the animal into the air",[9] are figured. Though their number is not stated, it can be presumed that they must be very few. Yet they tend to support the prevalence of a bull-complex among the people.

As against this evidence that tends to support the currency of bull-complex, it must be pointed out that at least on two or three seals is depicted the scene of a man dangerously attacking a buffalo to stab it in a courageous manner and on somersaulting over its horns as in fig. 33a on page 278 of Dr. Fairservis' book. As for the animal figures on the seals it must be pointed out that both the water-buffalo and the short-horned buffalo and five other animals, too, have that honour. What is still worse is that, in Marshall's finds, as against the forty or fifty seals with the bull-figure there are at least 340, (three hundred forty), seals on which the unicorn appears. In pottery sculpture, too, bull is not the only animal. Sir John Marshall,[10] therefore, has rightly concluded that "the major animals like the unicorn, elephant, the tiger, buffalo, bull, the rhinoceros were deified". The Indus valley people's religious or magico-religious complex was a power-packed-animals-complex and not predominently, much less exclusively, a bull-complex.

The Indo-Aryan bull-complex remained a relatively private, domestic and tame complex, especially as the horse-complex present from the

5. *The Indus Civilization.*
6. *The Roots of Ancient India,* p. 206, fig. 59.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 287.
8. *Op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 355.
9. Fairservis, *op. cit.,* p. 276.
10. *Op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 71.

earliest time and sanctified in the hymns of the Rigveda was a much publicized and prolonged affair. It's successful performance was expected to, or rather guaranteed to, procure very broad benefits not only to the performer, the king and his family, but also to the entire community. Benefits included not only brave but also skilful and intellectual progeny, not only abundance of milk, grain and other kings but also industrious women and swift horses.[11]

In Transcaucasia and Anatolia, the horse-sacrifice so far known was only an adjunct to the disposal of the dead. In both regions the people concerned were Indo-Europeans no doubt. Iranians, as stated in chapter three, are said to have sacrificed horses; however, the references are not only vague but sometimes mention numbers which make the statements look like legendary stories. That the royal household of the kingdom of Hasanlu practised horse-sacrifice of the Transcaucasian and Scythian variety was attested by the finds of the excavations at Hasanlu in 1947, Dr. R. H. Dyson,[12] writing in 1960 about Hasanlu, was sure that though the exact time period of the graves in the cemetery was not determined they could not be "certainly" later than the other finds of the place. And these latter belonged to the 9th century B.C. Hasanlu is said to be Iranian though there is no trace of any of the Iranian tongues in the finds.

The only other people non-Indo-European ones known to have sacrificed horses are the Assyrians; for according to Aynard,[13] under the Assyrian Empire white horses were "sometimes" sacrificed to the gods. The bull-sacrifice, however, was the sacrifice among the Iranians and that though for a deity it involved orgies. The only other Indo-European people known to have practised horse-sacrifice are the ancient Greeks. Horses were, however, sacrificed primarily as an adjunct to the disposal of the dead and only occasionally to a deity who was Poseidon, a non-Olympic god to Homer. I shall deal with the Greek data later in another connection.

Some forty years ago Drs. W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont,[14] attempting to bring out similarities between the Indian and Babylonian sacrificial ritual, presented the translations of two ritual texts, one assigned by them to the second half of the second millennium B.C., and the other to a period not later than about the eighth century B.C. The former deals with the sacrifice of a horse to Marduk, the god of Babylon, and the latter with the sacrifice of an ox or a bull for its hide required for the consecration of an important musical instrument. The relevant data of the latter text have been used in the first chapter.

11. *Vaj. Sam.*, XXII, 22.
12. *Archaeology*, 1960, p. 121.
13. *Animals in Archaeology*, p. 54.
14. *J.A.O.S.*, 1934, pp. 116-118.

The horse-sacrifice text, which refers to the horse as either ass or offspring of the mountains, contains an incantation address to the horse. Its contents are: (1) a brief eulogy of the horse as one "wont to eat herbs and drink spring water"; (2) the statement that it is granted to [be yoked to] the chariot of the great lord Marduk; (3) the animal is asked to "decree the welfare of the offerer", i.e., the owner of the animal offering it and to "intercede for him". All this the text says had to be whispered through a good reed-pipe into the left ear of the animal. Albright and Dumont contend that the ritual of Indo-Aryan horse-sacrifice is either identical with or very similar to the above-noted Babylonian. They have quite clearly passed over the differences which exist not only in the intensity of eulogy but also in the assignment of the animal and the end of the sacrifice for the animal itself. They have altogether ignored to take note of the pathetic appeal made in the Rigvedic rite to the horse to forgive the performer for any ill-treatment of the animal in its career with the owner. The Babylonian ritual of bull-sacrifice prescribes the rejection of any bull that has been whipped or "beaten with a staff". And bull-sacrifice is not only the older one in Babylonia but one of its ritual requirements is also considered by Albright and Dumont to be identical with that laid down by Indo-Aryan ritualists for horse-sacrifice.[15] They have slurred over the difference in the matter of whispering the eulogy of the horse. There is no intervention of a reed-pipe or any other means between the whisperer and the ear of the horse in the Indo-Aryan ritual. The ear of the horse in the Indo-Aryan ritual prescribed is the right one,[16] while in the Babylonian it is the left one.

For the ritual requirement that the sacrificial horse should have the mark called "krittika" on its forehead which is said to have been prescribed by "two great authorities", Albright and Dumont, as mentioned above, have referred to the Babylonian ritual requirements prescribed for the bull-sacrifice. The text of the Babylonian ritual of bull-sacrifice, which they have translated, actually requires the sacrificer to reject any bull for sacrifice that is "speckled with seven white tufts of hair like stars" or "like the Pleiades" as the authors say in the footnote. They maintain in the footnote that in the "more original form" of the text the negative did not exist, so that a bull with the mark of the Pleiades was prescribed as the proper sacrificial animal. They further contend that the requirement of the Babylonian ritual text was based on calendaric considerations, the Pleiades being associated by the Babylonians with the river inundations in the spring. They contend further that on the one hand the Pleiades by their natural association, "denoted the

15. *J.A.O.*, pp. 120, 123-24, 126-27.
16. *Vaj. Sam.*, XXII, 19, Griffith's fn.

divine bringer of fertility", the sacrificial animal, on the other hand, "by virtue of his association with fertility, symbolized in some measure the fecundizing inundation of the river" and conclude that under the circumstances it was "only natural" that the fecundizing function of the animal should be represented by a mark of the "divine bringer of fertility".[17]

Bull, to judge by the scene embossed on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, which is already described as the vehicle of the weather-god appears to have been conceived as the source of rivers and their inundations in north-eastern Mesopotamia, south-eastern Anatolia and north-western Iran. There could not, therefore, be any urge to further concretize this connection and that, too, with the addition of the mark of a constellation. On the other hand, the association of the Pleiades as indicators of the beginning of the agricultural season is of remote antiquity as Dr. Willy Hartner [18] has pointed out. Dr. Hartner draws our attention to the fact that the Arabic name of the astericism is derived from a stem which means "to be opulent, rich" and is akin to another stem, meaning "to be penetrated with humidity". He thinks that even the word for bull is "in some way related to the two stems". The Pleiades further have been always regarded as an integral part of the constellation, the sign of the zodiac, Taurus, the Bull. He asserts that in Sumer-Akkad it had a denomination, meaning "the star" par excellence, which proves its great importance. The other denomination of the constellation meant "the bristly" referring to their "hairy" or "comet-like" appearance. On the other hand, the late Dr. Hildegard Lewy,[19] writing a few years later, about the Old and Middle Assyrian calendar, informs us that the second month of the year was named Khubur, "the nether world" and it was "the month of the heliacal rising of the Pleiades which represented the Evil Seven, a group of seven deities hostile to mankind who were believed to reside in the nether world". Owing to this, the early part of the second month was dedicated to the service of the evil spirits. Worse still, E. J. Webb [20] has stated that the Babylonians are believed to have included two stars of the constellation Perseus with the Pleiades, which means that the Pleiades were nine and no seven stars!

All this uncertainty about the Pleiades, the number of stars involved, their association with evil spirits or with agricultural season or humid atmosphere would not have mattered so much if the original ritual text had not clearly stated that a bull with the particular mark was to be rejected. The evil association of the Pleiades naturally could have led to the injunction to reject a marked animal as unfit for sacrifice; and

17. *J.A.O.S.*, pp. 119-20, 126-27.
18. *Journal, Near Eastern Studies,* 1965, pp. 7-8 and fn. 26.
19. *Cam. An. Hist.*, I, pt. 2, p. 769.
20. *The Names of the Stars,* 1952, p. 140, fn.

bull having been conceived as the source of rivers and river-inundation no further qualifying attribute was required. On the Indo-Aryan side the fact that the *Brahmanas* as a whole have said nothing about such a mark as a requisite for a sacrificial horse, the particular view of the two ritualists, on which Albright and Dumont have depended, might have been their suggestion or the suggestion of a particular school of ritualists. The differences in the two rituals, that of bull-sacrifice of the Babylonians and that of horse-sacrifice of the Indo-Aryans mentioned above are not nominal; and the alleged similarity being more than doubtful we have to reject the theory of Babylonian influence on the ritual of the Indo-Aryan horse-sacrifice.

If Saryati's horse-sacrifice is admitted as the earliest known to Indo-Aryan literature, the first horse-sacrifice by an Indo-Aryan would be datable to about 2060 B.C. on the counting suggested by Pargiter.* If Saryati's horse-sacrifice is not admitted, Mandhatri, the performer of numerous sacrifices and a 'chakravartin', sovereign ruler, far-famed and mentioned in the Rigveda with great respect, becomes the first Indo-Aryan to have offered horse-sacrifice. Mandhatri stands twenty-first in the dynastic lists and thus must have lived seventy-four steps before the great Bharata war. Allowing 12 years to a step, a moderate counting as I have pointed out earlier, we find that Mandhatri must have lived some 888 years before the Bharata war. The date of the Bharata war has been fixed as 950 B.C. Mandhatri's horse-sacrifice, therefore, must have been performed in about 1838 or in round number about 1840 B.C. The time-gap between the Indo-Aryan performance of horse-sacrifice and the Babylonian ritual text for Babylonian bull-sacrifice of the 8th or so century B.C. is far too large to suggest the possibility of the latter influencing the ritual requirements of the former. Even the text dealing with horse-sacrifice to Marduk is a few centuries later than the horse-sacrifice performed by Saryati or Mandhatri. We may safely conclude that horse-sacrifice was the outstandingly individual trait of Vedic culture.

The earliest of horse-sacrifice among the Greeks, offered to a deity, can hardly be much older than Hesiod. For it was offered to Poseidon, the brother of Zeus. Brodrick[21] thinks that possibly the proto-Greeks brought with them some sort of horse-cult as well as god Poseidon, the "Earth-Shaker". He thinks that originally Poseidon was only a horse. Brodrick's suggestion does not appear to be well-founded. For Poseidon was not only called Hippios but was also surnamed "Bull Poseidon."[22] Greek Poseidon thus resembled Iranian Drvaspa. However, we are here interested in Poseidon for his connection with the sea and horse.

* On this see Note at the end of this chapter.

21. *Animals in Archaeology*, p. 106.
22. *Ency. Brit.*, XVIII, p. 298.

In Greek mythology, we learn the Poseidon figures as god of the sea and of waters generally. In the words of the writer of the note on Poseidon in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XVIII, "his home was in a golden palace in the depths of the sea at Ægae in Achaea". He was also called *Nymphaegetes*, the leader of the nymphs, in his capacity as the god of springs. He is said to have lashed the sea with his trident and splitting the rocks to have caused horses and springs from them. On the island of Tenos he was worshipped as the *physician*. Poseidon was also called "god of vegetation", representing the fertilising element of moisture and is associated with Demeter, goddess of agriculture and sister of Zeus.[23] It is suggested by scholars, evidently trying to explain the representation of Black Meter as horse-headed, that the horse was one of the forms of the corn-spirit in Greece.[24] H. J. Rose's [25] observation that "the horse is connected with corn-daimones in many parts of Europe" supports the suggestion. Demeter's daughter having been taken away, Demeter began to wander in search of her, when Poseidon seeing her was enamoured of her and followed her. Demeter in order to free herself from the unwanted attentions of Poseidon changed herself into a mare. Poseidon assumed the form of a stallion and copulated with her. From the union were born a daughter and the horse Areion or Arion which then belonged to Adrastus.[26] Another romance of Poseidon was with Medusa who was killed by Perseus when she was pregnant. From her trunk sprang the winged horse Pegasos and Chrysaor, "he of the golden sword". This wonder-horse was said to have produced a fountain, called Hippocrene, "horse-well", by the stamping of its hoofs.[27]

In Indo-Aryan tradition, as already stated, the sacrificial horse being addressed as proceeding from the sea or upper waters, we may infer that, though the horse was identified with the Sun or the Sun was conceived as the horse, the Rigvedic people, too, thought of the horse as coming out of waters. Griffith's comment on RV, X, 11.2, which purports to be a monologue of Gandharvi or a nymph, represents Gandharvi as the daughter of Surabhi and as the mother of the race of horses. There is mention of "the eldest brother" in the latter half of the stanza which is construed to refer to Varuna. The origin of the horse from the sea or waters is here taken to be a Rigvedic people's belief. This notion may be said to have been fully expressed in the later Vedic literature. The *Satapatha Brahmana*,[28] which justifies the four Vedic words for the

23. *Ency. Brit.*, VII, pp. 178-179; Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
25. *Greek Mythology*, p. 67.
26. *Ency. Brit.*, VII, 179; Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67.
27. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 30; *Ency. Brit.*, XI, p. 585.
28. *Sat. Br.*, V, 1.45; *Brih. Up.*, I, 1.2; *Sat. Br.*, XIII, 2.2.14.

animal, viz., 'haya', 'vajin', 'arvan' and 'asva', vouchsafes that "the sea is its kindred, the sea its birth place" and that it was produced from water. It further states that the mythical sage named Asva was "Samudri", i.e., a descendant of 'samudra', 'the sea'. The horse as 'haya' carried the gods, as 'vajin', the Gandharvas, as 'arvan' the Asuras, and as 'asva' it carries men. Indo-Aryan mythology speaks of a horse named Ucchaisravas; and I have already mentioned that the horse was famed as Indra's mount in the Atharvaveda.[29] It is noteworthy that this animal, the first among horses, is said to have come out of the churning of the ocean carried out by the gods.[30]

The god presiding over the ocean and the waters or connected with them in later Vedic and Puranic mythology is Varuna. Even in the Rigveda, Varuna is fairly well involved with the rivers, sea and waters in general. But it is in the Atharvaveda[31] that Varuna is said to have a golden house in the waters.[32] And it is Varuna and Mitra who presented the horse Dadhikras to king Trasadasyu famed in the Rigveda. All this sounds very much like the account of the Greek god Poseidon, his home, his ocean-abode and his creation of the first horse. However, the fundamental natures and primary functions of these two gods, Varuna and Poseidon, in the respective mythologies are in some respects extremely different and they cannot be identified. With the Greek notion of the winged horse Pegasus creating a well of water by the stamping of its hoofs may be matched the Rigvedic[33] fancy that Asvins, 'the Horseyones' [?] showered for Kakshivan a hundred jars of mead from the hoofs of (their) horses. The mead in the context is interpreted to mean rain water.

Fascination for the horse and currency of the notion of the animal's connection with the sea or water were much more powerful than the comparison would incline one to posit. In another context, I have narrated earlier the story of God Vishnu's head having been accidentally cut off through the other gods' contrivance and a horse-head having been provided for him by Asvins. In this particular form Vishnu has been significantly named Hayagreeva. It was in the form of Hayagreeva that Vishnu is represented in Puranic literature to have restored the Vedas to the gods and the people. The legend asserts that two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, stole the Vedas and transforming them into a white mare carried it off to the bottom of the ocean and kept it there. When Vishnu was appealed to for help, Vishnu in his Hayagreeva form

29. XX, 128.15-16.
30. Ramayana, I, 45.39.
31. VII, 83.1.
32. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
33. I, 117.6.

went down into the ocean and brought back the Vedas in the form of a white mare.[34]

To parallel Poseidon and Demeter episode in which the latter changes herself into a mare in order to avoid the attentions of the former, Poseidon, too, assumes the form of a horse, their copulation resulting in the birth of the winged horse Pegasos, there is in the Rigveda, X, 17.1-2, the laconic mention of the proposed marriage of Saranyu with Vivasvat, the Sun. Sayana's comment on the passage brings out its parallelism. He says that according to tradition, god Tvashtri, the artificer-god of the Rigveda, had two children, Saranyu and Trisiras. Saranyu, the daughter, Tvashtri offered to Vivasvat in marriage. Saranyu lived with her husband for some time during which the couple got twins, Yama and Yami. Saranyu for some reason decided to leave her husband. She made up a woman to serve as nurse to her children and as consort to her husband and putting her in charge of the home went away. Vivasvat not realising what had happened carried on with the new consort who gave birth to Manu, a royal sage. Vivasvat then realised that the consort was not his Saranyu. He assumed the form of a horse and wandered in search of his proper mate, Saranyu, and finding her as a mare sported with her. During the sexual play Vivasvat's semen dropped out on the ground. The mare Saranyu took the semen in through her nose and gave birth to the twin Nasatya, i.e. the Rigvedic twin gods Asvins.

Puranic tradition replaces Saranyu by Sanjna and elaborates the story to make it more cogent and acceptable. The substitute woman treats the children of Sanjna rather harshly which reveals to Vivasvat her real identity. Vivasvat then goes to his father-in-law to persuade his wife to return. There he finds that Sanjna had left her father's home as her father advised her to go back to her husband. The father informed Vivasvat that Sanjna was then in the Kuru country wandering in the form of a mare. Vivasvat taking the form of a horse traced her as the mare or Vadava. The rest follows as in the above account, with this difference that after the birth of twins, from her nose, Vadava gave birth to Revanta. Revanta became the overlord of horses. The twins together are not called Nasatyas in this account but only one of them is named Nasatya and the other Dasra.[35]

Greek fascination for the horse expressed itself in a more concrete form, not attested in the Indo-Aryan civilization. The Greeks constructed a building for horse- and chariot-races and named it "hippodrome". The width of the structure is said to have been determined by the number of chariot-races that were run at the time. It measured 400 feet.[36]

34. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, Hayagreeva; Ramayana, IV, 17.51 and Comm. *Tilaka*.
35. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, Vivasvat, Vadava, Revanta.
36. *Ency. Brit.*, XI, p. 585.

No other people of antiquity is known to have had anything like the above-described notions about the horse. Kikkuli of the Mitannis of south-eastern Anatolia who appears to have been great horse-breeders is known to have written "an elaborate work on the training and acclimatization of horses".[37] Though the date of the work is not stated, it can safely be ascribed to the time-bracket, 1600 to 1400 B.C. Its contents, however, are not available in details and we have to leave out the Mitannian attitude regarding the particular notions about the horse which the Vedic Indo-Aryans and the ancient Greeks entertained.

Phallicism and orgiastic cults, items of magico-religious complex, provide another field for exploration in our search for cultural similarities between the ancient Greeks and the Vedic Indo-Aryans.

To begin with, there is Hermes, a Greek god, who remained non-moral, though many other Greek gods with more or less similar beginnings had been fully moralized. H. J. Rose[38] observes about him that (1) he was connected with fertility and "with all manner of beasts"; (2) he was a god dishonest in origin, being a god of traders and thieves; (3) "one of his oldest cult-monuments is simply the phallos, which remained a prominent feature of his cult"; (4) he appears as a cock or a herald of the gods; (5) he is "a friendly and rather amorous god"; (6) he is a musician and patron of music; (7) he is also a god of the dead, being the Guide of Souls of the dead. About the phallic nature of the deity, the note in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., is appropriately illuminating. The relevant passage reads: "He was specially worshipped as the god of fertility, and his images were *ithyphallic*, as also the "Hermae" at Athens. At Cyllene in Elis *a mere phallus served as his emblem*, and was highly venerated in the time of Pausanias", a Greek geographer of the 2nd century A.D. We are informed in the same note that his trickery and cunning, though a promient theme in literature from Homer onwards, was "very rarely recognised in official cult". Hermae were "pillars generally square and tapering towards the bottom, *so as to suggest the human figure*. These were surmounted by a head, usually that of Hermes, and a *phallus in front, half way up*". (All italics are mine).

Another phallic god of the Greeks was Priapus or Priapos, represented usually as a grotesquely ugly person with *"an enormous and erect sexual organ"*. He was thought to be the son of Dionysus and was also connected with Hermes. *"The phallus is a common luck-bringing object"* and Priapus "was worshipped [in Greece] by persons in need of luck such as hunters and fishermen, and also was frequently employed to keep

37. Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 104-05.
38. *Greek Mythology*, pp. 145-47.

off the evil eye (numerous examples are found in and outside of houses at Pompeii)".[39]

Dionysus is another important god from our point of view. He was a Thraco-Phrygian, i.e., partly Asian, god introduced into Greece in Homeric times and blended with Greek deities of similar character. Hesiod calls wine "the gift of Dionysus". From the 5th century B.C. onwards among his other names figures Bachus. However, even in Homeric times his worship must have been "orgiastic" in character. The god "is always represented as followed by a revel-rout of beings, some divine, some human . . . Mainades or Lenai (literally 'mad women'), human votaries, also known as Bassarides, probably 'wearers of fox-skins', from one form of their ritual costume; another was the skin of a fawn. . . . His worshippers sought, by ecstatic dancing and probably also by the use of wine, to become possessed of their god; they were then called after one of the numerous names, Backchoi, from Bakchos. *The tearing in pieces and devouring of an animal* or *even human victim is also fact*; these wild sacrifices were due to a desire to assimilate the god himself, who was conceived *sometimes as human in form, sometimes as bestial, his most common avatar being the goat, although he often appears as a serpent*".[40] In the winter-harvest festival known at Athens as Dionysia, the Greek mother-goddess Demeter was associated and at the sacrifice offered in its ritual, only a priestess could function, men having been prohibited to undertake the duty. "An initiatory ceremony of women by a woman also took place" and was "characterized by *obscene jests and the use of phallic emblems*". "As a chthonian divinity" Demeter is "accompanied by a snake".[41] It may be pointed out that Dionysus, or Bachhus, after his miraculous birth, was said to have been sheltered and cherished by nymphs in India and that he left them and travelled all over the world, instructing people in his cult and in the cultivation of "the vine which gladdens the heart".[42]

Next we have to take note of the Greek goddess of fertility named Hekate. At the outset let me quote a significant opinion of Prof. Rose, very relevant to a proper understanding of the double-featured Rudra and his development into Epic Siva, in whom the violent and the dreadful aspect is conveyed in a symbolic manner instead of being merely brushed away by the use of hypocoristic language. Rose says: "One is almost tempted to speak of two goddesses here, so much do the earlier and

39. *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., vol. 18, p. 467.
40. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 149-54; Italics mine. *Ency. Brit.*, VII, 398b, where it is dubbed as "the savage rite of *omaphagia*, eating of raw flesh".
41. *Ency. Brit.*, VII, p. 179; italics mine.
42. Gustav Schwab: "Gods and Heroes, Myths and Epics of Ancient Greece", Eng. trans., 1947-50, p. 60.

later conceptions of her differ. She is quite unknown to Homer, but in Hesoid we find her a great deity". In the belief of her worshippers, on the one hand, she is some great mother goddess who in her functions rivalled Zeus himself; on the other hand, we find "a grim and fantastic Hekate who is queen of ghosts, and therefore of all manner of magic, the blacker the better". "Her statues orc often triple" [three figures back to back]. Being connected with fertility and believed to appear at night, Hekate, Rose tells us, "duly" got "connected with moon" [Selene], so that the three faces on her statue "*are not infrequently taken to stand for her three personalities.* Selene in heaven, Artemas [mother goddess] on earth, Hekate in hell".[43]

In Indo-Aryan civilization Rigvedic Visvarupa is Trisiras or three-headed. Though the son of Tvashtri, the artificer-god of the Rigvedic pantheon, both Tvashtri the father and Visvarupa are the foes of the national god Indra. Trisiras is said to have been rich in horses and cattle and was killed either by Indra himself or by another deity with Indra's help.[44] In Epic literature he is represented as taking food, Soma-juice, and wine respectively by his three mouths.[45] I have already presented some of the views of Dr. R. N. Dandekar and others regarding the supposed three-faced nature of Siva and briefly pointed out that they do not stand the test of reason and factual history. I have stated further that as Mahesa, Siva is represented as three-headed, the magnificent sculpture in the Bombay harbour caves being the most famous illustration of the form.[46] Thus three-headedness in Indo-Aryan culture first appears as in demoniac form and passes off very late into the godhood form in a sublime manner.

The orgiastic rites of the Greeks were matched, to judge by what little Zarathushtra is known to have said about Iranian, by the pre-Zorathustratian bull-complex current among the early Iranians or proto-Iranians, as will be seen from my description in chapter two. In Indo-Aryan culture, perhaps, something of an orgiastic nature might have been associated with the "samana"-gatherings referred to in the Rigveda.[47] The special orgies of Bouphonia festival of the Greeks might or might not have been matched by the bizarre ritual of the horse-sacrifice of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans in which a number of royal ladies appear to have indulged in loose sex-talk. In one feature, however, they tallied well. The Greek queen, as stated in chapter two, in Bouphonia copulated with a bull-dressed man or more probably with the bull itself; and the chief queen of the performer of the horse-sacrifice among the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans

43. *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-22.
44. *RV*, II, 11.19; Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17, 160.
45. Chitrav, *op. cit.*: Visvarupa.
46. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. LV, for illustration.
47. See 'Samana' in *Vedic Index*.

copulated with the sacrificial horse. This ritual requirement was later given up, it appears, as repugnant to morality and good sense. However, its symbolic or purely nominal or simulated replica appears to have been in vogue for ages. We have seen in chapter three that it was represented as having been gone through at Dasarath's horse-sacrifice, in the Ramayana, which could not have been composed before about 300 B.C. and might have been a third of fourth century A.D. production in many of its parts. Samudragupta's 'asvamedha'-coins, bearing on one side the effigy of the sacrificial horse and on the other that of the queen, might have been a reminder or symbol of that ritual practice (?). But orgiastic rites as such appear very late in the Indo-Aryan culture. Vamamargi, 'left-path', Saktism contained a fair measure of orgiastic ritualism.[48]

Practices connected with the disposal of the dead are cultural heirlooms and are potent indicators of ethno-cultural affiliation or divergence; and I shall briefly examine the Vedic Indo-Aryan practices as known from the literature, ritual or hymnal. Earlier, I have stated the known Hittite practices as narrated by Prof. Gurney, and also presented a summary of the practices of the Homeric Greeks, particularly revealed in the disposal of Patrocles and Achilles as detailed by Gurney and Bacon. On the background of the Hittite and the Greek practices those of the Vedic Indo-Aryans appear to fit in as the descendant of a common complex. On the other hand, the little that we know about the Kassites, whose Indo-European royalty must have reached the land of its destiny before 1800 B.C., appears to fall in line with the practices of some of the early Transcaucasian ethnic groups, and to differ from those of the Hittites and the Greeks. A necropolis of the Kassites discovered in Luristan revealed tombs, which are "mostly small stone-lined chambers, usually with four walls and a roof consisting of one or more flag stones".[49] As we have seen, the Transcaucasian burials were placed either in "dolmens, divided into two chambers by a holed stone" as Dr. Minns describes them or in a "port-hole cist" as Prof. Gordon Childe has it, the whole being covered over by a barrow.[50]

In view of the practice of both cremation and inhumation in the disposal of the dead being regarded as current among the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans and the Greeks,[51] it is worthwhile noting here the situation in Central European region, which, lying to the north-west of the European region mentioned, was the cradle or nursery of Celto-Slavic Indo-Europeans. H. J. E. Peake[52] informs us that in the neolithic age cremation

48. Winternitz, *The History of Indian Literature*. pp. 591, 595.
49. Jean-Louis Huot, *Persia*, pp. 112-13.
50. See Chapter 2.
51. *Vedic Index*, I, 8; II, 175.
52. *Ency. Brit.*, II, pp. 250-51.

was the general rule, inhumation being found only in a few cases. The charred bones of the cremated were placed in a biconical urn and buried under a round barrow in an urn-field. He further assures us that the practice spread over almost the whole of Europe from the Lausitz region at the beginning of the late bronze age.

A brief statement of the principal items in the disposal of the dead as practised by the Vedic Indo-Aryans will enable us to detect affiliation with or divergence from the practices of the above-mentioned peoples. The role of the bull and the cow in the disposal of the dead of the Vedic Indo-Aryans has already been explained at fair length in chapter two and will not be repeated here. Readers can see that the Greek funeral rites even more than the Transcaucasian ones resemble those of Vedic Indo-Aryans in this feature.

In the Rigvedic age, burial appears to have been fairly common; otherwise we cannot explain the existence of a whole hymn, X, 18, dealing with it. It's contents make it clear that it could not have been meant for use at burial only of the ashes or charred remains after cremation. Another funeral hymn, X, 16, which has Agni, Fire-god, as its deity, clearly speaks of burning the body. The dead body was to be covered with fat, which as is clear from what has been said in the chapter on the bull-complex among the Indo-Aryans, came from the draught ox killed or sacrificed on the spot. In the other hymn, implying burial of the corpse, in stanza 13 we read that though clods were placed over the burial, the buried is assured that the whole affair is so managed as to "stay the earth from thee" and the hope is expressed that the "pillar", i.e., a plank or a piece of wood, placed, apparently for keeping off the earth, may keep "firm" Perhaps it is this piece of wood that is referred to in the Atharvaveda[53] as the tree and is asked not to press upon the burial.

That the dead man was buried in full panoply is to be inferred from the injunction of the *Chand. Upanishad*[54] that it is the practice of the Asuras to adorn a corpse with curds, clothes and ornaments. Evidently the pristine custom had by then come to be looked upon as taboo because the procedure of the disposal of the dead had changed from cremation optionally to cremation exclusively. The authors of *Vedic Index* assure us that at least in one school of the Yajurveda only cremation is the norm of disposal, burial being only of the ashes of the burnt away corpse.[55]

Over the burial a mound or tumulus (smasana) was raised. The *Satapatha Brahmana* prescribes a four-cornered tumulus with its face (?) to the south-east, on ground inclined to the north. It further states

53. XVIII, 2.25.
54. VIII, 8.5.
55. *Vedic Index*, I, 4.

that the easterners, the godless people, make their burial mounds round, and construably condemns the practice for the Vedic people. It further contrasts the practices of the Vedic peoples with those of the ungodly easterners, mentioning that the former lay the burial in the pit without interposing anything between the burial and the earth, while the latter deposit it in a trough (chamu) either of stone or of bricks. The authors of *Vedic Index* quite correctly liken the trough to "the modern stone-lined graves or vaults". More than fifty years ago I had matched the whole with the type of the Megalithic graves discovered in South Mirzapur, U.P.[56] Its similarity with some of the graves of Transcaucasia, described earlier is not negligible.

The *Asvalayana Grihya Sutra* prescribes that the pot for the remains of a female shall be "a pot with mark", "salakshana". The expression is interpreted by the commentators to mean "a pot with breasts". In my early study of the funerary practices referred to above, following Prof. Lanman's exhaustive study of the particular ritual and of the peculiar pot, I had equated "breasts" of the pot with 'spouts'. However, I had pointed out in the footnote that Prof. Oldenberg in his translation of AGS had treated them as "mere protuberances". Description of the fire-pan, 'ukha', as given in the *Satapatha Brahmana* and quoted in this book earlier, convinces me that the so-called 'breasts' must have been protuberances shaped as near as possible like female breasts.

Prof. Lanman[57] has drawn our attention to many urns with not only breasts but some also with genitals, figured by Schliemann in his "Ilios" and to the mention of a terracotta vase with female breasts by the excavator-scholar in his *Mycenae*. Recently Evelyn Lord Simson has described a pot discovered in a Mycenean necropolis coming down from about 1150 B.C., which belonged to the middle of the 9th century B.C. It is a large belly-handled amphora with a large cap closing it. It has "conical warts". The number of the warts are not specified;[58] but if they are only two, then we may equate them with the breasts of Schliemann's urns and conclude that, as the urn contained the bones of a female of the aristocratic class of 9th century Athens, the funerary practice of ancient Greeks matched those of the Vedic Indo-Aryans in one more particular, which appears to be exclusively the trait of their cultures.

Three other peoples of antiquity, who have left their mark on the history of the near and middle east, claim our attention in our search for affiliations. They form so to say a link between the Indo-Aryans through

56. *Vedic Index*, I, 255; II, 175, 397; My "Anthropo-Sociological Papers", pp. 81, 82, 85; and "I and Other Explorations", p. 275.
57. *J.A.O.S.*, 1893, p. xcix.
58. *Archaeology*, 1969, pp. 18-25.

the Avestan Iranians with the Transcaucasian and European Indo-Europeans. Two of them, the Hittites and the Kassites, have been mentioned in the first chapter in the context of the early environment of the Indo-Europeans and of the time-bracket of their migrations. The third people, when they appear on the stage of history, are seen to have been concentrated in the region between that of the Hittites and that of the Kassites. The kingdom of these people called Mitanni, in its heyday, appears to have stretched from the hills on the western side of the Caspian sea to north Syria in the west.

The activity of the Hittites in Anatolia and Asia Minor resulting in wars as usual also brought to the fore an almost new feature in international relations, which since then may be said to have joined the main stream of the pattern of living of political communities. For as Prof. Mendenhall [59] has pointed out, though the international covenants occur in Sumerian texts of the third millennium B.C., "we have adequate source material for studying international covenants only from the Hittite Empire, 1450-1200 B.C.". One of the known two treaties which were signed between the Hittites and the Mitannis, fortunately escaped the ravages of time, and has become the source of some guidance in our quest of the affiliations of the Vedic Indo-Aryans. In the reign of the Hittite king Suppiluliumas, 1375-1335 B.C., the Mitanni State, which was divided and rocked by internal fraternal quarrels, was turned by the Hittite king into a vassal state. The covenant signed by the Hittite king and the Mitanni king Mattivaza, whom the Hittite king had made his son-in-law by giving his daughter in marriage to him, registers this event.[60] Its significance for us is that among the deities mentioned as protectors or guarantors of the treaty-covenant figure some of the deities so well-known in the Rigveda as the deities to whom the Indo-Aryans sacrificed and paid homage.

After the terms of the treaty are stated and a prohibition against "hiding, changing or destroying" it is laid down, the gods are mentioned as witnesses. The gods are characteristically called "lords of the oath". Thereafter the names of Hittite gods—whether all the thousand gods which comprised the Hittite pantheon is not stated by Thieme in his very able article on the 'Aryan Gods of the Mitanni Treaties'; but it can be or has to be concluded from Hrozny's statement in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* [61] to be all the gods—a break is marked by a line. Then follow the names of Mitanni gods; their number and names are not mentioned by Thieme or the one or two other authorities whom I could consult. "Wedged in between", i.e., as I understand it, on the dividing line,

59. Quoted by Dr. John F. Priest and in *J.N.E.S.*, 1964, p. 53.
60. Hrozny, p. 129.
61. Vol. XI, p. 606.

appear the names of "five Aryan divinities".[62] They are Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Nasatya, the number five of Thieme's statement being made up by the last god, a twin-deity, being counted as two. After inviting the named gods again to be the witnesses of the covenant, the document ends with an imprecation and a blessing. The imprecation reads: "May the gods who are the lords of the oath of this treaty, destroy you" and your people, if you and they "do not keep the words of the treaty". The blessing states "If you . . . keep the words of the treaty and oath, may these gods protect thee. . . . And may the country Mitanni return to its position as of old, may it prosper. . . . ".[63]

Dr. Priest,[64] trying to discover the "linguistic parallels" in treaty-making between the Hittite and Greek material observes that in the Hittite treaties again and again the stress is laid on peace and brotherhood as the basis of the treaty and states that the Greek word 'friendship' in the parallel situation implies Hittite influence. Leaving out the question of comparison and influence, the fact of the Hittite treaty being mainly for the establishment of peace and brotherhood opens out a vista bearing on the function of the deities named and called as witnesses in it. In the above-mentioned treaty the purpose is positively charged with tender emotion over and above the usual objective. We, therefore, find the gods characterized as the "lords of oath". This statement must mean that the thousand gods of the Hittite pantheon and the untold number of Hurri-Mitanni gods said to be named as witnesses were named not because every one of them had a specific role in war or in preserving peace or in upholding loyalty and faithfulness but because, as a divine group, they were expected to favour the keeping of faith by the plighted word and to punish any breach of the same. The mention of the four, or five if Nasatya is counted as two gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya, in the midst of the two sets of gods, Hittite and Hurri-Mitanni, indicates that they were special invitees, being the deities, either tutelary of the royal family or ones most respected by Mattivaza, the son-in-law of the party that dictated the peace-treaty and the other party to the contract. The form of the blessing so endearingly stated supports this submission. There is, therefore, no need to investigate the special functions and activities of these gods to enable us to specify the affiliation of the Mitanni-royalty with one or the other of the Indo-European peoples. The names of the gods and their linguistic form and affiliation should suffice to determine the affiliation of the Mitannis. However, if one should still like to insist on a comparison of the content of the god-idea, i.e., the specific functions of the gods as adumbrated in the treaty and those postulated of the same

62. Thieme in *J.A.O.S.*, 1960, p. 305.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-06.
64. *J.N.E.S.*, 1964, pp. 54-55.

gods among the people whose affiliation is deemed to be implied or established, there is Dr. Thieme's comprehensive discussion of that aspect.[65]

Dr. Thieme, resolving the problem of identifying the gods and their postulated functions with gods of other ancient peoples into two questions answers them after an elaborate discussion involving even proto-Aryan times. The first question posed is: "Do Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the two Nasatyas protect treaties in the Rigveda?" and the second is "Is it likely or probable that they did so in Proto-Aryan times"? Dr. Thieme's answer to the second question is that the data available is inadequate to furnish a definitive answer to it. His answer to the first question is quite positive and unequivocal. He says:[66] "All the named gods indeed are said to protect treaties in the RV, even the two Nasatyas, though these only occasionally". Linguistically the names are identical with those of these gods in the Rigveda with one difference. Nasatyas are in the Rigveda Asvins primarily and predominantly. A rough count made by me of 340 mentions of this twin-deity in the Rigveda showed that in only 84 the epithet Nasatya is met with. Thus Asvins as the Rigvedic name of this twin-deity occurs three times its other appellation, Nasatya. One small point supporting Nasatya's function of protecting treaties is that the word is explained by Indian commentators from Yaska downwards as meaning "not untrue", i.e., one who is true; and a god who is true himself may be expected to keep faith and plighted word and to see that faith and plighted word are kept by humans!

For comparison the Greek pantheon is useless being utterly different from that of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans. The literature of the Avestan Iranians contains all the four names with appropriate linguistic change wherever called for. But the fact that Indra figures as a demon among these Avestan Iranians should rule out of court affiliation of the Mitanni pantheon with theirs. Nasatya, with appropriate linguistic transformation, too, is only a demon among them; and what is more he is a singleton and not a twin among these Iranians. So no postulation of the affiliation of the Mitannis with the Avestan Iranians on the score of the deities mentioned in the above treaty can be made.

The Hittites, Dr. Hrozny[67] assures us, had 'Inar' or 'Inarash' as one of the gods and that he was "worshipped under no less than 112 forms". This shows that Inarash or Indara was a very important deity among them. They had also Aknish or Agnish, Indo-Aryan Agni, and Arunash "sea", that can be equated with Indo-Aryan Varuna, among their gods. They had, moreover, two tutelary deities. The one named Khalkish was "a deity of field fruits", and the other called Kulshesh or Kulashesh, "a

65. *J.A.O.S.*, 1960, pp. 301-316.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
67. *Ency. Brit.*, XI, p. 606.

deity of the house".[68] The latter has its equivalent in the Rigvedic Vastoshpati, the only difference being that the Rigvedic deity is named on the basis of the house, the physical abode of the family, while the Hittite deity is curiously named on the basis of the family or 'kula'. It is curious because the word 'kula', denoting family, appears to be an introduction of the later Vedic age.[69] Hrozny, mentioning the fact that there was a Hittite individual named Khalkiashu, has drawn our attention to the Indo-European-Hittite word 'khalkish' meaning 'corn'. It is interesting to find the word 'Khala', meaning 'threshing floor' in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda.[70] 'Khalakula' and 'Khalva' figure among the ten kinds of corn enumerated in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.[71] Prof. Burrow's[72] tracing the Indo-Aryan and later Indian word 'khala', meaning the 'threshing floor', to Dravidian is evidently not correct in view of Hrozny's statement. The Rigvedic word 'khala' also recurs in the compound word 'Ulukhala', 'the mortar', which in the form 'ukhala' still means the same thing in Marathi. It is noteworthy that in the matter of naming the tutelary deity of the field the Hittites again resorted to the actual produce of the field to base their name of the field-deity, while the Indo-Aryans took the physical basis itself for their name of the field-deity and named it 'Kshetrapati', 'lord of the field'!

It is noteworthy that Indo-Aryan Varuna was, from the Rigvedic days,[73] connected with ocean or waters; and later he came to be the lord of ocean. Ahura Mazda of the Avestic Iranians or Asura, supposed to be the form of Varuna in proto-Indo-Iranian times, is not known to have such connection with ocean or waters. As for Agni, whose importance for the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans cannot be exaggerated, he was not only "the most prominent of the gods", next only to Indra, but as Macdonell[74] has observed "worship of fire under this name is purely Indian". Though the sacrificial fire is the centre of the Iranian ritual, the Indo-Aryans stand unique in having created the institution of three fires for their sacrificial worship. Apparently the Avestan Iranians have no word cognate with Agni, as Macdonell has not mentioned any but has contented himself with stating that it is an Indo-European word with *ignis* and *ogni* as cognates in Latin and Slavonic respectively.

The ruling group of the Kassites who successfully dominated Babylonia for about six centuries from about 1750 B.C., which was evidently Indo-

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 606-607.
69. *Vedic Index*: 'kula'.
70. *Vedic Index*: 'khala'.
71. *Vedic Index*, 3.13.
72. *Op. cit.*, p. 382.
73. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
74. *Op. cit.*, pp. 99.

European, had at least two of the Rigvedic deities in its pantheon. And they happen to be the two Rigvedic Indo-Aryan Surias (Surya) and Maruttas (Marutah).[75] Maruts, helpers of the Indo-Aryan national war-god Indra, and sons or proteges of another god of the Rigvedic pantheon, Rudra, who in later ages came to be one of the two Great Gods of the patheon, are not reported among the gods and deities of any other Indo-European group. Gods of similar nature there may be but there is none with the name 'Maruts'. Macdonell, who in his *Vedic Mythology* is never wearied of mentioning any distant analogue of a Rigvedic god among non-Indo-Aryans, has nothing to match the Maruts of the RV! For Surya he has paralleled 'hvare' from the Iranian Avesta, 'hvare' being the same as Sanskrit 'svar', 'surya' being a derivative from the latter.

We may conclude from this study that from about 2200 B.C. to about 1100 B.C. there were in Asia Minor, Anatolia, eastern Syria, northern Mesopotamia and perhaps also in north-western Iran, groups of people, mostly dominant minorities among preponderant but unrelated natives, who not only spoke Indo-European tongues but also had in their pantheon at least seven of the important gods that formed the Rigvedic pantheon, almost in the same linguistic form as the gods of the Rigveda. The Rigvedic Indo-Aryans are thus found to have close affiliation, bordering on identity, with some dominant groups that ruled in the Near East between about 2000 B.C. and 1160 B.C., which could not have been either early or even proto-Avestan Iranians.

Personal names, it has been long accepted among students of culture, provide a good indication of ethnic affiliation. I have drawn attention to some Rigvedic personal names that are striking, in their proper context in chapter four, and also compared their frequency with personal names found in later Vedic literature and in the Puranic dynastic lists. In chapter ten, I have mentioned Rigvedic names ending in 'u', which appear to be striking in the context of the frequency of 'a'-ending nominal stems in the Rigveda, which is said to be 45 per cent.[76] These I have placed in the modern Indian context, drawing attention to the fact that 'u'-ending surnames occur only among Kashmiris. Surnames most frequently were personal names of important ancestors and are valid for comparison with early personal names. I shall now present comparisons in the three categories of personal names, 'asva'-based, 'ratha-based' and 'u'-ending, with peoples from outside India, belonging to other early ethnic stocks in order to determine the ethnic affiliation of Vedic Indo-Aryans more specifically.

To begin with 'asva'-based names we find them among the Mitannis

75. Hrozny, *Ancient History*, p. 118; Burrow, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
76. Burrow, *op. cit.*, p. 121, fn.

and further west among the early Syrians and Palestinians, these latter being not improbably extensions only of the Mitannis. Thus among the local notables of the Mitanni country there was one 'Bardasva' and another 'Varddhasva'. The former is perhaps equivalent to Sanskrit Brihadasva or/and the latter, as Burrow[77] has told us, means 'son of Vriddhasva'. This 'vriddhied' form with this meaning is entirely Sanskritic. It has not been possible to procure any literature that can enable one to state the approximate percentage of 'asva'-based or 'ratha-based names among the Mitanni people. I have to content myself with a quotation from the contribution of Profs. W. F. Albright and P. O. Lambdin to the new edition of *Cambridge Ancient History*.[78] After stating that many kings of the royal dynasty of Mitanni, beginning with the founder Kirta, bore Indo-Aryan names, they observe: "*Many of these names have to do with horses and chariots....*".

Further west, among the ancient Greeks 'hippos'-('asva') based names in both varieties, i.e., 'hippos'-beginning and 'hippos'-ending, are known. Though it is not possible for me to compute their percentage, I have noted a dozen of the former variety: (1) Hippo; (2) Hippo-cratas; (3) Hippo-damus; (4) Hippo-damella; (5) Hippokoon; (6) Hippolochos; (7) Hippolyte; (8) Hippolytus; (9) Hippomedon; (10) Hippomenes; (11) Hipponax; (12) Hipponoos; and (13) Hippothoos or Hippothus. Of the "hippos"-ending variety there is 'Melanippos', 'dark-horsed one' and there are according to H. J. Rose[79] "a dozen mythological nobodies" with the name Leukippos, 'White-horseman'.

Among the Iranians I have marked from the Zend-Avesta and Herfeld's and Zaehner's books altogether twentythree 'aspa' (asva)-ending names but none beginning with 'aspa' (asva). The names of actual human beings or of their Fravashis are: (1) Airizraspa; (2) Arjaspa; (3) Aurvataspa; (4) Dazgaraspa; (5) Drvaspa; (6) Frinaspa; (7) Gogosaspa; (8) Gustaspa; (9) Habaspa; (10) Hitaspa; (11) Hvaspa; (12) Jamaspa; (13) Kathwaraspa; (14) Keresaspa; (15) Kshoiwraspa; (16) Loharaspa; (17) Pourushaspa; (18) Shavaspi; (19) Tumaspa; (20) Vazaspa; (21) Visaspa; (22) Vishtaspa and (23) Yuktaspa. We may note further that in a record of Assyrian Shalamaneser III (858-824 B.C.) in a list of the kings on the other side of the Euphrates paying tribute to him was one Kundaspi. In another record of an Assyrian King more than a century later a king named Kushtaspi is mentioned as reigning in that region.[80]

As for 'ratha'-based names, a Kassite king, whose date is not ascertainable, bore the name Abırattas: Abhiratha, i.e., "facing chariots in battle".

77. *Op. cit.*, p. 27.
78. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 144. Italics mine.
79. *Op. cit.*, p. 231.
80. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 282-83.

Similarly there was a Mitanni king named Tusratha, i.e., Tvishratha, i.e., Tvesharatha, meaning 'one having rushing chariots'.[81] It is intriguing to find that in the Rigveda in the second half of one stanza the word 'abhi' occurs as the first part of two compounds, "abhivirah" and "abhisatva" with "jaitram ratham", "conquering chariot", which Indra is asked to ride. The two compounds are interpreted to mean, "Surpassing heroes" and "Surpassing men". Abhiratha may, therefore, be better translated as "Overpowering chariots". The Iranian literature has yielded atleast four names ending in 'ratha', but three of them are of Fravashis and one of a semi-man.[82]

The third variety of names is the 'u'-ending ones. As we have seen in chapter ten, such names formed about 16.7 per cent. of the total persons named in the Rigveda as listed in *Vedic Index*. The percentage of 'u'-ending personal names among 425 individuals of the later Vedic age, works out as 8.5, there being only 36 individuals with 'u'-ending names. Among the 492 named kings of the Puranic dynastic lists sixty-two (62), or 12.6 per cent, of them, are found to bear an 'u'-ending name.

In the first forty-three steps of the Puranic dynastic lists, i.e., upto Bharata, there are, 88 (eighty-eight) named kings who are derived from the five Rigvedic patriarchs or ethnic units Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvasa and Yadu, leaving out all persons preceding them. Among them there are 19 kings whose names end in 'u', and they form 21.6 per cent. of the total named kings of these five units who lived before Bharata. On the other hand, among the 70 (seventy) named kings of the same period belonging to the Ikshvaku, Videha and Vaisali dynasties, there being 10 persons with 'u'-ending names, kings bearing 'u'-ending names formed only 14.3 per cent. Among the total 178 named kings of these three dynasties, i.e., of the eastern people, as against the Pauravas and others, the western peoples of Rigvedic fame, there are only 17 kings with 'u'-ending names. They thus formed only 9.5 per cent. of the total number of their named kings. Among the 271 kings of the above-mentioned five Rigvedic ethnic units, there were, on the other hand, 13.6 per cent. of such persons. The Rigvedic ethnic units thus were more prone to sport names ending in 'u' than the even older Ikshvakus, Videhans and Vaisalians, i.e., the eastern peoples.

Pargiter has identified Rigvedic Vadhryasva with the king of the same name in the North Panchala dynasty of the Puranic lists. He figures as the 62nd in the lists. From him to the Bharata war, represented by the 95th step there are 33 steps. Among the 180 (one-hundred-and-eighty) kings that figure in the period, there are twelve (12) bearing 'u'-ending

81. Burrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
82. *RV*, X, 103.5; Zend Avesta: Gos. Yt. 18; Farvardin Yast, 108.

names and thus forming 12.7 per cent. of the total. The kings descending from the Rigvedic five, Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvasa and Yadu, in this period number 108 in the lists; and there are 9 (nine) among them whose names end in 'u'. 'U'-ending names among the kings belonging to Rigvedic ethnic units and of Rigvedic times but listed in the Puranic genealogical data account for only 8.3 per cent. of the total number of their kings in the period. Similar kings among those of three eastern dynasties, Ikshavaku, Videhan and Vaisalian, during the same period formed only 4.4 per cent. Among the 312 (three-hundred-twelve) kings that precede Vadhryasva in the dynastic lists there are 50 (fifty) with 'u'-ending names. The 'u'-ending names among the kings before Vadhryasva were thus 16 per cent. of the total for the period, whereas among those that came later beginning with him they formed only 8.3 per cent.

The partiality for 'u'-ending names of the Rigvedic people and of the earlier dynasties of the Puranic lists may be a pointer to the ethnic affiliation of the Rigvedic people. Before looking out for it, it is relevant to mention another domain of 'u'-ending names, i.e., the ethnic units themselves. There are thirty-three ethnic units mentioned by name in the Rigveda. Counting the Vaikarna tribe, which is said to have comprised no less than twenty-five tribes or ethnic units nowhere mentioned by name, as one and Turvasa as Turvasu there are thirteen among these ethnic units whose names end in 'u'. 'U'-ending names among named ethnic units in the Rigveda formed about 39.4 per cent. of the total units mentioned by name. This proportion is very high indeed, suggesting that perhaps 'u'-ending names of individuals must have figured in the Rigvedic society in a much larger proportion than what we have been able to discover.

In the Zend-Avesta I have noted 16 'u'-ending names, all the bearers of these names being either 'fravashis' themselves or fathers of 'fravashis'. None of the kings that are mentioned in any book dealing with Iranian civilization appears to bear an u'-ending name. There is one divinity with an 'u'-ending name, i.e., Rashnu, the just judge.[83] Among the tribes and peoples and political communities recorded in the inscription of Darius numbering thirteen there are two which have 'u'-ending names. They are *Sugudu*, the Sogdians, and *Margu*, the Margians of Margiana.[84]

It is further west, in Elam, Mesopotamia, and eastern Anatolia that 'u'-ending names both of deities, persons and places or regions, appear to abound. Not having access to relevant literature, I have marked from three books dealing with the cultural ethnic affairs of the region such names. E. A. Speiser, writing about the ethnic map of the above-men-

83. Zaehner, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 96, 111.
84. *Ency. Brit.*, XVIII, p. 566.

tioned region, mentions the ethnic group Lullu among others, of which the Subareans were like Lullu in so far as they were called Shubaru. The Shubaru are no other people than the Hurrians who were "largely of Indo-European" origin, in fact, the *Mitannu* or the Mitannis. The Lullu referred to themselves as Lullubi but the Akkadians called them the Lullu. Their language is said to belong to the Elamite group. The Shubaru and another ethnic unit of the region provided slaves to the Akkadians. They were so fair-complexioned that the Akkadians described both the ethnic groups in terms which are interpreted by more than one scholar to imply that they were blond races. Speiser, however, thinks that they go too far in holding that view. Another ethnic group of the region is the Kassites, who are referred to as Kassu or Kossu, at least two of their kings having an 'u'-ending name. One of them is Kuri-Galzu III who lived about 1300 B.C., the other being Kadashman-Turgu, who was a contemporary of Hattusilis III, king of the Hittites.[85]

Personal names ending in 'u' are attested in some members of the royalty of the Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians and the Guteans. Among twelve kings of the Guteans whose names are given only one has an 'u'-ending name. He is Arikdenilu.[86] Among the five Sumerian kings of the first dynasty or Ur, the fourth and his son the fifth king are named Elulu and Balulu.[87] Of the five kings of the third dynasty founded by Ur-Nammu, the founder himself, was the one among the five named kings of the dynasty to have an 'u'-ending name.[88] Among the fifteen kings of the dynasty of Lagash named by Hrozny there are two, Lugal-kinishedudu and Lugalannimundu, with 'u'-ending names.[89] The brother of Sargon I of Akkad, Manishtusu, and another king named Dudu were perhaps the two to bear an 'u'-ending name among the reported eleven kings of the dynasty.[90] The son of Gudea of Lagash was named Ningirsu.[91] Among the forty-one kings of the dynasties of Isin, Larsa and Babylon, that lived between the last quarter of the third millennium and last quarter of the 17th century B.C., only one bore an 'u'-ending name.[92] He was Damikilishu, the last king of Larsa. Thus in the Mesopotamian region there were ten 'u'-ending names among eighty-six kings. At least three kings of Elam, Idadu II who lived about 1926 B.C. and implied by his name his ancestor Idadu I, and Khallusu are known to have had 'u'-ending names.[93] The third king lived about 700 B.C.

85. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, pp. 5, 88-90, 104-5, 124; Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 36; *Ency. Brit.*, VIII, p. 118.
86. Hrozny, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
87. Hrozny, *op. cit.*, pp. 64.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-67.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 76.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 83; *Ency. Brit.*, VIII, p. 118.

To search for 'u'-ending names among Sumerians by themselves I scanned the index of the book of S. N. Kramer entitled "History begins at Sumer" and checked up from the text itself ninety-two personal names, which happen to be largely of gods and goddesses, omitting names of territories or cities. There are seventeen 'u'-ending names among them, which yield a percentage of about 18.5. Individuals among these seventeen are: (1) Enkidu, the hero; (2) Ennamibaragga-Utu, Sumerian ruler; (3) Lulu, a physician, (4) Ur-Nammu, Sumerian king. There is only one tribal name among the seventeen and that is Martu, a Semitic tribe.

Our study of personal names has revealed a great concentration of 'asva'-based names among the Ikshvaku kings. The percentage of such names among them is about 2.8 times that among the Rigvedic personages of kingly or noble rank. We have also seen that Ikshvakus, who claimed 52.2 per cent. of the total 'asva'-based names among the 492 named kings of twelve dynasties in the Puranic lists, stand out pre-eminently for their fascination of the horse. What is significant is that 11 out of the 13 such names occur among the first 19 kings of the dynasty which begins with Ikshvaku. The 20th king, Mandhata, finds very honourable mention in the Rigveda and is also reputed to be the seer of hymn 134 of the X book of the RV. He is definitely characterized with his patronymic as Yauvanasva. His Fire is referred to as famous; and he is one of the few personages in whose name fresh Fire-enkindling was done.[94] Ikshvaku, too, is mentioned in the Rigveda but only once and appears to have been regarded as an ancient hero; and there is no further statement about him or any of his doings. For these reasons I have drawn a line at the 20th king of the dynasty, Mandhata, none of the previous personages except Manu, who receives fairly ample attention in the Rigveda, and Ikshvaku, receiving a mention in it. We have to conclude that, the horse-fascination revealed among the early Ikshvaku kings being quite extraordinary, the early Ikshvakus must have been horsemen par excellence.

We have also seen that in the matter of names based on the word 'ratha', 'chariot', their proportion among the Ikshvaku kings is just a little smaller than that among the Rigvedic personages, being 3.3 and 3.75 respectively. What is more all the three 'ratha'-based names of the Ikshvakus occur among kings beginning with Bhagiratha, 45th in the dynastic lists, and end with Dasaratha, the 64th. This contrast and difference becomes more significant because the percentage of 'ratha'-based names among the remaining eleven dynasties of the lists is high, viz., 6.3. We may conclude that the Ikshvakus who were horsemen in their early career, the horse-drawn chariot being a later feature, had not taken

94. *Vedic Index.*

the same fancy for it as the others who were more representative of the Rigvedic peoples. We may suggest, therefore, that the Ikshvakus as an ethnic group must have come into the country earlier than the Rigvedic peoples.

The earliest king named in the dynastic lists who bears a 'ratha'-ending name stands 9th in the Yadava line. He is Chitraratha. The first Ikshvaku king with a 'ratha'-ending name is Bhagiratha who stands 45th. It is not without significance that in the only case of a quarrel between a king and his charioteer reported in the Vedic literature, an Ikshvaku prince is involved. His charioteer not owning his fault while driving him, the prince put the matter before the Ikshvaku people who sided with their king and blamed the charioteer. The charioteer atoned for the sin incurred through the death of a boy under the chariot by reciting some incantation. The Ikshvakus are said to have suffered severe loss of spiritual glow and power on that account and had to appeal to the charioteer to rehabilitate it.[95] This incident indicates that the Ikshvakus had not got used to a standard code of conduct and relations between the occupier and the driver of the chariot.

More than fifty years ago F. E. Pargiter[96] collating the Puranic data and interpreting it, stated that the Ikshvakus and the related dynastic people, whom he called the Manva stock because they were descended from Manu, were Dravidian people, native to the soil of India. The tradition detailed at length by Pargiter does not imply that Manu's sons and their descendants were distinguished from Manu's daughter's descendants as non-Aryan and Aryan respectively. True, tradition speaks of Manu's daughter consorting with Budha, the son of Brihaspati's wife begotten on her by Soma or Chandra and of Pururavas, the issue of the union, consorting with Urvasi, a nymph and sporting in the Himalayan region. The progeny of this union, the principal five descendants, Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvasu or Turvasa and Yadu, also figure as the main ethnic units in the hymns of the Rigveda and are called the Aryan tribes. But so is Ikshvaku referred to as an ancient hero in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda; and the authors of *Vedic Index* collating data from the *Brahmana* literature, remark that "the Ikshvaku line was originally a line of princes of the Purus". Whether one agrees with their last observation or not, it is clear from this reference that there is no suggestion in the Vedic literature of the Ikshvakus being non-Aryan. The progeny of Manu's daughter by Pururavas, Pargiter designates the Aila stock, Pururavas being called Aila in the Rigveda itself (X, 97).

The great fascination for the horse and the use of the word for that animal as a base for such a large number of the names of their early

95. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 332.

96. *Op. cit.*, pp. 254, 288, 295.

kings was an impossibility if the ethnic unit had not arrived at their Indian centre from outside the country and from among a people who had domesticated the horse and had got thoroughly used to and fond of it. For horse is not a native of India. Onager, a horse-like animal, is known and mentioned in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda.[97] The word for it is 'parasvan'. It is said "to be found on the banks of the Indus and in former times even in Southern India.[98]

Apropos of the Ikshvaku fascination for the horse and the concentration of 'asva'-based names among their early kings before Mandhatri, the grestest monarch not only among the Ikshvakus but perhaps among all the kings of Indian antiquity, it is noteworthy that Mandhatri, whose Fire, the Rigveda declares, burnt the Dusyus, and who was, therefore, for the Rigvedic singers an Arya and a member of their community and not a non-Aryan as Pargiter's theory would make him out, is declared by Kutsa,[99] to have been helped by Asvins, and not by the national war-god and the usual helper of the Aryan, in his search for land and plough-land in the acquisition of large dominion. Asvins are general succourers, rescuers, and physicians, but not specifically helpers in the conquests and similar undertakings. Their help to Mandhatri in large conquests means that there was perhaps a special aspect of theirs which the Ikshvakus were aware of or had attributed to them. If this connection of Indo-Aryan Asvins with Mandhatri's military affairs is accepted as a special attribute of Asvins as conceived by the Ikshvakus, the Ikshvakus will have to be considered as sharing that conception with the Mitannis and their Nasatya. For the Mitannis, as we have seen, have called Nasatya to witness and guarantee the treaty made with the Hittites; and their affiliation with the Mitannis will have to be accepted.

The name Asvins, means "possessor of horses" and though the gods are never described as possessors or bestowers of horses, mythology implied in the Rigvedic myth about Dadhyanch proves their power over or connection with the horse. For they are said to have got the information about Tvashtri's mead from Dadhyanch, having first placed a horse's head on him. Their more direct connection with horses is attested by their gift of a white horse to one Pedu, which is described as dragon-slaying almost like Indra and is recommended to be worshipped like Bhaga, one of the more important of Adityas, a group of deities of the Rigvedic pantheon.[100] That the greatest of the Ikshvaku monarchs and the first monarch to figure in history or proto-history should have taken resort to a deity with such connection or control of the horse tends to

97. X, 86.18 and XX, 131.22 respectively.
98. Griffith's note on *AV*, VI, 72.2
99. *RV*, I, 112-13.
100. Macdonell, pp. 45-46, 52, 141, 149.

highlight the immense fascination for and effective use of the horse suggested by the concentration of 'asva'-ending names among the Ikshvaku kings. To make out such a tribe or nation to be natives of India from early times when the horse was not much known in Western Asia requires much more than Pargiter's assertion, there being nothing in the tradition itself to suggest their being native Dravidians.

It may be further noted that even the so-called Saudyumna stock of Pargiter's scheme shows evidence of fondness for the horse. For, as Pargiter[101] has mentioned, the third son of Saudyumna, Vinata for short, was named either Haritasva or Vinatasva, both names ending with 'asva', 'horse'.

Now a curious feature of the Puranic tradition, narrated by Pargiter, which must lead us to doubt its wholesale correctness in other respects, may be mentioned. Saryati, we are told, went to a far distant land beyond Avanti; and that it was called 'Anarta'. But Anarta is not recorded in Vedic literature. Even Panini[102] appears not to have heard about it. For in his enumeration of the politico-cultural communities of his time, he has mentioned Avanti, Kunti, Surashtra and Kachcha among others but not Anarta. I think that the earliest mention of Anarta as region is the one we find in Rudradamana's inscription of about A.D. 150.[103] Neither Law nor Dey has furnished any reference to it outside the Puranas. Further the allocation of Anarta, i.e., Kathiawad with Kusasthuti or Dwarka as its capital, makes Saryati's and his daughter Sukanya's meeting with Chyavana a difficult proposition. The places that are identified as the hermitages of Chyavana, whom Sukanya is said to have disturbed or injured, lie far from Kathiawad or Saurashtra. According to Nando Lal Dey[104] the four places which are known as hermitages of Chyavana are: (1) Chausa in Bengal; (2) On the Satpuda mountains near the river Purna; (3) Dhosi in Jaipur district north of Bairat, and (4) Chilanla on the Ganga in Rai Barelli district. Of these places, in the case of the last two only local tradition associates specific incidents in the life of Chyavana. In Dhosi hermitage Chyavana's eyes are said to have been pierced by a princess of Anupadesa. At Chilanla the sage is said to have been restored to his youth by Asvins. Anupadesa, according to both Law and Dey, was South Malwa.[105] The Puranic tradition about Saryati thus lacks authenticity as far as his relations with Chyavana are concerned!

The Aila stock, the Aryan peoples, according to Pargiter were immigrants. As their ancestor is involved in the Himalayan region, Pargiter[106]

101. *Op. cit.*, p. 254.
102. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-63.
103. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 169-72.
104. *The Geographical Dictionary,* p. 51.
105. *Op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 275 respectively.
106. *Op. cit.*, pp. 297-300.

holds that the Aryans of the Rigveda must have descended into India from the mid-Himalayan region down to the region about Allahabad. He thinks he finds support for his assertion that the Ailas or the Aryans did not enter India through the North-West but that a section of them already in India marched out of or overflowed India through north-West in the tradition he has narrated in so far as that tradition describes the expansion of the Druhyus in the north-west and further. The Mitanni people, who worshipped the Aryan gods already mentioned and invoked them in a treaty about 1400 B.C. in south-eastern Anatolia and eastern Syria, represent that overflow of Indians before the 15th century B.C., the traditional western expansion of the Druhyus, according to tradition, having occurred at about the same time.[107]

One or two facts which appear to me to be sufficient to make one reject this theory of a fairly small tribe, not much celebrated in history, as having pierced its way through the highly civilized vast region that lies between Gandhara on one side and north-eastern Iran and south-eastern Anatolia on the other. Not one of the eleven kings of the Druhyus recorded in tradition bears a name which is horse-based. In Vedic literature[108] Turvasha horses are famed but not Druhyu ones. Gandhara horses do not appear to have been famous any time, for Kautilya's enumeration of the countries of good horses includes Kamboja to the north of Gandhara, Sindhu, and Punjab region named Aratta and Vanayu, i.e., Persia or Arabia but not Gandhara.[109] On the other hand, the Mitanni peoples were expert horse-breeders and one of them named Kikkuli wrote a treatise on horse-breeding.

In north-eastern Mesopotamia the Kassites, who had in their pantheon at least two of the Rigvedic gods, Surya and Maruts, were already ruling in 1750 B.C. Their ancestors must have reached that part of the earth at least a century or so before. The Druhyu overflow of Pargiter cannot explain their existence in their region at that time.

We would be on sounder ground if we were to conclude from the above discussion that what the tradition asserts about the Druhyu expansion refers to their colonies in the immediate north-west of India, in the region of the Pushtu-speaking folks.

We may now return to Pargiter's contention that the Ikshvakus and others to the east of Allahabad were local Dravidians and that their priests or Brahmans were local magic-workers. The latter assertion Pargiter[110] has enveloped with aura by representing it as 'Brahmanism'. He observes: "Brahmanism then originally was not an Aila or Aryan institu-

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 265, 300-301.
108. *Vedic Index*: Turvasa.
109. R. P. Kangle: *The Kautiliya Arthasastra*, pt. II, p. 198.
110. *Op. cit.*, pp. 306, 309.

tion. He earliest brahmans are connected with the non-Aryan peoples, and were established among them when the Ailas entered". As argued above, Pargiter's assertion that the Ikshvakus and other easterners were native Dravidians is not supported by any factual evidence and is actually contradicted by the naming of persons seen in their early royalty. Pargiter[111] himself has drawn our attention to the fact that tradition has ascribed "the earliest of the Rigvedic hymns to non-Aryan kings and rishis". Leaving out the so-called non-Aryan Rishis, I should state Pargiter's assertion in the most acceptable form as "some of the hymns are ascribed by tradition to some very ancient kings of the Manva stock" and consider it. For it is practically impossible to say which are the oldest hymns and which the later and which the newest ones. As a matter of fact, there are a number of Vedicists who look upon the hymns of the I and X books of the Rigveda as later ones and the hymns of all the four specific Manva kings, Nabhanedishta, Saryata, Bhalandana and Mandhatri, figure in the X book. There is a small exception in the case of Bhalandana who has a hymn also in the IX book. And all these hymns are in the same language as the so-called later hymns composed by Aila or the mixed stock sages, i.e., in Vedic Sanskrit and not in Dravidian. This means that the Manva kings' language was Indo-Aryan and not Dravidian as Pargiter avers by declaring them to be of the Dravidian stock. What Pargiter, therefore, has succeeded in establishing from his elaborate discussion and his painstaking identifications of Rigvedic sages and royal personages is what the Ikshvakus and the Manvas had the institution of family-chaplain but the Rigvedic peoples or the Ailas, as he calls them, tended to employ priests as and when necessary and by personal selection and not by hereditary right. Brahmanism proper, i.e., the whole complex of beliefs and practices, that has been known as Brahmanism from about the 5th century B.C., was a development in which, as stated in an earlier chapter, members of most of the ethnic units of ancient India spread from West Punjab to Magadha took an active part.

The brief account of this process presented in chapter five traces the development from sacrifice on a grand or group-scale to domestic ritual sacrifice and various practices of physical purity, control over bodily activities and to cultivation of moral virtues. Here I shall state in brief Pargiter's view of the development of the religious complex in India and point out (1) how it stands contradicted by recent archaeological data and their use for the elucidation of the development in India which I have presented in chapter one and (2) how it is contradicted to some extent at least by his own statements.

111. *Op. cit.*, pp. 302, 312.

Pargiter [112] asserts that physical exercises and bodily control represented in the concept and practice of 'tapas', 'austerities', was the earlier form of the magico-religious complex in India. It was perhaps accompanied by some incantations; and its practitioners were Dravidians or people associated with Dravidian ethnics. When the Aryans or the Ailas arrived and played havoc with the local people, these Dravidian patrons of the practitioners of this magico-religious complex and the practioners of magico-religious complex, almost entirely based on austerities and occult powers gained through them, saw that their future was in jeopardy unless they changed their association and allegiance from the earlier Manva kings to the new Aila or Aryan ones. About the process of adjustment to this new situation Pargiter [113] observes: "That necessiated some assimilation of their [the Manva or Dravidian Brahmans] religious beliefs and practices with those of the Ailas, and caused a gradual change from magic to religious worship". As regards this so-called assimilation it has to be pointed out that Pargiter's statement that "the Aila kings appear to have been their own sacrificers, and the brahmans [the above-mentioned practitioners of austerities for occult power] on becoming established among them assimilated Aila religious ideas and rites and became priests" clearly indicates that sacrifice was an institution current among Ailas and the Manva brahmans adopted it, got instructed into its ritual, i.e., the so-called assimilation was a case of wholesale adoption of the institution of sacrifice by the Manva brahmans and regular employment of brahmans for conducting sacrifices by the Aila kings. Pargiter's main contention or conclusion about the institution of sacrifice that it was developed by Visvamitra and his family about the time of the Paurava king Bharata, who stands forty-fourth in the dynastic lists, is thus a contradiction of his statements quoted above.

Sacrifice as a form of religious worship was current among the Ailas presumably when they arrived in India. Pargiter accepts that proposition. But he asserts that they did not employ brahmans or priests for its performance. He further asserts that the Manva brahmans were practitioners of austerities for occult power. Hence the Manva kings served by them did not practice sacrifice at all. After the so-called assimilation, it appears, the Ailas continued their practice of sacrifice but employed brahmans; and the Manvas began to offer sacrifice, and their brahmans being now trained in the riitual of sacrifice continued to serve them.

Pargiter's assertion that the Manvas did not have sacrifice as a form of worship is flatly contradicted by the earliest Manva king that tradition has preserved and Pargiter has pressed into service for his Dravidian theory. The longer of the two hymns of Nabhanedishtha [114] in the Rig-

112. *Op. cit.*, pp. 308-09.
113. *Op. cit.*, pp. 309-10.
114. *RV*, X, 61 and 62.

veda is exclusively addressed to All-Gods and the shorter half to them and half-a-dozen other gods. The other hymn is devoted to the guerdon that Savarni gave away. The very first stanza of the hymn, X, 61, speaks of Chyavana invoking Asvans to help him capture Turvayana and his parents, Pakhtas by ethnic affiliation and therefore most probably on the very frontier of north-west India, and of Indra as a great patron of the latter, shattering away Chyavana's plans and his sacrifice meant for Asvins, bag and baggage, i.e., with the seven priests gathered for the performance. Besides the two gods Indra and Asvins, many gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, like Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Agni and Surya are then brought in and praised or appealed to. In hymn 62 Nabhanedishtha proclaims his relationship to Manu, describing himself as Manu's son in the last portions of four stanzas. He describes Angiras sages as having sprung from Agni. Then in the description of the guerdon he received, evidently for acting as priest at the sacrifice, from Savarni, the patron and the sacrificer, he incidentally mentions the gifts of Dasas made to him by Yadu and Turva or Turvasa.

Brahmana literature records that Saryata was anointed with Aindra-mahabhisheka by Chyavana, i.e., Chyavana had acted as the chief priest at the great sacrifice that must have been performed by Saryata at the anointment.[115] It is this sacrifice it appears which a Rigvedic sage has referred to in RV, I, 51.12; where Indra's mounting his chariot after having drunk to his fill the Soma draughts that Saryata offered is eulogised. Mandhatri who has only one hymn to his credit, i.e., X, 134, in which he praises Indra, is said to have been helped in acquiring immense dominion by Asvins[116] and to have destroyed Dasyus through the favour of Agni.[117] He was a model for sacrificers to follow with pride. In VIII, 39.8, Agni, the first in sacrifice, is invoked as the slayer of Dasyus for Mandhatri and in VIII, 40.12 the Kanva singer, Nabhaka, recommends himself to Indra-Agni by proclaiming that he has sung their praise in the manner Angirasas and Mandhatri had done. Puranic tradition speaks of some one hundred Rajasuya and Asvamedha sacrifices having been performed by Mandhatri.

We can safely conclude that the Manvas, Ikshvakus and others, were like the Ailas, both Aryan and immigrants, having more or less the same religious complex as that of the Ailas, and what Pargiter has been able to establish is that they were settled in India much before the latter, and that they had a priesthood with them, more or less hereditarily attached to particular families.

We have to try to get a glimpse of the cultural complex of these

115. *Vedic Index:* Chyavana, Saryata.
116. *RV*, I, 112-13.
117. VIII, 39.8; Chitrav, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

eastern and earlier Indo-Aryans in order to complete our quest for ethnic affiliations of the Vedic Indo-Aryans. Of the eastern Indo-Aryans the Ikshvakus stand out supremely important, having clearly impressed Indians throughout the ages. The first index of their impress is the fact that, except for three kings in the total 94, the names of all are recorded by tradition and are available to posterity. Among the famous group of 16 chakravartins, sovereigns, of Puranic tradition, six of their kings have found places. One has to add to them Vaisalian Marutta and perhaps also Prithu Vainya to make up the total quota of the eastern dynasties to the group. There is an epic, singing the deeds and narrating the trials of the most popular king of the dynasty, Rama, who has been deified for the last two thousand years or more and is worshipped by millions of Indians in superb temples and domestic shrines. The epic not only presents the genealogy of the dynasty but eulogizes the deeds of some of the greater benefactors from among the kings. To cap all this, the national poet of India, Kalidasa, has portrayed some of the personages of this dynasty to emphasize its being named Raghuvamsa, the family or the house of Raghu, beginning with Dileep II to Agnivarna, i.e., from the 60th king down to the 87th. Some cultural data from this valuable material will, I think, provide the basis for comparison with similar cultural items of the ethnic units, which we have earlier put in juxta-position with those of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans and also with those of the latter.

To begin with, I have to point out that I have already presented, in the second chapter, data about the continued practice of bull-sacrifice on various occasions evidenced in the Ramayana. The Ikshvaku family practised it long after it was stopped in Brahmanic India elsewhere and we must presume that it evoked no repulsion among their subjects. Such a state of affairs implies earlier great respect for it and its having been a continuously long established practice.

The representative Rigvedic sacrifice is, however, the horse-sacrifice. The Ramayana narrates the performance of two such, that performed by Dasaratha being fully described. In the third chapter, I have stressed the rigid adherance to the ancient practice of the chief queen simulating or actually carrying out copulation with the sacrificial horse as it lay, observed in that sacrifice, though the revolting practice had been discouraged in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, i.e., more than five hundred to eight hundred years before the age of the epic. That it could be described as actually practised by Dasaratha's queen is clear indication that it was not considered revolting but as a magic rite necessary for the welfare of the realm as of old. Standard and orthodox horse-sacrifice thus appears to have been a very deeply rooted institution among the Ikshvakus. The conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the Ramayana

assures its readers that horse-sacrifice was first performed by Svayambhu, Prajapati and thus propounds its divine establishment. The commentator is evidently disturbed about the assertion and casting about for authority presents us with a 'sruti', 'sacred text', meaning "Prajapati created the asvamedha", though he is unable to provide specific reference to any of the Vedic works for the passage.

The zest with which the full details of the sacrifice might have been appreciated by the people may be guaged from the description of the offerings of the marrow and the flesh of the animal and of the king's being made to smell the odour of the burning marrow to cleanse him to his sins. It is further emphasized that the whole flesh of the animal was burnt in the fire as oblations by the full complement of sixteen priests helping at the performance. The whole performance occupied three days.[118]

Sacrifice-mindedness of Dasaratha, evincing Ikshvaku adherence to ancient Vedic culture, is manifest in the performance of half-a-dozen other sacrifices from the fourth day of the horse-sacrifice onwards.[119] The enumeration of the sacrifices perfomed reminds one of the Nanaghat cave inscription of about the second half of the 1st century B.C., which records various sacrifices performed by Queen Naganika of the Satavahana royal house.[120] One then wonders whether the author of the epic had his eye on what was happening about his time in the wake of the revival of Vedic culture after its temporary eclipse by Buddhist upheaval, adding details suggested by the scene. The first section of the epic in which this occurs is generally considered to be later in composition than the remaining five of Part I, which as a whole is earlier than Part II. This situation can lend support to the above suggestion. However, in section four, 4.8, Rama is introduced by Laxmana to Hanuman as the son of Dasaratha, who performed sacrifices like Agnistoma giving away large guerdon. The enumeration of Dasaratha's sacrifices must be considered to be an organic part of the original epic and, therefore, likely to have been composed before the Vedic revival which cannot be dated arlier than about 200 B.C.

The brahmin subjects of the Ikshvaku kings would appear to have been equally enthusiastic about Vedic culture. We are informed by the epic-poet that when Rama began walking out of Ayodhya on his exile, the whole Brahmin male-population followed him requesting him to return. They had borne over their heads white umbrellas and had in their hands the fire-carriers; for they had all performed the Vajapeya sacrifice, the equivalent of Kshatriya's Rajasuya, and had taken the ini-

118. *Ram.*, I, 14.40.
119. *Ibid.*, I, 14.40-43.
120. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 186-190.

tiation for other sacrifices. They argued that they would complete the sacrifices only on his return.[121]

Another piece of evidence of adherence to Vedic practices like sacrifice and oblation is provided by Rama's worship of Narayana (Vishnu) on the eve of his projected anointment and his ritual at inauguration of his hermitage on Chitrakuta mountain. The worship which Rama offered to Narayana (Vishnu) in the palace-temple consisted simply of an oblation of ghee which he held to his head and presenting to the deity poured into the fire, lit up for the purpose it seems at the place, and partook of its remnants in the pot.[122] When the hut of the hermitage on the Chitrakuta mountain was ready for occupation, Rama offered the purificatory and benedictory rite, known as 'Vastusanti', 'pacification of the House'. He got Laxmana to hunt a black antelope and to roast it in fire whole. On Laxmana having roasted the black antelope, Rama offered in the fire oblations to All-Gods, Rudra and Vishnu of its flesh, reciting various pacificatory incantations.[123]

The strength of the sentiment in favour of animal sacrifice as an essential element in the religious complex of the Ikshvaku family was so great that even after eight hundred years or more after Buddhist and Jaina preaching of non-slaughter and elite Hindu acceptance of it in their standard religious worship, Kalidasa,[124] describing the rehabilitation of Ayodhya by Rama's son Kusa, has particularly mentioned the fact that the worship offered to the town-deity was accompanied by offerings of animal flesh.

The Sun, Surya or Savitri, is a deity of the Rigvedic pantheon and we have seen that the Kassites, too, had Surya as a god in their pantheon. But as Savitri he is specifically Rigvedic Indo-Aryan, not shared with them by any ancient ethnic unit. The famous prayer addressed to him, the 'Gayatri' as it is known, which is a high caste Hindu was wont to repeat two times a day, is, as stated elsewhere, an ennobling text and has been valued by some students as much more appealing than that addressed to the same deity by the reformer Pharaoh of ancient Egypt, Amenhotep III. The prayer happens to be a part of a hymn in the III book of the Rigveda and is the work of sage Visvamitra.[125] The Ramayana presents us a new aspect of the Sun god. The Sun is made a war-deity, success in battle depending on his favour. Sage Agastya divulges to Rama what he calls the "Suryaridaya", "Sun-heart" which is a string of names of Gods, some of them of the Rigvedic pantheon, others

121. *Ram.*, II, 45.20-28.
122. II, 6.1-3.
123. *Ram.*, II, 56.22-32.
124. *Raghuvamsa*, XVI, 39.
125. *RV*, III, 62.10.

of the modern Brahmanic pantheon and still others that are minor ones, and some epithets of the Sun, old or new ones, appropriately worded for victory-securing, and asks him to repeat it thrice to ensure success against Ravana with whom Rama's fight was just about to start.[126] Two of the commentators consulted appear to be at sea, being unable, naturally, to find any Vedic passage mentioning this incantation. It appears to me that it is a special heirloom of Agastya, the Sage, who figures so much in Rama's life during his exile and also after his victorious return to Ayodhya and who was interested in the destruction of the Rakshasas, has evidently moulded an estoric formula and passed it on to Rama. It is befitting as Rama belongs to the solar dynasty. No such incantation figures in the later war of the western, i.e., Aila Indo-Aryan people, the Bharata war. Karna is the son of the Sun-god who presented his son with impenetrable armour. Wearing of an impenetrable armour by a warrior was almost cetain to secure him victory in any fight. However, a pure incantation is a different affair, which being entirely mental, an appeal to the Sun-god, makes the deity a war-god. In the Rigveda the Sun in his non-physical aspect is an inspirer of the higher faculties, the Sun in the Ramayana incantation figures as a war-deity. May this not be counted as another point of difference between the eastern and the western sections of the Vedic culture ?

A very marked feature of the living pattern of the family of Rama and of the residents of Ayodhya depicted in the Ramayana is the prominence of wine and of meat meals. One, not knowing the Vedic people's fondness for and sacrificial use of drink, gets a shock at reading that Sita vowed both to the sacred river Ganga and to the boisterous dark river Yamuna, while crossing them with Rama on their exile, ample amount of 'sura', wine, on their safe return to Ayodhya. For as far back as the Rigveda itself the drink was sometimes referred to with "decided disapproval" and in the Atharvaveda it was classed with meat and dicing as an evil.[127] By the time of the Upanishads' avoidance of wine was so far considered a virtue in an individual and in a community that we find the philosopher king of the western part, Asvapati of the Kekayas, proudly mentioning the fact of none of his subjects drinking spirituous liquor as one of the marks of his morally successful rule.[128] The Dharmasastras have forbidden the drink in the same tone as that of the Atharvaveda.

To Ganga Sita promised worship with one thousand jars full of wine and rice cooked with flesh, including, it appears, human flesh—the compound is awkward as the word 'bhuta' is placed after 'mansa', 'flesh'; but the commentary *Tilaka* rightly takes it to mean 'mahabali', 'great

126. *Ram.*, VI, 105.4-26.
127. *Vedic Index*: Sura.
128. *Chchand, Up.*, V, 11.5.

oblation'. She vows to sacrifice hundred bulls and offer hundred jars full of wine to the Yamuna.[129]

In the elaborate end enormous provision made by sage Bharadvaja, who made a special request to the artificer-God for a miracle to enable him to make it, to receive Bharata, Rama's brother, with his huge entourage, there were abundant stocks of both flesh and wine. The stock of wine is expressed in terms of wells, stating that there were wells in the area, marked out for the sojourn of Bharata, which were full of wine (sura) and were topped with choice ready-to-eat-meat. The wine in the wells was one of special kind, 'maireya'. The special divine dancers, Bharadvaja had requisitioned, were dancing in a state of intoxication to amuse the camp people. The drink that they are said to have partaken of was 'madira'. In the huge entourage of Bharata, among the artists and artisans there were both the distillers and the purveyors of spirituous drinks. In the description of Ayodhya as Bharata saw it on his return from Rama without him, among other analogies or comparisons we find that of a drinking booth ("panabhumi") which is not swept and is strewn with broken cups, and dead drunkards. Bharata could not notice in the atmosphere any smell of wine (varuni) or of many fragrant things.[130]

Among the enjoyment, sportings, and amusements which Rama is described as having allowed himself, after his return to Ayodhya along with Sita, we find him feeding Sita with fine spirituous liquor called 'maireya' with his own hands as Indra is wont to do to his consort Sachi.[131]

In this context of three or four kinds figuring as a favourite drink and a necessary item, not only on jovial occasions but also in vowing to divine objects, it is not without significance that we should find what is the earliest account of the gods' churning of the ocean from which they are said to have secured fourteen valuable objects, spirituous liquor or wine being one of them. The drink is personified as Varuni or as the daughter of Varuna, the lord of the ocean, in the Ramayana[132] account of this great endeavour of the gods. To provide a fanciful derivation of the names 'asura' for 'demon' and 'sura' for 'god', the deified drink is then called 'sura' ('a' long); and it is stated that the demons not having accepted 'varuni-sura', came to be known as 'asura'. The gods, 'sura', having accepted Varuni, 'sura' ('a' long), became known as 'sura'. It is noteworthy that the production of only five of the fourteen objects named in the current text are mentioned and the account is closed. Among the five is 'Amrita', 'nectar', which the Ramayana account states was pro-

129. *Ram.*, II, 52.89; 55.20.
130. *Ram.*, II, 83.14; 84.10; 91.52, 70; 114.14, 20.
131. *Ram.*, VII, 42.18-20.
132. I, 45.20-40.

duced immediately after 'Varuni' 'sura'. Sura ('a' long) or wine is thus represented as the drink acceptable to Gods, which is also clear from Sita's vows mentioned above. Thus wine appears to have been much patronized among the Ikshvakus, who, therefore, can be declared to have been keeping up their Vedic heritage much longer than the western or the Aila section of the Vedic Indians.

That patronage of wine, a native production for long, was a trait of the eastern culture is curiously implied in the myth of Ekavratya as narrated in the Atharvaveda, where we read that 'sura', 'wine', 'Magadha', 'resident of Magadha' and 'Itihasa', 'Purana and Gatha' the three bardic narrative genres,[133] accompanied him. Panini has recorded that the "easterners", "prachyas", were fond of 'sura', 'wine'. Panini has named four kinds of wine: (1) madya; (2) sura; (3) maireya and (4) Kapisayana. The last variety, grape-wine from Afghanistan, was an imported item.[134] It is in keeping with this that Kautilya,[135] an author and a politician from the eastern side of the country, being a pandit and adviser at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, should have prescribed the erection of a temple to Madira ('a' long), 'madira' ('a' long) wine personified and deified, along with those for Sri, or Lakshmi, Asvins, Vaisravana and Siva, in the centre of a city. This speaks volumes for the popularity of wine in the eastern part of the country. The astute politician and able economist exploited this popularity to augment his prince's treasury but at the same time making shrewd concession to public needs, allowed the private manufacture of white liquor on festive occasions. By his time, to the import of Kapisayana wine was added that of another from another part of Afghanistan.

Partiality for wine or liquor prevalent among the Ikshvakus was so great that even in the classical age, when the normative prohibition against drink for the elite of the society was almost a millennium old, Kalidasa has taken good care to highlight it in his saga of the family of Raghu, i.e., of the Ikshvakus of the generations after Dileepa II. In his moving lament of Aja on the sudden and premature death of his wife Indumati, Kalidasa has told us that the king specifically mentioned the drink of wine that Indumati had, just before she expired, from out of his own mouth.[136] In the enjoyment pattern of the family, drinking of wine by husband and wife was an item of endearment. Rama and Sita's enjoyment mentioned above as narrated in Ramayana being a rather tame affair compared with that of Aja and Indumati's.

The people of Kosala-Videha, i.e., Ikshvakus and related ethnics may

133. XV, 6 and 9; *Aitareya Br.*, XV, 2.
134. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 116, 216, 246.
135. R. P. Kangle's trans. cf. *Kautiliya Arthasastra,* pp. 80, 178-79.
136. *Raghuvamsa,* VIII, 68.

be regarded as the older stratum of the same people who later got celebrated in the Rigveda, retaining as they did old traits of their culture.

To continue our pursuit of ethnic affiliation through personal names I have to mention the few peculiar ones that one comes across among the Rigvedic personages, whose compeers or cognates do not figure among personal names of the later Vedic times or among those of Epic Puranic literature. These names are: (1) Apnavana, (2) Aulana, (3) Bhayamana, (4) Bhrigvana, (5) Chayamana, (6) Chyavana, (7) Chyavatana, (8) Haryana, (9) Kaurayana, (10) Manyamana, (11) Prithavana, (12) Takavana and (13) Turvayana. These are classifiable on the basis of their last parts, represented by the two ending letters as (a) 'ana'-ending, (b) 'mana'-ending, (c) 'tana'-ending, (d) 'vana'-ending and (e) 'yana'-ending. The cerebralization of 'n' in Bhrigvana and Harayana, Kaurayana and Turvyana is due to the presence of 'r' in them, which according to Sanskrit euphonic practice cerebralizes an 'n' in an appropriate place. As against this number of thirteen peculiar personal names among about 240 individuals of the Rigveda, only one name of the same type, Bhajamana, is met with among the thousand or so individuals of the Epic-Puranic literature listed in the index to Pargiter's book *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. Bhajamana was the eldest son of Satvat, the 66th king in the Yadava line in Pargiter's dynastic lists, who did not rise to fame though he had inherited a part of the Yadava kingdom.

Prof. Burrow who treats Bhrigavana and Turvayana as ordinary substantives, meaning 'shining' and 'victorious' respectively, sees 'avana' and 'ayana' as the formative suffixes. He explains with the aid of these two suffixes, three other names of the thirteen noted above. They are our numbers one and eleven with the first suffix and number eight with the second. Our number three, and ten can be explained by the 'man'-suffix of his; but I am not sure of Chayamana, our fifth, can be similarly accounted for. Our Kaurayana, derivable from Kuru, too, may not be of the same type as Turvayana or Harayana. Can Chyavana be explained on the basis of 'avana', I think not. Aulana, being explained by authors of *Vedic Index* as a patronymic posits Ulana as the father's name of that individual; and as there is no 'avana' in it we have to admit "ana"-ending names as non-derivative! Takavana, too, is treated as a patronymic derivable from Taku. Chyavatana eludes us. While mentioning Burrow's derivations of the majority of the peculiar names from meaningful Sanskrit words, with Sanskrit linguistic usage, I have to point out that Panini in his fairly detailed statement on the personal names of his time does not mention any of these names or similar names, much less the suffixes put up by Prof. Burrow.[137]

137. Burrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 368; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-93.

Curiously we come across some personal names ending in 'ana' and 'mana', and thus resembling the Rigvedic peculiar names, in Indian history from about the 1st century of the Christian era among the Sakas, the Scythic people, and the Huns, who coming from the Iranian regions of Seistan and further north west, settled and ruled over certain parts of the country. The Kshaharata, who became an independent king breaking way from his vassalship of the Mathura Krushans and ruled over a large part of the northern portion of the west coast in about A.D. 100, was named Nahapana (third 'a' long). In an inscription on a memorial pillar, raised in the time of Chashtana, a Kshatrapa of Kutch, more or less contemporary with Nahapana, it is stated that it was in memory of one named Madhukana, the first and second 'a's in the word being long.[138] Here is then another Scythic name ending in 'ana'. From Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* we learn that a king of Kashmir, the second son of Pravarasena I, *c.* A.D. 58, was named Toramana and that his wife Anjana was the daughter of Vajrendra of the "House" of the Ikshvakus. The Huna King who was ruling over eastern Malwa in the first decade of the 6th century A.D. was named Toramana (second 'a' long). The Hunas who had been making inroads into the country in the later years of the Gupta dynasty had evidently established their dominion for some time.[139] The son and successor of Bappa Rawal, the founder of the Guhila house of Mewad, was name Khumman. He ascended the throne of Mewad in A.D. 754.[140] According to Kalhana, the Kashmiri historian, during king Sankaravarman's reign, about the middle of the 9th century, an expedition was led against a king of Gujarat who was name Alakhana. Later the Kashmiris are said to have deposed the reigning monarch of the Shahi kings of Ohind. The individual set up by them as king was named Toramana and was the son of the deposed king.[141]

Turvayana of the Rigveda was a leader or king of the Pakhtas, an ethnic unit of the north-west. In view of the fact that persons of more or less similar names, known from history more than two thousand years later, came from Scythic and similar units of further north-west we can justifiably conclude that one of the sections of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans came from the Scyths and other Iranians from Central Asia. The 'u'-ending personal names suggest a complement from the ancient Iranians and also from ethnic units of Sumero-Babylonian affiliation. This affiliation of a section, which on our reasoning must be considered to have been a dominant one, is supported or rather necessitated by the presence of one of the most important cultural traits, that of the sacrifice of a

138. *Journal of Indian History*, 1970, pp. 252-57.
139. Raja., III, 105; *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp. 81, 83, 87.
140. M. L. Mathur in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1954, pp. 31-37.
141. *Cam. Shorter Hist. Ind.*, p. 121.

horse to a deity, among both the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans and the Sumero-Babylonians of Mesopotamia. In this context the discovery of two horse skeletons laid on their sides, one on its right and the other on its left, in the pre-Buddhist graves of Swat [142] is significant. Though the corpses were not particularly stratified, the graves are dated to about 1500 B.C. Their necropolitan location suggests Maikopian affiliation of the horse-sacrifice and not either the Babylonian of the west or the Indo-Aryan of the east. Dr. Thapar has mentioned the presence of evidence for the horse in the ruins of Shah Tepe in association with the grey ware pottery. But he has not specified the nature of that evidence, whether suggesting the use of the animal for transport or for food or for sacrifice.[143] I have not been able to fix it owing to the non-availability to me of the report on the Shah Tepe excavations. I therefore keep Shah Tepe find aside.

The introduction of horse in Western Asia is credited to the Indo-Europeans and is said to have become "more common" from about 1900 B.C. B. Hrozny [144] asserts that the Babylonian, Hebrew and Egyptian words for the horse are derivable from the old Indian word for it, *asvah*, and not from the centum *ekuos* whic his present in the Hittite-hieroglyphic *akuvaya*, "on horseback". Horse-breeding was carried on by the Mitannis, one of whose scholars had written a book on the subject. The horse-sacrifice among the Babylonians, whose textual existence is datable only to the second half of the second millennium B.C., must be traced to the influence of the Indo-European peoples now known to have been present in the West-Asian region from before 1500 B.C. At least three of the half a dozen names [145] of individuals in Syria—Palestine datable to about 1400 or 1500 B.C., appear specifically Indo-Aryan. They are: (1) Suvardata, (2) Indarota and (3) Subandu. Suvardata, which Prof. Burrow equates with Sanskrit Svardatta, "given by heaven", may be compared with Rigvedic Divodasa, "the servant of heaven" and perhaps also with Rudrabhuti,[146] "prosperous through Rudra's favour", and more so with Sarvadatta, "given by Sarva" of later Vedic literature. Indarota is Sanskrit Indrota, "helped by Indra". Indarota or Indrauta occurs as the name of a Palestinian chieftain in the Tell-El-Amarna letters. Prof. W. F. Albright,[147] in his traslation of the particular letter, notes that it is the "same Indo-Aryan name as that of his contemporary Indrota". The same name occurs in a letter of the the beginning of the reign of the Pharaoh, Akh-en-Aten, which began in 1380 B.C. Subandu has his

142. Chiara Silvi Antonini in *East and West,* 1963, p. 17.
143. In *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture,* p. 161.
144. *Ancient History,* pp. 42, 112; Gurney, *op. cit.,* pp. 104-05, 124-28.
145. Burrow, *op. cit.,* pp. 27-28.
146. These names are mentioned in chapter VI above.
147. J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* pp. 100, 484, 487.

equivalent in Rigvedic Subhandhu, one of the two Gopayana brothers, whom tradition makes Agastya's sister's sons, named in RV, X, 60.7, a hymn which tradition represents as their composition. Apropos of Subandu, an 'u'-ending personal name among Palestinnians, it may be mentioned that at least one of the Kassite kings of Babylon was named Kadashman Tugru. He figures as an ally of the Hittite king Hattusilis III, 1275-1250 B.C.[148] The 'horse'-based and 'chariot'-based names among private individuals or kings among the Kassites and the Mitannis already mentioned combined with these specific names among Syrians and Palestinians do suggest a fairly close affiliation of at least some of the tribes of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans with the Indo-Europeans of south-eastern Anatolia and north-eastern Mesopotamia of early second millennium B.C.

We have seen above that two other ethnic units among the Indo-Europeans, the Asvestan Iranians and the Greeks, had such 'horse'-based personal names among them. The Iranians had further 'chariot'-based and 'u'-ending personal names, too, among them. As against this manifestly greater closeness of the Avestic Iranians to the Vedic Indo-Aryans I must point out an intriguing fact that presses the claim of the West-Asian Indo-Europeans for closer affiliation with them. And that is that in a prayer of king Mursilis of the Hittites, who lived about the third quarter of the 14th century B.C., we read of "the people of Kurustama" which, as the translator points out, was "a city in the Kashkean country of northern Anatolia".[149] The 'Kuru'-part of the word does evoke a sense of closeness of the people to the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans, among whom we come across a prince named Kurusravana.[150]

We have seen that the gods of whom the Mitannis and the Kassites have left traces in their records are all of them represented in the Rigvedic pantheon. Even the tutelary minor deities like those of the field and the home appear to have been common with the Hittites. The presence of Maruts, and Surya among the Kassites is particularly significant. The importance of Surya in the Rigvedic Indo-Aryan religion is such that it may be said to be one of its chief characteristics.

From the known customs of the disposal of the dead of the royalty or the elite people among the Hittites we can conclude that there was almost nothing in them which could be said to be contrary or opposed to the practices known to be prevalent among Rigvedic Indo-Aryans. On the other hand, the procedure of the disposal of the dead among the Avestan Iranians may be pronounced to be an anathema to a Vedic or later Brahmanic Indian.

The Greek disposal of the dead shows some very specific features of

148. Gurney, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
149. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 395.
150. *RV*, X, 33.

similarity or identity with those of the Vedic ritual and practice of the disposal of the dead. The ox-sacrifice and the use of the ox-fat and ox-hide is too particular to be ignored. Added to this is the very queer fact of the use of pots with breasts-like protuberances in the disposal of a female body, which, if not contradicted by any other known fact or by new evidence, must clinch the issue of affiliation of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans with the ancient Greeks in the affirmative! So specific is this resemblance in such a deeply inner cultural matter as the disposal of the dead! The Avestan Iranians stand poles apart from both the Vedic Indo-Aryans and the Greeks in this matter of deep import in all civilizations. The Greek mythology about Poseidon and the origin of the horse bears such close resemblance to some centring round Varuna and Surya in the Puranic-Epic literature of the Indians that considering the distance in time and space, separating the two peoples and their relevant literatures, one cannot but think of some original ethnic affinity between them. The Greek beliefs and practices centred round the Hermes-cult and Demeter-worship proclaim their relationship with the phallus cult of later India; and the Dionysian mysteries parallel the practices connected in later India with the Sakta cult.

Particularly remarkable is the similarity or rather identity between the Greek view of the origin of the horse and the revolting practice of the principal woman in the Bouphonia festival copulating with the bull or with her husband dressed up as the bull, on the one hand, and the Indo-Aryan mythology about the horse and the ritual copulation of the queen of the king celebrating a horse-sacrifice with the sacrificial horse, which later came to be discouraged, on the other. These two items along with the closeness of the Greek language to Sanskrit can suggest that the two people, the Greeks and the Indo-Aryans, must have lived in great proximity to each other. The precise relationship between the two languages, Greek and Sanskrit, as Prof. Burrow [151] informs us is such that if one "glances through a comparative grammar of Sanskrit" he will find "much more numerous correspondences between Sanskrit and Greek than those between Sanskrit and any other language of the family than Indo-Iranian". That postulation of mere closeness of habitat and even intercourse will not suffice to explain these cultural similarities between the ancient Greeks and the Indo-Aryans is realized by one when one takes into consideration the mythological and ritual developments, which are mentioned above and which, we know, made their appearance much later in the history of the two peoples, i.e., more than a millennium after their separation from the main Indo-European domicile. This is the conclusion that is also borne in upon one by the linguistic history of the two

151. *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

peoples. For as Prof. Burrow [152] observes: "some of the common features [linguistic] are of late Indo-European origin and must be regarded as common innovations, and not as cases of the common preservation of ancient forms".

We thus see that some ethnic unit or units among the Vedic Indo-Aryans must have been of the same ethnic stock as that of the ancient Greeks, when the ancestors of the Vedic Indo-Aryans and those of the Greeks were living in their original domicile; and must have formed one or more of the ethnic units among the Indo-Aryans that entered India and created the Vedic-Indian culture.

As for the Avestan Iranians, I have not been able to detect any mythology, except some about the Soma plant, which can invite one to compare it with that of the Indo-Aryans. The pantheon appears common in names to some extent; but in its fundamentals, though not opposed to that of the Indo-Aryans in all respects, yet the fact that the great national war-god of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans figures as a demon among the Avestan Iranians should be enough to dissuade one from seeking correspondences or similarities in other gods of the pantheon and in worship. In the matter of the disposal of the dead it is well-known that the Iranian ritual is poles apart from Vedic Indo-Aryan.

The problem of the nature of the affiliation of the Iranians with the Vedic Indo-Aryans is further complicated by the fact that throughout later history, that is from about 2000 B.C. to about the 6th century A.D., one or the other of the ethnic units of the many that have made the Iranian group or family has been living as the next-door-neighbour of Vedic and non-Vedic-Indians. This fact is established both by historical events and by our statement regarding the currency of certain personal names among both the peoples. Further, Iranians, though their precise tribal and linguistic specification is not known, have been thought to have inhabited western Iran, proto-historic Elam, from before even 4000 B.C. Some groups of these early Elamite-Iranians are believed to have crossed over the Persian gulf into southern Mesopotamia. They and the Semites from the western side together fusing in that region are credited with the creation of the first urban civilization. Later, Sumerian pastoralists from Transcaucasia or Transcaspia pressed on through western Iran, i.e., Elam, and swooped on that Irano-Semitic civilization. The three peoples together then raised what is known as the Sumerian civilization, a highly developed urban one.[153] This implies the presence of some section or branch of the ancestors of later Iranians in Elam, i.e., east-south-east Iran. Eduard Meyer, in his contribution on Persia to the 14th

152. *Ibid.*
153. S. N. Kramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-279.

edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* fifty years ago, was convinced that the Iranians in ancient times were spread far and wide, from the southern steppes of Russia to Turan (Turkestan) and the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

Prof. Masson, perhaps the leading Soviet archaeologist of the Central Asian scene, thinks it possible that the aboriginal substratum of south-west Central Asia spoke Indo-Iranian. He is speaking of Namazga III period time, which is datable to the time-bracket late fourth to early third millennium B.C. All the same Prof. Masson himself commenting on the burials discovered in the region and datable to the Namazga III period sees in them evidence of the influx of people from the Sialk III-Hissar I culture area, i.e., northern and eastern Iran. The pottery further strengthens his view. The incoming population, according to Prof. Masson, "possibly" was ethnically similar to the native people. Some of the figurines discovered in the culture stratum reminded, we are told, Prof. Masson of the "Iranians figuring on the stele of Naramsin. Prof. Masson specified even the agents of the transmission. They were the Elamite and Gutian elements.

About the finds at the Karadepe site, where a chalcolithic culture flourished in the same Turkmenian region from about the end of the 5th millennium well into the 2nd millennium B.C., G. Frumkin has stated the view of Soviet archaeologists thus: "The types of pottery are said to present analogies with objects from North Iran. Similarly changes in burial rites and anthropological [racial?] characteristics—the latter are possibly not entirely convincing—suggest an influx from Northern Iran".

Van Loon's comment on Prof. Masson's views bring out the contrast between the Soviet archaeologists and western scholars. These latter he points out look upon the appearance of the rugged skull type of the Turkmenian finds of the Namazga III period in fair number in Hissar III as evidence of the influx of population from the Central Asian steppes. He also states that similar contrast is noted in regard to "the gray burnished ware and trough-spouted vessel complex", Soviet scholars attributing its influx in Central Asia to "the heavy cultural pressure continuously emanating from Iran" and western scholars seeking a Central Asian origin for it.[154]

It is seen that there is great nebulosity regarding the very early spread of the ancestors of the people whom we know by the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. as Medes and Avestan Iranians. The ancestors of Avestan Iranians having been present in both Central Asia and in Iran very early, i.e., before 2500 B.C. their later migrations cannot be validly used for fixing the migration and spread and time of the ancestors of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans.

154. Maurits van Loon in *Archaeology,* 1971, pp. 229-31; Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia,* pp. 130-34.

Nor can the fact, so often trotted forth, of the Avestan language being so very close to the Rigvedic language be considered to be important evidence in the determination of the date of the separation of the ancestors of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans from the Indo-Iranian group or from the parent Indo-European family. Prof. Burrow has suggested the 1700-1400 B.C. period as that of the Indo-Aryan separation from the Indo-Iranian group and 1200-1000 B.C. as the period of the composition and compilation of the Rigveda, largely on this argument of linguistic affinity. From the above-mentioned views about Iranians it is seen that Prof. Burrow's time-period for the date of separation is at least five to eight centuries too low or recent. Earlier, I have stated some internal evidence which in the light of traditional history leads to the conclusion that though a large bulk of the Rigvedic hymns must have been composed in the latter half of the 14th and the first half of the 13th century B.C. some must have been composed about 2000 B.C. and a few about 1000 B.C. The compilation of the Rigveda, as Pargiter[155] has so cogently argued, occurred about 980 B.C. On Burrow's counting a period of about nine hundred years elapsed between the separation of the two peoples of the Indo-Iranian complex and the known record of the speech of the Avestan Iranians. The time-gap in the case of the Indo-Aryans, according to Prof. Burrow, between their separation from the Indo-Iranian complex and the earliest record of their speech in the Rigveda was about four-hundred-fifty years. On our counting the time-gap between separation and the earliest record of the speech of the constituents would be between 500 to 1500 years in the case of the Vedic Indo-Aryans and between 1700 to 1900 years in the case of the Avestan Iranians. In Prof. Burrow's opinion the Greeks, who must not have been in such close contact and for so long a period as the ancestors of the Vedic Indo-Aryans and the Avestan Iranians, had and must have separated from the parent body even earlier, even after as long or even a longer time-gap, showed such linguistic affinity with Sanskrit that Prof. Burrow ranked it as only next in intensity to that seen between Sanskrit and Avestan Iranian. Surely there should be no objection on linguistic grounds, if one finds it necessary on other grounds, as we have found, to put the period of the continuance of the separation of the two peoples, the ancestors of the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans and those of the Avestan Iranians and the records of their respective languages of about 1000 to 1500 years!

We may conclude that the Rigvedic Indo-Aryans entered India about 2200 B.C., carrying among them ethnic units affiliated to the Indo-Europeans of eastern Anatolia, north-eastern Mesopotamia and north-western

155. *Op. cit.*, p. 318.

Iran, and, some units affined to the ancient Greeks and some affined to Scytho-Iranians of Central Asia. Some of their difficulties and fights they have incidentally recorded in the Rigveda, the oldest extant record of any Indo-European language, composed by their learned elite, whom they called Rishis, between about 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. Before them, there is reason to believe, had arrived some ethnic units of theirs which had managed to pass on towards the eastern side and settle in Kosala or Oudh, the Brahmanic culture of the post-Vedic age being in the main the result of the interaction of these two sections.

A NOTE ON PARGITER'S SECHEME FOR THE DATING OF RIGVEDIC PERSONAGES

I have followed Pargiter's conclusions regarding synchronisms and the Puranic genealogies. I am convinced that the conclusions arrived at by him are the most satisfactory under the circumstances of the available Vedic and Puranic data, though some of the synchronisms do not appear to be fully satisfactory. The one Rigvedic individual that seems not to fit in the total scheme quite well is, as I have mentioned, Turvayana. I have pointed out that his relief by Indra from a grave situation in which Chyavana was attempting to place him and his success in defeating the plans of Ayu, Kutsa and Atithigva, if properly placed in the chronological context, conflict with the Rigvedic data about Divodas and Sudas. Apart from this difficulty I think Pargiter's scheme is capable of accommodating most of the well-known facts.

There is one Rigvedic fact which in the light of the reference to the person in *Brahmana* passages appears to require an identification which Pargiter's scheme does not give it. And that is the ethnic affiliation of Purukutsa and Trasadasyu, two immediate successors, son and grandson, of the great Ikshvaku sovereign Mandhatri, in the Puranic genealogies. The Rigveda, (V, 27.1 and 5) speaks of one Traivrishna Tryaruna Trasadasyu and one Traivrishna Traidhatva Tryaruna is called Aikshvaka, 'of the Ikshvaku line' in the *Brahmana* passages. Pargiter has found it necessary to treat Trasadasyu and his father Purukutsa of the Rigvedic passages as Purus and not the famous kings of those names who figure among the Ikshvakus in the Puranic genealogies.

Prof. P. L. Bhargava in his *India in the Vedic Age* (1971) has taken exception to Pargiter's identification of Trasadasyu and to some other statements and has presented genealogies which according to him accommodate all the known facts about synchronisms, Rigvedic and Puranic, treating Rigvedic Purukutsa and Trasadasyu as Ikshvaku kings. According to his genealogies Sudas stands 39th from Manu, the list of kings upto the Bharata war containing one hundred entries. Taking the date of the Bharata war as 950 B.C., i.e., the same as fixed by Pargiter, Sudas would have to be dated to 1706 B.C. as against 1274 B.C. his date in the Pargiter scheme. Ikshvaku, who is only once mentioned as an ancient hero in the Rigveda, and Mandhatri whose exploits are referred to, whose Fire is held up as the standard of reference and is traditionally said to be the composer of Rigveda, X, 134, will have to be dated to 2126 and 1898 B.C. respectively, standing as they do 2nd and 21st in the lists. The list of kings extends to hundred because Prof. Bhargava has introduced in the Ikshvaku

genealogy five kings evidently not contained in the Puranic lists. They do figure either in Pargiter's dynastic lists or in those presented by Siddheswara Sastri Chitrav in his *Prachinacharitrakosa,* based on Puranic lists, though the list of the latter contains one-hundred-and-eight entries.

The five new persons of Prof. Bhargava's dynastic lists are: (1) Durgaha, 22nd; (2) Girikshit, 23rd; (3) Vishnuvriddha, 28th; (4) Hasta, 32nd; and (5) Rohidasva, 33rd. Durgaha and Girikshit are brought into the genealogy because Prof. Bhargava decided that Trasadasyu and his father Purukutsa must be Ikshvakus, and Rigveda speaks of Trasadasyu as Pauruskutsya, Gairikshita and Daurgaha, giving him the three ancestors, Purukutsa, Girikshit and Durgaha. Girikshit and Daurgaha must therefore precede Purukutsa in the Ikshvaku genealogy and must come after Madhatri, though no Purana or any equivalent literature mentions the individuals, much less places them in a genealogical context. In Prof. Bhargava's work they occur only in his genealogy and do not receive any notice elsewhere. Nor has he referred to any authority other than the Rigvedic mention referred to above.

Vishnuvriddha the 28th king of the Ikshvaku line in his list receives some other mentions which clearly prove the utter weakness of Prof. Bhargava's position and his failure to make a case for his genealogical innovations. Explaining the origin of the Vishnuvriddha, a group among the Angirasas (p. 180) he states that "king Vishnuvriddha was the great grandson of Purukutsa" and that "his son Anaranya succeeded to the throne, while another son became a Brahman" and that "his descendants were called Vishnuvriddhas". On page 120, where we find the only other mention of Vishnuvriddha outside the genealogical list, we are told about his position among the Ikshvaku royalty. After stating that Trasadasyu's (Rigvedic) successor was Sambhuta he observes: "A verse misplaced in Vayu Purana mentions a king named Vishnuvriddha. Here the Kurma and the Linga Puranas elucidate the Vayu. Vishnuvriddha was really a son of Sambhuta, and while one branch descended from him became a Brahmin family, the other branch descended from the son Anaranya continued the Ikshvaku line". The only other place, besides the above-mentioned and the one in the genealogy, in which Anaranya is mentioned is page 144, where we read the colourless and non-enlightening statement "Anaranya is mentioned in the Maitrayani Upanishad". Pargiter at p. 246 of his book following the Puranas has shown Anaranya as the brother and not the son of Sambhuta. Prof. Bhargava instead of giving his authority for treating Anaranya as the son of Vishnuvriddha tells us in an off-hand and mysterious manner that the Kurma and the Linga Puranas "elucidate" and refers to the exact passages. The beauty of it is that Pargiter, too, has mentioned the same passages as his authority. Prof. Bhargava writes as if the verse which from the Vayu Purana, misplaced, is his discovery; but the fact is Pargiter had already mentioned the misplaced verse. The only difference between Pargiter's mention and that of Bhargava is that the former specifies verse 79th of the 88th chapter, while the latter mentions 77th of the same chapter of the Vayu Purana as the particular passage. I have not cared to check up, because so many other references of Pargiter checked up from time to time over a number of years have proved to be quite correct that I can rely on his statement in this matter. Whereas Prof. Bhargava has avoided quoting the actual wording of the passage. Pargiter's statement which is straightforword reads: (page 81): "Vayu's [that of Vayu Purana] misplaced lines (88, 79b, c) about Vishnuvriddhas should probably come after verse 74". It is clear also that the misplacement does not refer to King Vishnuvriddha or his position in the Ikshvaku genealogy but only to the gotra group of the Vishnuvriddhas; and Prof. Bhargava has been himself misled and is misleading his readers to think that it refers to the placement of King Vishnuvriddha in the Ikshvaku genealogy! Chitrav, too, like

Pargiter, therefore, shows Anaranya as the successor of Sambhuta without the intervention of Vishnuvriddha!

Hasta, the 32nd and Rohidasva, the 33rd in Prof. Bhargava's genealogy of the Ikshvaku dynasty are mentioned outside the genealogical table only once, i.e., on page 120. Hasta we are assured by Prof. Bhargava was "the third successor" of Anaranya, "according to Vishnu Purana"; but he has not permitted his reader to know the specific passage, as he has not given the particular reference. Hasta, of course, does not figure in Pargiter's book. Hasta listed in Chitrav's dictionary is a son of Vasudeva and Rochana, there being no Ikshvaku Hasta. For legitimatizing Rohidasva Prof. Bhargava mentions "the Anukramanis" which, according to him, "mention a king Vasumanas, son of Rohidasva, as part-author of hymn X, 179 [RV] with Sivi Ausinara, and Pratardana, 'King of Kasi' ". Pargiter (p. 142) had duly noted the traditional apportionment of the three stanza hymn, Rigveda, X, 179, among the three persons, Sivi, Pratardana and Vasumana, and also the description of Vasumanas as a son Rusadasva or Rohidasva, which name he treated as "almost synonymous with Haryasva" That Rohidasva is etymologically but another form of Haryasva must be clear to any student of Sanskrit. Pargiter was quite correct in placing Vasumanas—Pargiter adopts the reading Vasumata as the correct form for his dynastic list—as the immediate successor of Haryasva II. Chitrav, who lists Rusadasva as the father of Vasumanas, evidently on the authority of the Anukramani, not only does not introduce Rusadasva in the Ikshvaku genealogy, but placing Vasumat or Vasumanas as the successor of Haryasva II, shows his doubt about the correctness of Vasumat's insertion by placing him within brackets.

It thus becomes clear that Prof. Bhargava's insertion of the three kings in the Ikshvaku genealogy, i.e., his 28th, 32nd and 33rd, is not based on good traditional or other authority!

As regards the earlier two kings inserted by Prof. Bhargava on the authority of the Rigvedic references, it must be pointed out that the Rigvedic mention of Trikshi as the son of Rigvedic Trasadasyu is even more specific. He is called Trasadasyava at Rigveda, VIII, 22.7 and is said, at VI, 46.8, to be a recipient of Indra's special favours. Chitrav lists him and describes him as Trasadasyu's son, his authority being the two passages mentioned above. But Prof. Bhargava takes no note of him, being a hindrance in his way. As for Bhargava's contention that the Rigvedic passages, IV, 38.1 and VI, 20.10-13, commonly construed to support the Puru affiliation of Trasadasyu, do not establish the affiliation, it must be pointed out that even if that is granted, there is the fact of Kurusravana being described in Rigveda, X, 33 as Trasadasyava which lends support to Trasadasyu being regarded as a Puru or Kuru King.

Prof. Bhargava has put up a new dynasty, not known to Puranic or Epic literature, that of the Tritsus (Bharatas). The dynasty is named Panchala (North) in the Puranic lists. Bhargava's Tritsu dynasty begins with Brihat who appears as a contemporary of the 28th king of other dynasties like the Ikshvaku and ends with Somaka who is a contemporary of the 41st king in the other dynasties. This innovation of Prof. Bhargava with the eponym of the Rigvedic Tritsus extracted as an individual king as the 6th in the line is based on grounds, which can be shown to be more or less as unsound as those of his Ikshvaku innovations. My purpose being only to state in brief why I have preferred Pargiter's scheme for the dating of the Rigvedic personages, I shall not enter into a detailed criticism of Prof. Bhargava's work. I shall only point out in order to clinch the issue that with all Bhargava's extension and shortening of dynasties he has failed to accommodate the Rigvedic fact that Purukutsa stands out as a contemporary of Sudas (*Vedic Index*, I, 541; II, 454). Prof. Bhargava's genealogies Purukutsa and Divodasa stand fifteen steps apart and are thus separated by a period of not less than one hundred and fifty years.

12

Non-Literate Vedic India: Northern and Western

THE account of things, ideas and events pertaining to Vedic India presented so far is entirely based on Vedic literature and principally on the Rigveda. Vedic India of the account may be called literate Vedic India in the restricted sense of India that is known from the literary sources of the Vedic time. As is clear from that account, Vedic India in geographical and areal terms was both greater and less than India (Bharat) of the Constitution of India and contemporary India. In India (Bharat) of the Vedic times there were large regions not covered by the Vedic peoples or their literature. The archaeologist's spade has brought into our view a picture of most of these non-literate regions and has also made significant contributions to the understanding of the culture-complex or culture-complexes of literate Vedic India. It shall be our endeavour to present the briefest outline of the picture that archaeologists have presented on a grand canvass.

Before proceeding with our task, I have to point out that our delineation of the Vedic society and its culture naturally appears to suggest that culture of literate Vedic India was one homogeneous whole without ethnic or regional variations. The account being based on literary sources, which are not anthropo-sociological or even historical essays, very few indications of differences and variations occur and those too in terms of either north-south or west-east. That regional or/and ethnic variations in the culture-complex of literate Vedic India existed is clear from Yaska's Nirukta. We find there statements about certain roots having a specific meaning used only among some definite ethnic unit, about laws and customs regarding inheritance and succession being different in some regions, particularly the south, from those impliedly current in the north. The Dharmasutras embody many more regional variations, all of which could not have arisen only after the Vedic age. But an attempt to present a cogent picture of regional or ethnic variations in the culture of literate Vedic India with the present sources of our information is futile.

Archaeologists have uncovered a number of ruined sites or groups of

artefact in the region lying east of the Sutluj and west of Prayag, Allahabad on the Sutluj, the Sarasvati-Drishadvati, Ganga valley and the Ganga-Yamuna doab, which as interpreted by them tell us quite a good deal about the settlements, houses, tools and weapons, pots, spans, beads and other ornaments and food of the people that lived in that part of the country between about 2500 B.C. to 800 B.C., i.e., our Vedic age. Some of them contain materials which enable us to form some idea about their beliefs regarding life after death and sometimes also of their notion of the supernatural or of their religious practices.

The most important site among these for our purpose is Kalibangan, in Gangasagar district, Rajasthan, about 310 Km distant to the north-west of Delhi. It lies on the left bank of the now dry bed of the Ghaggar and is thus located in the heartland of the Saudasa period of the Rigvedic age. It has been excavated through nine seasons by two of the most competent and meticulous archaeologists of India, Prof. B. B. Lal and Dr. B. K. Thapar. Though no complete report on the results appears to have been published so far, Dr. Thapar's very recent paper on some aspects of the results combined with the brief seasonal report-notes published in *Indian Archaeology* furnish adequate material for our brief survey.

The most significant feature of the Kalibangan excavation results is that they have revealed the existence of pre-Indus civilization culture on the Bharatan soil and its running into the later stratum of Indus civilization culture. And what is more is that, as pointed out by Dr. Thapar,[1] this "antecedent phase" of "an incipient phase" of the Indus civilization, though not isolated from similar cultures on the Indus in Pakistan, was "a distinct tradition" with its "ceramic range . . . different from the others". This culture, following Dr. Thapar's lead, will be referred to as KLB-I. The subsequent culture at the site, which appears to have arrived fully developed appeared on the scene after the owners of KLB-I culture had abandoned the site.[2]

The site consisted of "two closely-situated yet separate mounds", the larger one being to the east of the smaller one. The habitations in the larger, the eastern, mound were built right over the natural soil; but those in the western and the smaller one rested on "a massive mud-brick platform". This relative positions of the mounds the excavator thought implied that the smaller mound was the citadel, and the larger one being the general habitation area.[3] But Dr. Thapar in his paper mentioned above has positively identified it as KLB-I, though dubbed "the citadel". This mound, of KLB-I became the citadel of the Indus

1. Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 90-91.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
3. Lal in *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, pp. 31-32.

people who came in and created KLB-II. The site on which KLB-I was settled had already become a mound, some 1.60 m. in height, when the newcomers, the Indus people, the Harappans, arrived. According to their standard system of town-planning they put up their habitations on the eastern side of the then extent mound and walled it or rather raised fortifications round it. Dr. Thapar[4] has drawn our attention to the significant fact of there being no such fortifications for the city habitation area at Harappa or Mohenjo-daro, the great cities of the Indus people.

The KLB-I town was fortified from the very beginning of the occupation, the settlement measuring about 250 m. from north to south and 180 m. east to west. The fortification wall was of mud-bricks. The houses, too, were of mud-bricks, though baked bricks, even wedge-shaped ones, were in use as attested by a drain. The masonry of the houses was on the English bonding system, headers and stretchers being used in alternate courses. The houses were provided with ovens both underground and overground, the latter resembling those in use at present in the locality. The houses, Dr. Thapar informs us, generally had three or four rooms, and had court-yards. The overground hearths had mud-walls while the underground ones were plastered with mud. The overground ovens, it is interesting to note, had "a bridged side-opening for feeding fuel" implying advanced notions of comfort at cooking.[5]

The statement that the whole mound of KLB-I was enclosed in a fortification wall is made because Dr. Thapar's assertion that the whole parallelogramic area "was found to have been fortified from the very beginning of the occuption.[6] However, from the description in detail of the two rhomboidal parts of the 'citadel' of KLB-II it becomes clear that the excavators can vouchsafe the existence of fortification walls of KLB-I town only on its north and west sides. For on those sides they found the new fortification walls put up by the incoming Indus people to have been superposed on the ruins of earlier walls, but on the other two sides and at the division of the whole into two rhomboidal parts the new fortifications were raised "on the ruins of the earlier occupation". Dr. Thapar's observation made in his report-notes in *Indian Archaeology, 1961-62,* p. 43, tends to corroborate the above-quoted statement. His finding was: "After the arrival of the Harappans on the site, a massive mud-brick wall (pl. LXII-A) was built around the site now called KLB-I),

4. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
5. Thapar in Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, 99; *Indian Archaeology,* 1962-63, p. 20 and pl. L.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 86, last para.

which presumably served as the citadel". However, Dr. Thapar's latest pronouncement leaves no doubt that the whole area was fortified.[7]

The main distinctive cultural assemblage of the KLB-I inhabitants consists of pottery. Before pointing out the highlights of this assemblage I should note a circumstance about the important mention of a drain in KLB-I town. It is an indirect reference to a drain and we have no means at present of knowing from the excavators' writings whether it was a street drain or a house drain. However, from pl. LXI-B in *Indian Archaeology, 1961-62*, it becomes clear that an open brick-built channel ran by the side of a lane in KLB-I settlement. And that might have been a drain. Unfortunately the excavators' comment at page 41, to which reference is made in the plate, there is only the mention of "lanes sometimes separating houses" and nothing about a drain. However, a "pre-Harappan" baked-brick drain was discovered under an "east-west-oriented Harappan platform" in the excavations reported upon in *Indian Archaeology, 1967-68* and mentioned at page 45, a photograph being printed in pl. XXI-A.

The pottery is distinguished by the excavators into six varieties of fabric. However there is not such difference between them as to necessitate an account in terms of them all. The commonest and therefore the most important pottery of KLB-I is what is styled by the excavators as A. All pottery was wheel-made and "comparatively light and thin". The variety is "red to pinkish in colour". Over a self-slipped dull surface there are paintings in black, sometimes combined with paintings in white. The excavators observe that the white hatching in the black drawings "considerably heightened the design-effect". These painted decorations generally were confined to the neck and shoulder parts of the pots. The designs were essentially based on geometrical elements. Incised decoration, too, was practised.

As regards the shapes of pottery, there were the dish-on-stand, though not frequent, the dish, the bowl and the basin with a heavy ring base. Two pieces, a lid and a miniature "chalice" are quite naturally singled out by the excavators, Lal and Thapar, for special comment. The lid they say "anticipated" the corresponding Harappan [Indus] form. The "chalice", which is of singular type, though discovered in the top deposits, they say: "is in design and fabric, similar to the pre-Harappan pottery and as such included in this group". The "pedestal-base" and "hole-mouth" vases, too, are singular. "Cordoned-profile" bowls are another curiosity in this assemblage. In Fabric 'C' one form of the so-called "offering stand", which Lal and Thapar characterize as "a noteworthy form [of offering stand] with an extra flared lip" appears to me to be

7. D. P. Agrawal and A. Ghosh; *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, p. 267.

unique among the pots discovered in the excavations of Indian sites of a comparable age. Both the "offering stands and the dishes" and the "hole-mouth" vases or jars were rather more common in Fabric E. The small chalice mentioned above belonged to this fabric. Fabric 'C' yielded a 'U'-shaped tall jar like the Mohenjo-daro perforated pot but without perforations.

Among other objects found were small-sized blades of stone, beads of steatite, shell, carnelian, terracotta and copper, bangles of terracotta, shell and copper, copper celts, "fragmentary terracotta bulls", toy-cart wheels and querns with mullers.[8]

Regarding the nature and affinity of the total cultural complex of KLB-I, in which seals and script were absent, Dr. Thapar has concluded that in spite of fortified urban living and English bonding of bricks, which with the pottery ornamentation and shapes affine it to the Indus or Harappan civilization, the low scale urbanization and the absence of seals and script establish wide difference from it. It could be, as remarked by him earlier, an antecedent phase of the Indus culture.

KLB-II comprised both the mounds, that on the west, the KLB-I town, being the citadel and the eastern mound the "lower city". The lower city, too, was a parallelogram but a larger one, measuring 235 m. from east to west and more than one and a half times that from north to south as Dr. Thapar states. The lower city had five roads running north-south, which were exposed to view to about three-fourths of their length in the plan published in 1967-68. There were only three roads, one of which was continuously straight running, from east to west, lying more or less at equal distances. In the plan printed as an accompaniment to Dr. Thapar's article, four of the earliest roads are exposed in their length. Perhaps the fifth road did not run all the length to each the third cross road. In Dr. Thapar's map a fourth east-west road running from the easternmost north-south road to the eastern fortification wall is indicated. Two of the north-south roads were respectively 7.25 and 3.25 m. in width. Terracotta nodules appear to have been the material used for metalling the road-surface.[9]

Elaborate drainage, with street drains and house drains and soakage jars, wherever necessary, appears to have been installed by the Indus people. The street drains were of baked bricks but house drains were either of baked bricks or of wood with soakage jars appropriately placed. Dr. Thapar was struck by the 'U'-shaped wooden drains. The houses appear to have been large, some of them having "at least four or five

8. Thapar, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89; *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, pp. 42-43 and figs. 15-16, 1962-63, pp. 20, 23, fig. 3, Nos. 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20; fig. 5 No. 14, 16; fig. 6 No. 1; fig. 7, No. 14; fig. 8, No. 11, 12, 13.

9. Thapar, *Ibid.*, *Ind. Arch.* 1961-62, pp. 43-44.

large-sized rooms along with a few smaller ones" besides a courtyard. Some of the houses were evidently storeyed, a part of a staircase having been exposed in one of the diggings. In the courtyard a round well for water was a feature. The well was lined with baked bricks. Outside the house sometimes a platform, like an 'otla' of later days, or a trough for storing water was put up, thereby disfiguring the road and making flow of traffic less easy. Within the houses "a noteworthy feature was the occurrence of oval or rectangular fire-places" whose precise function cannot be determined. However the suggestion of Dr. Thapar that they incidate some religious complex appears to be well supported by the find of fragments of charcoal round a cylindrical or rectangular clay-block, either baked or sun-dried, in the centre of one of them.[10]

The finds, whether pottery, painted or plain, or other objects like blades, beads, seals and sealings or weights and copper tools and weapons, were typically of Indus civilization. The painted designs on pots showed distinctive Indus elements, like intersecting circles, scales, pipal-leaves, rosettes, etc. In the shapes and forms of the pots, too, Indus forms like "goblets with pointed bases", perforated cylindrical jars, dishes-on-stands, cylindrical beakers and even tall jars with 'S'-shaped profiles proclaimed the assemblage to be of Indus-origin. Terracotta figurines and terracotta cakes, pottery sherds with graffiti, and seals with the Harappan script inscriptions and animals like those on the Indus seals[11] stamp the KLB-II culture as an extension of it. However, the rather serious lacunae of objects indicative of religious-complex of the Indus variety and the presence of some fire-cult as already noted mark it out as a different or a dissident hither-Indian culture.

This conclusion is borne in one when one finds that so far no cultic objects like the so-called phallic stones or even the mother-goddess figurines have been discovered in KLB whether I or II. The pits, the 'fire-places' or the so-called fire-altars in the houses of KLB-II, mentioned above, contained triangular or circular terracotta cakes placed round the base of the clay block put up in the pit. Lal and Thapar in their excavation report of 1962-63 took them as likely evidence of the performance of some ritual. Dr. Thapar writing more than a decade later speaks of these cakes as "perhaps symbolic offerings", meaning, of course, the same thing as an accompaniment of the performance of some ritual. He has widened and deepened our knowledge of the likely religious-complex of the KLB Indians with additional and more conclusive evidence from the remains. Massive mud-brick platforms exposed in the citadel,

10. *Ind. Arch.* 1960-61, pp. 31-32, pls. XLIII and XLIV: 1961-62, pp. 43-44, pls. LXIV, LXV, LXVII; 1962-63, pp. 30-31, pls. LIV, LV, LVI, LVII; 1964-65, p. 38; 1967-68, p. 44, pl. XVII; Thapar, *ibid.*

11. *Ind. Arch.*, 1962-63, pp. 30-31.

whose function had exercised the minds of the excavators, now appear to Dr. Thapar to be an accompaniment or a necessary adjunct of the ritual or religious-complex suggested by the household fire-places mentioned above. For the digging revealed on one of the platforms a well and a fire-altar. The fire-altar which is "a rectangular pit lined with baked bricks" contained "bones of a bovine and antlers, representing perhaps a sacrifice". Dr. Thapar's observations that "no such fire-altars have so far been reported from Mohenjo-daro or Harappa" and "the observance of this ritual seems to be peculiar to the religion of Kalibangan" [12] upholds the conclusion stated above.

The KLB-II Indians have left quite some evidence of their customs or practices regarding the disposal of the dead. So far, at least two varieties of burials have been unearthed. They are: (1) extended inhumation in a grave and (2) pot burial. Of the fourteen graves opened five contained human skeletons in the extended position. One of these five was "a regularly brick-lined grave with a rich burial. It was rectangular in plan and was lined on all sides with mud-bricks" but the floor was not paved though the walls were mud-plastered. That the grave belonged to a rich person of the elite may be further inferred from the deposit of some seventy-two pots in two groups. One of the jars was "attractively decorated" and had a lid. In another grave wherein the lower half of the skeleton was in a disturbed condition in addition to pottery "thirteen beads, three each of gold, jasper and agate and two each of carnelian and steatite" were found deposited in a goblet. The pot burials were placed in pits about 40 m. deep. The pots, however, did not contain any skeletal remains. A third variety of burial may be recognised in the grave pits, rectangular or oval in which some pottery lay occasionally along with some personal ornaments. There is a third variety of burial, only "pottery and other deposits in rectangular or oval graves" indicating it.[13]

The kind of corn used or the food taken by the people is not possible to be decided from the available data. However, that deficiency is more than made up for by the discovery of what appears to be the most singular object in the pre-historic cultural assemblages. And that is a ploughed field. To judge from Dr. Thapar's account of it, it appears to have belonged to KLB-I people, however strange it may seem for a ploughed field to be intact under the debris of a later and flourishing urban settlement. He has reproduced its photo in pl 7.2 on page 90 of the book referred to so often above. The furrows establish the use of the plough.

12. *Ind. Arch.* 1962-63, p. 30, pls. LVI, LVII; Thapar in Hammond, pp. 95, 101, pl. 7.5; Thapar in Agrawal and Ghosh, p. 269, pl. XX.

13. *Ind. Arch.*, 1964-65, Fig. 6, pp. 38-9, pls. XXII-XXIV; Thapar in Hammond, pls. 7.9, 7.10, pp. 102-104; Thapar in Agrawal and Ghosh, pp. 269-70, pls. XXI-XXII.

They run in a grid manner and what is more while one set runs east-west, the other moves north-south, the former being more closely spaced and the latter widely spaced. Thus the furrows create many rectangles in the field. Dr. Thapar points out that the pattern of ploughing "bears a remarkable resemblance to modern ploughing in the neighbourhood.[14]

We may close this account of an urban settlement in the very heart of what was, or what was very shortly to be, Rigvedic Aryandom, with the observation that an earlier settlement at that very site, though of a people of another culture, too, was more or less urban and based on agriculture which was very likely of a developed kind We should also note that though there was no writing in the later and the Harappan culture there is evidence, in the peoples' burials of distinctions, very probably based on the possession of wealth.

The remains are now made to yield their age by the physico-chemical laboratory procedure of dating. The corrected age-periods of eight samples from the pre-Harappan (pre-Indus) culture assemblage at Kalibangan are conveniently listed by Dr. Sankalia.[15] Averaging the eight dates we get the age of the culture of KLB-I, i.e., of pre-Harappan culture on Bharatan soil, as about 2570 B.C. The apparently uncorrected dates of nine samples listed by Dr. Fairservis yield the average age as about 1951 B.C.[16] Prof. Suraj Bhan of Kurukshetra University dates KLB-I to *circa* 2300-2100 B.C.[17]

There are at least two more sites in the north which have established the presence and spread of a late phase of the mature Harappan and the late Harappan culture. They are Rupar on the Sutluj in Panjab and Alamgirpur, a few miles west of Meerut in the Ganga valley.[18] At Rupar in Ambala district, the earliest stratum which is Harappan is datable to *circa* 2000-1600 B.C. The 2nd period, beginning about 1000 B.C. lasting to about 700 B.C., has yielded the so-called Indo-European or Aryan ware, Painted Grey Pottery—PGP for short. The site was evidently abandoned at the end of the late Harappan period and came into occupation again only after six or seven centuries.[19] There is no evidence there of any material similar to the pre-Harappan artefacts of Kalibangan. Alamgirpur, in Meerut district, U.P., which stands only 25 miles north-east of Delhi, too, revealed a break after its Harappan period. The culture that came in after the break was again characterized by PGP.[20] While at

14. See also Thapar in Agrawal and Ghosh, p. 266, pl. XVII.
15. *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan,* p. 565.
16. *The Roots of Ancient Incient India,* p. 396.
17. Agrawal and Ghosh, p. 254.
18. Fairservis, p. 310; Allchin and Allchin, *The Birth* etc., p. 131.
19. *Ind. Arch.,* 1953-54, pp. 6-7, pls. III-V; Lal, *Indian Arch.,* fig. 7, pp. 28-29.
20. *Ind. Arch.,* 1958-59, pp. 50-53, pls. LXII-LXV.

Rupar a steatite seal with Harappan script was found, at Alamgirpur some pottery was inscribed in that script.

There have been recently discovered a few sites, particularly in the region about Kalibangan on the Sarasvati, some of which have yielded materials like some of the artefacts, mainly pottery, of KLB-I. Thus Siswal, a place about 80 miles a little to the south by east of Kalibangan, has yielded an assemblage of pottery which is so similar that all the six fabrics of KLB-I are said to be represented in it, including even perforated jar. The explorer is not quite clear about one or the other stage of Harappan following it on the site. But from his description of the culture of Mitathal-II as "a sequel of both Siswal and Harappan culture" it appears that Mitathal is the place where Harappan culture is discovered and that the earlier stratum has yielded an assemblage resembling that of Siswal. He dates the late Siswal culture to *circa* 2100 to 2000 B.C. Mitathal stands to the south-east of Siswal, a little over 40 miles distant from it.[21]

The settlements at all the above-mentioned four sites were evidently not of urban variety. They appear to have been villages, big ones perhaps; and no settlement in the Ganga-Yamuna doab so far studied by archaeologists can be said to have been an urban one in the Vedic age with the exception perhaps of Kausambi on the Yamuna a little to the west of Allahabad. Kausambi as its excavator, Dr. R. G. Sharma,[22] maintains, was a fortified city in about 1000 B.C. But as Dr. K. K. Sinha[23] has pointed out the claim is not warranted by the available evidence. He has submitted that the antiquity of the place cannot be pushed back beyond 600 B.C. The clay rampart, about 10 m. high in the earliest occupation level at Atranjikhera in Etah district, U.P., makes it probable that Atranjikhera was a walled town before Kausambi. The stratum is datable to *circa* 800 to 600 B.C.[24]

In view of Dr. Thapar's observation that the KLB-I culture has many points of similarity with the pre-Harappan culture discovered at Kot-Diji and Amri in Sindh[25] and also of the fact of pre-Harappan Kalibangan culture having not been preceded at the site, or in the nearby area, by any simpler manifestation of it, I should mention here some literary evidence that suggests its source to be a people migrating from lower Sindh. The present districts of Jaipur, Alwar, Bikaner and Jodhpur appear to have been the region occupied by the

21. *Puratattva,* No. 5, pp. 18-19, 44-46, fig. 18; Agrawal and Ghosh, pp. 254-60, figs. 2, 3, 4.
22. The *Excavations at Kausambi,*
23. In Agrawal and Ghosh, pp. 231-235.
24. *Indian Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 37.
25. Hammond, p. 91.

Matsyas and the Salvas at least in the later Vedic Age. The Matsyas are a Rigvedic people who were opposed to the famous Rigvedic king Sudas. As we have seen, one of their kings had offered as many as fourteen horse-sacrifices. The people figure in the Mahabharata; their king Virata hosted the Pandavas in their incognito exile. The Salvas, however, figure only in the *Brahmana* literature in which Matsyas and Salvas are mentioned as a pair-'janapada', ethnic State. The capital of Matsya was Virata, modern Bairat in Jaipur district. V. S. Agrawal very correctly locates the Salvas in the territory adjacent to the Matsyas extending from Alwar to north Bikaner. The Salvas evidently had prospered and branched off into three more or less independent States as Salveyas and Salveyakas as we can infer from Panini's mention of them. Panini has further given us information of their having been a confederacy of six peoples. They must have, therefore, spread out to Mt. Abu and even Jodhpur in his time. We find Ptolemy in the first century A.D. placing one of their constituents, the Bhulingas, on the western slopes of the Aravallis. Agrawala has identified their capital, named in the Puranic tradition as Mrittikavata, with Maitra in Marwar.[26] Pargiter duly notes that the Salvas were a people of note but are dubbed Danavas and Daiteyas, demons, in the Mahabharata.

V. S. Agrawala suggested the migration of the Salvas to the particular Bharatan region from the west through Baluchistan and Sindh. He detected the traces of this migration in the name of a mountain in Sindhi Salvakagiri which is named by Panini and is identified by Agrawala with the Hala mountain of Sindh. This migration if it can be taken to have occurred before about 2000 B.C. can account for the observed similarities between the pre-Harappan Kot-Diji culture and the pre-Harappan Kalibangan one. The Salvas' push towards the Yamuna, too, is alluded to in a Vedic verse.

Perhaps Panini's mention of the Salvaka breed of bulls supports the Sindhi origin of the Salvas. Agrawala identifies Panini's Salvaka breed with "the celebrated Nagauri bulls reared in the jungle-covered tracts of Nagaur in the Jodhpur region". By the time of Patanjali, the Kachcha breed had come in as a competitor. The Sindhi Salvas might have brought the breed of the bulls so proudly figuring on some of the seals of the Indus civilization, and sometimes also in terracotta figurines.

The probability of an ethnic group coming into northern Rajasthan from Sindh in early times makes it desirable to dilate on one particular type of pottery article discovered in the excavations of Kalibangan, which was also known from the earlier excavations of a site further north and west, Rupar on the Sutluj in Punjab. And that is the perforated pot.

26. India etc., pp. 36-37, 225; Pargiter, pp. 279, 290.

There are two shapes of this typical pot in the finds at Kalibangan. Both are well reproduced in photographs in pl. XVI-A of *Indian Archaeology 1960-61*. Though both the pots are in a broken condition, their shape and size are clear from the remnant portion. One of them, one to the reader's left in the lower row, having a well-moulded slightly turned out rim is clearly a 'lota-type of vessel. The perforated pot from Rupar *circa* 2000-1600 B.C., reproduced in line-drawing by B. B. Lal in fig. 7 in his *Indian Archaeology since Independence*, pp. 28-29, is very much like this in shape; but its rim does not appear to be like that of the Kalibangan pot. The second perforated pot of the Kalibangan assemblage is quite clearly of the regular cylindrical type but with a well-made low disc-base and much smaller than its proto-types in the Indus Valley Civilization. The perforated pots found in the assemblages of Rangpur and Lothal in Gujarat-Saurashtra, which are illustrated in photographs in pl. XIX of *Ancient India*, nos. 18-19 and in pl. XXVIII-D of Dr. S. R. Rao's *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, quite clearly appear to be improved copies of the Harappan artefact, the bulge towards the lower end being larger and fairly sharply sloping down to the flattish bottom. A rough count of the perforations gives the number of holes in these pots to be about 1100 each. The four C-14 dates given by Fairservis[27] for Lothal A yield the average date as 1752 B.C., the highest being 2010 ± 115 B.C. and the lowest 1900 ± 115 B.C.

The Harappan pot referred to above, however, is not the only type of perforated pots presented in the assemblages which it is claimed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler[28] to be "a characteristic type" of the Indus Valley Civilization, having flat, tapered or rounded bases indifferently. The biggest of these other pots, the pot numbered 29 in pl. LXII of Mackay's *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*,[29] has, in the portion shown with the holes, 32 holes. As the portion represents one-fourth of the holed part, this perforated pot, which is almost a regular cylinder, must be having 128 holes. The holes appear to have been made "by pushing a stick through the sides while the clay was still damp.... There is always a large hole in the base". This feature suggests to Dr. Mackay that "these vessels were supported on a stick" and used for pressing curds. Curds can never be so hard that they cannot be turned into potable liquid by merely squeezing and mixing actions of one's fingers that there should arise the need to design a special pot for pressing curds. If a stick was inserted through the bottom of the pot, the vessel to collect the squeezed out liquid would have to be a very large one so that the oozing liquid does not spill out, and the so-called stick would have

27. *Op. cit.*, p. 307, fn.
28. *Op. cit.*, p. 97.
29. Vol. I, p. 207.

had to have a fairly large base to keep it standing and steady. This would necessitate the bottom-hole to be very large. But as Mackay himself has told his readers in his remarks on pls. LXII and LXVI, while in one pot the hole is only "much bigger than the holes in the body" in another it is "just as big as any hole in the body". The body-holes, to judge by their size in the reproductions of these pots, appear to be of the size of the head of a biggish pin for filing papers. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, too, appears to favour the view that the pot was used as a strainer for curds, though he does not mention the bottom-hole and Mackay's stick in it. He mentions the other view which identifies the pot as a brazier but does not seem to favour it. The smaller variety of perforated pots is too small even to serve as a brazier. The two of such figured by Mackay with their size and few holes substantiate this statement. But there is at least one perforated pot in the Sindh assemblage which could serve either as a brazier or as a censor. It was discovered by N. G. Majumdar at Chanhu-daro and was described by him simply as "a perforated pottery vase".[30] It is a squattish 'lota' with a well-formed solid stem-base and somewhat resembles the 'lota'-type perforated pots from Rupar and Kalibangan.

Dr. F. R. Allichin[31] opined that the tall cylindrical vessels were better suited as braziers for incense etc. T. N. Ramchandran, a few years earlier, had identified them as Vedic 'Sahasradhara', thousand-streamed, pots prescribed in the ritual for "crushing 'soma' plants inside, allowing the juice to flow out in numerous streams".[32] This was but one identification among many other interpreted traits and procedures similarly equated with appropriate items in the Vedic religion and ritual attempted to be established by him. In another connection I have stated the procedure for offering of liquor-libation in fire prescribed at certain sacrifices in the *Brahmanas*, as described by Eggeling. It can be seen from it that though a thousand-holed pot was mentioned and recommended, the ultimate prescription would appear to have fixed on a hundred-holed pot on magical grounds, viz., of securing to the sacrificer the long life of a hundred years. Whether or not scholars agree to accept Ramachandran's identification, it is quite clear that the Vedic literature alone expressly states a "reasoned" function of pots with numerous perforations and the pot fits in with Vedic ritual practice.

There are at least two proto-historic sites in North India, leaving out Pandu Rajar Dhibi of West Bengal, where perforated bowls appear in its third period, wherefrom perforated pots are reported by their excavators. Of these Ahar is nearer to Rangpur-Lothal and Kalibangan both

30. Memoirs, *Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 48, pl. XXI, 26; p. 42.
31. *Piklihal Excavations*, p. 45, fn.
32. N. R. Banerjee, *The Iron Age in India*, p. 78.

in space and time than Sonpur the other site. The excavators of Ahar have described the particular pot, which, in the condition in which it was found, appears funnel-shaped or inverted-bell-shaped, as a bowl or a basin. It has corrugations on the outside. The holes which number eight in the piece, are very irregularly placed. If the same pattern would have been kept up throughout, the whole pot would have had 32 holes; for the piece appears to be one-fourth of the whole pot. The excavators think that it could have been used for steam-cooking or for keeping fire-embers. They quite evidently find its "parallel" at Tepe Hissar in north-eastern Iran. Unfortunately in their consolidated report on their work entitled "Excavations at Ahar" they have neither reproduced the piece nor described it. On the other hand, they have presented in fig. 35, TA, a tiny sherd which is perforated, the perforations being very neat and made from the outside as they state. It bears clear evidence of four holes none of which, however, is whole. This circumstance does raise doubts whether I am right in instancing the object mentioned above as relevant to the period we are dealing with. But I have satisfied myself from the short annual report that the object belonged to an assemblage of Period I b and therefore thoroughly of the Chalcolithic age.[33] Considering the shape of the pot it is difficult to see how it could have have been used for steam-cooking. In steam-cooking certain dishes, what is done is to place the articles to be so treated in a pan like a rather deep 'thali' with perforations in the bottom, to place the pan in a deep bowl with water in it so that the edge of the bottom of the pan rests on some side-supports of the bowl well above the level of the water inside it, and to cover the pan and the rim of the bowl with another bowl inverted. When the whole is placed on the fire, the boiling water-steam percolates through the perforations and cooks the things placed on the pan. The pot which is commonly of copper, is known in Maharashtra as a "Modaka-patra" or "Modakya", named after the most commonly steamed article "modaka", such a favourite dish with God Ganapati.

Dr. F. R. Allchin, writing in 1960 and commenting on the perforated sherds discovered at Piklihal, the like of which, according to him, "are a regular occurrence at all Neolithic sites so far excavated", very correctly thought that the sherds suggested that they were the fragments of "round-bellied pots" perforated "in the centre of the base". The two sherds reproduced in pl. 29(b) in his book quite clearly were perforated from inside outside, so that the clean-neat face of the hole was on the inner-side of the base. It may be noted that the Ahar sherd clearly has the clean-neat face of the hole on its outerside and the excavators have also made the same clear by their statement that it was pierced from outside.

33. *Ind. Arch.*, 1961-62, pp. 47-48; Ahar, p. 71.

Dilating on the use to which such pots could be put he thought that they could be used as braziers or incense-burners and states that perforated pots are actually put to such use in the South. Personally I doubt if a bowl perforated only round the centre of its base can be an efficient brazier, if it does not also have some perforations in its side-walls. Alternatively he thought that such pots could be used as covers for milk boiling, finding support for such use in the practice of the Jats around Gurgaon. "A third possible use" according to him is "as an *iddali patram* for the steaming of cereal products, *iddali* or *dhokra*, in the manner still widely practised in southern and western India". This is exactly what Maharashtrian "modaka patra" is used for. But to establish the fact of such use of the bowls, pots or sherds discovered by Dr. Allchin and others what is necessary is the find of a deep and wide bowl provided with a ridge on its inside, midway or half way in the wall of the side.

The perforated pot from the other North-Indian site, Sonpur, Gaya district in Bihar, appears to me to be like the suggested Piklihal bowl. As pictured in fig. 3 (24) after page 300 in Dr. B. P. Sinha's *Potteries in Ancient India*, the pot is a bowl with its base or bottom more or less centrally perforated. It is not possible from the picture to determine from which side the holes were pierced.*

Dr. Allchin has a footnote to his above-mentioned comment which is not only informative but very judiciously appraising. He has clearly distinguished these bowl-like perforated pots from the Harappan and Rangpur-Lothal cylindrical vessels and also from certain Iranian pots, which he quite correctly describes as "footed braziers", seen in the assemblages of Hissar III and Turang Tepe. He further "associates" them "with the perforated bowl of Shah Tepe" and with "examples from sites in Dagestan, particularly from Madau Depe I". With this correspondence before him he finally concludes that the third use he had thought of and which I have mentioned above is perhaps the correct guess.[34]

In the context of our search for evidence of urban living in the Ganga-Yamuna region in the Vedic age the exacavation of Hastinapura, so far-sightedly undertaken by Prof. B. B. Lal were looked up to with great expectations. But Lal's great work corroborated the Puranic story of Hastinapura having been "carried away" by the Ganga during the reign of the Kuru king Adhiseemakrishna or his son, seven steps below the Pandavas of the Bharata war, demolished the hopes of finding an ancient

* Perforated pots are stated to have been found in the pottery assemblage of Songaon, Pune district, Maharashtra; but there is no illustration nor a description of the artefact (*Ind. Arch.*, 1964-65, p. 27). I have therefore not referred to them.

34. *Ind. Arch.*, 1959-60, Fig. 6, 13; *Piklihal Excavations*, p. 45 and pl. 29b.

city on that spot. For even the settlement that was formed on the site afterwards did not turn out to be a town. However, his work established the quite important circumstance of the Ochre-coloured Pottery being the earliest culture-assemblage in non-Harappan sites of U.P. It also proved that the most talked of ceramic ware among Indian archaeologists, the Painted Grey Pottery, proposed by many to be credited to the Indo-European and Indo-Aryan peoples, overlay it.[35]

The spread of the Ochre-coloured Pottery in the north and the north-west of Bharat is wide, having been spotted in about 90 sites. It is found to extend from Bahadrabad near Hardwar in the north to Noh near Bharatpur in the south, covering a distance of about 300 kms., and from Katpalon near Jullundar in the west to Ahichchatra in the east, a distance of about 450 kms.[36] Of the numerous sites, I shall select the three most important ones: Saipai, Atranjikhera and Lal Qila. Saipai, though the latest to be discovered, is very important as it may be said to have finally silenced all doubts raised against Prof. B. B. Lal's very early assertion of the association of Ochre-coloured Pottery with the Copper Hoards, with a long enduring fame, having been discovered almost a-century-and-a-half ago and written about by some well-known scholars, was substantiated by the stratified finds of these two complexes of artefacts at this site.

At Saipai, a village in Etawah district, U.P., about 18 kms. from Etawah Railway Station, L. M. Wahal and B. B. Lal, discovered at the depth of 45 cms. below the surface a copper harpoon and pottery described earlier as Ochre-coloured. From the types of pots recovered and their "definite association with the Copper Hoard" it is clear that the people to whom this culture belonged were different from both the Indo-Aryans and the Harappans. They had, however, domesticated the Bos indicus.[37]

The dating of the Ochre-coloured Pottery by reliably scientific methods has been synchronised with the Saipai finds. Thermoluminescence tests, it appears, were carried out for the first time on the pottery material. The Oxford team which did this assures us that the dating by thermoluminescence test is the surest of dating today. Samples from the finds at Atranjikhera, Jhinghana, Lal-Qila and Nasirpur were tested. Of the eight samples, three yielded dates all prior to 2000 B.C. They comprised one sample from each of the first three sites and averaged 2320 B.C. The remaining five of which only two were less than 1500 B.C. averaged 1426 B.C. Dr. R. C. Gaur informs us that Lal Qila "the only preserved site" is placed by Dr. Zimmerman, in a personal communication to him, "somewhere

35. *An. Ind.*, 1954-55, pp. 30-33; in *Potteries* etc., p. 87.
36. Krishna Deva in *Potteries* etc., p. 71; Suraj Bhan in *Puratattva* No. 5, pp. 16.
37. B. P. Singh, *Potteries,* etc., pp. 75-77; Lal in *Puratattva,* No. 5, pp. 12-13, 47-49; Gaur et al. in *Radiocarbon* etc., pp. 159, figs. 5-7 and 21-22; pls. I and II; Lal in *Antiquity,* 1972, pp. 283-287; Huxtable Zimmermann and others, *ibid.*, p. 63.

between 2030-1730 B.C.". The published dates yield the average as 1880 B.C.[38] Prof. Lal's conclusion is that the Copper Hoard Culture "was in existence between 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C., with a probable margin on either side" and that the Copper Hoard Culture people had sway over the Ganga valley when the Harappan Culture was dominating Gujarat [Saurashtra].

At Atranjikhera in Etah district U.P. this pottery lying on a 1-m. thick deposit over the natural soil has left a much thicker deposit than is met with in the other excavated sites. The pottery which is wheel-made was found to be overlain there not only by Painted Grey Pottery as at Hastinapura but by the far more ubiquitous ware on the Bharatan soil, Black-and-Red pottery. Besides, a number of sherds showed painted or even incised decoration on them. These two features mark the importance of the site for cultural history in the north.[39]

The third site, Lal Qila[40] in Bulandshahr district, U.P., is important because besides confirming the practice of painting in black or of incising ornament on the pottery, which was met with in the Atranjikhera finds, it has provided evidence of habitations associated with the pottery. Though no complete house plan could be worked out there was evidence of the post holes and of the remnants of walls with their bricks and their mud-mortar.

Nothing about such cultural items as the disposal of the dead of the Ochre-coloured-Pottery-cum-Copper-Hoards people is known. To judge from the copper objects one can conclude that they had attained good skill in metal technology. The pottery forms included dishes-on-hollow-stands, jars, basins, bowls, vases and knobbed lids and miniature pots. Among other objects may be noted beads of carnelian and soap-stone, querns, millers and pestles, a net sinker, a sling-ball and a sharpner and arrow heads and styluses of bone as well as a piece of an arrow head (?) and a celt fragment of copper, which were present in the Lal Qila assemblage.[41]

The Atranjikhera finds botanically analysed have revealed the use of rice, barley and pulses for food of the people on the site.[42]

Two interesting specialities of Lal Qila finds may be taken to suggest something about the religious-complex of these people. One is the paintings of "elongated humped bull having prominent crescentic horns,

38. *Radiocarbon* etc., p. 159; *Antiquity,* 1972, p. 63.
39. *Ind. Arch.*, 1962-63, pp. 34-36, fig. 10; 1965-66, pp. 44-46; Fig. 5; *Potteries* etc. Figs. 1-2 between pp. 101-02.
40. R. C. Gaur in *Radiocarbon* etc., pp. 154-160 and figs. 1-2.
41. Gaur in *Potteries* etc., pp. 96-98; in *Puratattva* No. 5, p. 11, Suraj Bhan in *Puratattva* No. 5, pp. 16-17; Gaur in *Radiocarbon* etc., p. 156.
42. Gaur in *Radiocarbon* etc., pp. 156, 160.

muscular thighs and a slightly raised and straight tail" on either side of which there is "a serrated leafy motif with a spiral at the end". The other object is a unique terracotta figurine. Dr. R. C. Gaur interprets it as "mother-goddess". It is a torso of a female with "prominent straight breasts with pointed nipples".[43]

To turn to the associate of Ochre-coloured Pottery, the Copper Hoards, of which B. B. Lal has counted 34 sites, I may start with pointing out that while Dr. D. P. Agrawal[44] was quite naturally lamenting the fact of the Copper Hoards not having been found from stratified deposits, B. B. Lal and L. M. Wahal were busy filling up the lacuna by their excavation at Saipai, so that within a year of Dr. Agrawal's lament one could see a Copper Hoard placed in a stratified deposit.[45]

Prof. B. B. Lal has listed at least thirty-four sites where artefacts of copper have been found in Bharat. All these finds are commonly known as "Copper Hoards". Dr. Fairservis' map 26 on p. 348 of his book shows forty-seven places as copper hoard sites. Dr. R. S. Sharma has pointed out that eighteen of these sites lie in Western U.P. Dr. Gordon, earlier, had credited 30 of them to U.P., Bihar and Orissa. Recently, Prof. Lal has singled out four artefacts mentioned by their technical names with the addition of the tag "etc." as the "fossil-types of the hoard". They are: (1) the harpoon; (2) the anthropomorphic figure; (3) the antennae sword and (4) the shouldered celt. Dr. D. P. Agrawal has dropped the fourth item, the shouldered celt, from his "main diagnostic types". The two criteria on which he has based his decision are: (1) one of the three items is found in association with one or the other of the remaining two at three of the find spots in U.P., viz., Bisauli, Bithur and Fatehgarh; (2) they are "distinctive types and occur exclusively in the Doab". The Saipai 'hoard' pictured in *Puratattva*, No. 5 fig. 22, has in it the harpoon, the anthropomorph and an artefact which Gordon designates as 'spear' but Agrawal as 'dagger, sword'. Dr. Agrawal's decision to treat harpoon, antennae, sword and anthropomorph thus can stand. Bisauli, Fatehgarh and Seorajpur were the only sites, before the discovery of Saipai, whose Copper Hoards contained the anthropomorphic figure.[46]

One copper object very much like the anthropomorph of the U.P. Copper Hoards has been found in the Lothal excavations. Allchin and Allchin have referred to it as a "broken copper ('anthropomorphic') axe of a form otherwise found only in Doab hoards". Dr. S. R. Rao has

43. Gaur in *Radiocarbon* etc., p. 156, pl. IX. The reproduction of the figurine in *Indian Archaeology*, 1969-70 in pl. LI gives a much better idea of the features.
44. The *Copper Bronze Age in India*, p. 46.
45. *Puratattva*, No. 5, pp. 12-13, 46-49, fig. 22 and pl. II-B.
46. Fairservis, p. 349; Gordon, pp. 135-137, 150-51; Sharma in *Potteries* etc., p. 81; D. P. Agrawal, pp. 13, 15, 196.

reproduced a line-drawing picture of the object describing it as "sleeved axe". Dr. D. P. Agrawal has given us the same line-drawing fig. 19, and has described it as "the so-called 'anthropomorph' ". He has rightly drawn attention to the rectangular appearance of the object. His hesitation to call the object an 'anthropomorph' appears to me to be quite justified.

Leaving out the disputed Lothal object, to think of the U.P. Anthropomorphs, one is intrigued to discover the use to which it might have been put. Was the artefact an utilitarian object or a religious symbol? Though the question cannot be definitely answered in favour of the latter alternative, Gordon's attempt and Agrawal's repetition of it to make it a deadly weapon are not successful.[47]

The copper artefact finds of Bihar and Orissa do not qualify for being called Copper Hoards and the date of U.P. Copper Hoards cannot hold for them. Besides not being associated with Ochre-coloured Pottery, they are all surface-finds. Their cultural horizon has to be determined in the context of the datable cultural assemblages of their sites. Dr. Gordon's[48] contention that a date earlier than 700 B.C. for the Indian Copper swords "does not appear reasonable" may possibly apply to them but now certainly not to the U.P. ones. The U.P. Copper Hoards, as Prof. Lal's conclusion mentioned above puts it, are datable to the period 2000-1500 B.C. Whether they were the works of the Indo-Aryan immigrants or not they cannot be derived from the eastern peoples of the country!

Dr. D. P. Agrawal,[49] not having come across "a single pot or pan of metal" among the assemblages of the copper hoards concluded that the circumstance "speaks volumes for their uncivilized and semi-nomadic status". The fact that evidence of habitation, as mentioned earlier, is discovered at Lal Qila, an Ochre-coloured Pottery site, should dispose of the suggestion that the U.P. Copper Hoards people were nomadic. Their pottery which is so often attempted to be traced to some Harappan stage and source should dispel the notion of their being uncivilized, though they were not an urban people.

We have seen above that the Ochre-coloured Pottery ware culture was followed by Black-and-Red ware culture at Atranjikhera, where Polished Grey ware culture overlay the Black-and-Red ware culture. We, therefore, have to see what that culture was in the region of the Ganga-doab, western U.P. The Black-and-Red ware culture appears to have only touched this region as it is reported from only one or two sites of the many so

47. B. & R. Allchin, p. 122; *Lothal,* pp. 83-84, fig. 20; Agrawal, pp 192-3, 197-200; Gordon, pp. 137-138.
48. *Op. cit.,* pp. 137-138.
49. *Op. cit.,* p. 197.

far explored. The centre or epicentre of this culture in fact must have lain outside this region, as it is so well-distributed and represented in other parts of Bharat.[50] Dr. D. P. Agrawal[51] has portrayed the spread of this culture on the basis of C-14 dates of the proto-historic sites from Rangpur-Lothal to Pandu Rajar Dhibi in West Bengal, showing only one site in western U.P. as having it, having received it from Ahar-Gilund in Rajasthan.

The best explored site of Atranjikhera in Etah district did not yield any associated artefacts that can enlighten us on the nature of the culture of the people of the Black-and-Red ware stratum, though Dr. R. C. Gaur, who carried out the excavation under Prof. S. Nurul Hasan's supervision, speaks of the Black-and-Red ware industry of the site as "a distinct cultural period".[52]

To have a glimpse of the cultural history in western U.P., therefore, we have to fall back upon Lal's excavations at Hastinapura and its Polished Grey ware strata. These Polished Grey ware strata are datable to the period 1100 B.C.-800 B.C.

The Ochre-coloured Pottery stratum which preceded Polished Grey ware stratum, besides its "copper hoard", yielded potsherds in such spread as to "suggest that the settlement was rather sporadic". The more common types of pots of the Polished Grey ware stratum Period, i.e., Hastinapura II were bowls and dishes with convex sides and round or sagger-base". They were most of them turned on the wheel. The pots had painted designs on them. Among the designs 'swatika' deserves special mention. Corrugations on stems, another type of decoration which is met with in even earlier strata at Ahar in Rajasthan and at Navdatoli in M.P., appear here in "an early level" of this period. Among the terracotta objects were animal figurines and discs. A terracotta feeding cup among the objects appears to be unique in all the multifarious and multitudinous artefacts of proto-historic India (Bharat). The terracotta pendant with a hole and the stamp with a central design also invite attention. The holed discs of pottery imply spinning like that of rural modern India.

The remains of mud-walls and even of some mud-brick-walls bore evidence to a population well settled. It appears that the walls of houses were made of reeds plastered with mud mixed with rice husk. Perhaps baked bricks, too, were known. Beads of agate, jasper, carnelian and bone, which must have been used as ornaments, do not surprise one; but glass bangles in this period are a novelty. "Several needle-like pointed tools" of bone, "believed to be styli, used for writing", are still another

50. Purshottam Singh in *Potteries* etc., pp. 67-72.
51. *Op. cit.*, p. 107, fig. 10.
52. *Ind. Arch.*, 1965-66, p. 45.

item in the assemblage, though one cannot take them as certain evidence of the prevalence of writing in the period.

The food of the people of Hastinapura II appears to have been meat and grain. Charred grains recovered from a pit identified as rice along with the presence of rice husk in the mud of the broken walls prove beyond doubt the use of the rice grain. Charred bones "bearing definite cut-marks on them" of buffalo, sheep, pig, etc. testify to the varied nature of meat fare then available and partaken of.

Hastinapura II, i.e., the Polished Grey ware period, offers the one definite evidence of the presence of the important animal, the horse in an early period on the Bharatan soil. Prof. Lal duly notes the absence of any evidence of the horse at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in Pakistan of today. There was no object of iron among the finds.

Lal finds evidence of a huge flood having wiped out the Polished Grey ware settlements and of a long time-gap between that occupation of the site and the next represented by the Northern Black Polished ware.[53] This Northern Black Polished ware being datable to a not earlier than 600 B.C. period its culture lies beyond the scope of this book, which is concerned with India (Bharat) of the Vedic age.

From U.P. we shall pass on to Gujarat leaving out the eastern regions, whose cultural assemblage are distinctly younger in age and also of the region that intervenes between them and Gujarat which too is slightly younger. Many are the sites in Kuccha and Saurashtra which are declared to be Harappan in culture. The multiplicity of such sites and the near-identity of their cultural assemblages with those of the Indus civilization are so great that Dr. S. R. Rao.[54] the excavator of Rangpur in Limbdi taluka of Surendranagar dist. and of Lothal near Ahmedabad, speaks of Gujarat as the southern Province of the Indus Empire. Three of the numerous sites have been thoroughly explored. They are Surkotada in Kuccha, Rangpur and Lothal.

Of the Harappan sites Lothal appears to be the oldest. Dr. Rao assures us that the culture at the site must have started "around 2450 B.C., if not earlier, and lasted upto 1600 B.C.". He puts Rangpur II-A, i.e., the Harappan culture at 2000-1500 B.C., II-B or Late Harappan at 1500-1100 B.C. and Rangpur-III or Lustrous Red Ware culture at 1000-800 B.C. with a transition period of a century between the last two phases.[55] Dr. Sankalia gives the same dates as Rao's for Lothal, dividing the whole culture into three periods, the first and second of them being datable to *c.* 2450-*c.* 1900 B.C. and *c.* 1900-c. 1600 B.C. respectively. However the

53. *Ancient India,* Nos. 10-11, table I; pls. XXVIII, XXX, LX; pp. 11-15, 50; D. P. Agrawal, *The Copper Bronze* etc., p. 84.
54. *Lothal and the Indus Civilization,* pp. 5, 39, 52.
55. *Ancient India,* Nos. 18 and 19, p. 27.

C-14 dates that he has presented yield slightly different dates. For the period called Harappan the six different dates presented yield the average value of 2399 B.C., while his nine dates for the Late Harappan average 2210 B.C. As for Rangpur, Dr. Sankalia recognises three Periods. Period I, which is pre-Harappan, he dates to 2000-1800 B.C. The II period, which represents Harappan culture, is dated 1800-1500 B.C., the III or Post-Harappan period being dated to 1500-1200 B.C. He has not listed the C-14 dates from which the abovementioned dates have been computed. Nor have Allchin and Allchin, Dr. Fairservis or Dr. D. P. Agrawal presented any. But for Lothal the C-14 dates are listed by all the three. Dr. Fairservis has three sets for the three phases he has distinguished. Phase I which he calls Harappan, with six C-14 lates, chalks up to the average date of 1818 B.C., while Harappan I-A and II-A with one and two dates respectively chalk upto 1965 B.C. and 1623 B.C. The seven dates for seven samples listed by Dr. Agrawal yield the average date of 1822 B.C. Allchin and Allchin have listed C-14 dates for nine samples, of which six are evidently mixed being of two different periods and may be left out. There is only one sample for what is called by them the Harappan I-A period with two C-14 dates. We get the date of either 1965 or 2080 B.C. on their basis. Harappan II-A of Lothal with two samples and four C-14 dates gets dated to 1725 or 1623 B.C.[56] For Surkotada the excavator's statement that Period III of the site which is post-Harappan-Cholcolithic as "belonging to *circa* and 2nd millennium B.C." appears to put the 1st period too early. For Dr. Sankalia who assures his readers that "the C-14 determinations are so consistent that one cannot but accept them" states that all of them lie between *c.* 2000 B.C.-1600 B.C., the earliest settlement being not datable to before *c.* 2000 B.C.[57]

At two of the three sites there was a town, the residential area and a citadel or "acropolis". At Surkotada—the ground plan of the complex is reproduced by Dr. Joshi in fig. 3, page 178 of *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, by Agrawal and Ghosh, and by Dr. Sankalia in fig. 90 on page 360 of his book, *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*—both the "citadel" and "the lower city" which was continuous with it separated by a wall, were enclosed within a wall. The citadel measured 60×60 m. and the "residenital area" or the town 55×60 m. About the thickness of the wall curiously enough there is wide variation in the four accounts available, three by Dr. Joshi, the excavator himself, and the fourth by Dr. Sankalia evidently from another account

56. *The Pre- & Proto-history* etc. pp. 365, 369, 379-83; Fairservis, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Agrawal, *The Copper* etc., p. 93; B. & K. Allchin, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-37.
57. J. P. Joshi in *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*, p. 26; Sankalia, *The Pre- & Proto-history* etc., pp. 360, 367-68.

of Dr. Joshi. In the fn. at page 26 of *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers* the measurements given are: Eastern side wall of the citadel 4.10 m. and the western side wall 7.10 "mts" [m.] "The lower residential area was enclosed with a rubble fortification wall and a bastion in the corner was having a width of 3.40 mts" [m.] In the report in *Indian Archaeology* 1970-71 we are told that "the fortification", evidently of the citadel, "measured from 3.50 to 4 m. in width" and of "the lower city" 3.4 m. Dr. Sankalia describing the fortification of the citadel, writes: "The basal width of the rampart was about 7 m." Dr. Joshi in *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology* says about "the massive rampart" that it has "an average width of 3.50 to 4 m." Mud-bricks, $40 \times 20 \times 10$ cms. were used, for the purpose. The whole complex of Period I was reconstructed by peoples of Period III, whom the excavator regards as "fresh arrivals" because the pottery assemblage of the period comprised "mostly White painted Black and Red ware". The new wall, however, was of rubble masonry and thinner than the earlier one.

The Houses appear to have been built in rubble masonry in both the periods. Though the excavator assures us that the pottery assemblage of Period I included "typical Harappan forms like the Indus boglet, dish-on-stand, perforated jar, handled cup", not a single whole pot or even a portion that can lead one to project the form or shape of the whole is reproduced in *Indian Archaeology*. Only a few pieces of pottery, not very distinctive or boldly painted, are figured in pls. XII and XIII of *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*. Among them one finds a well-perforated sherd, $5.6 \times 4.4 \times 3.7$ cms., two of the sides being roundish. Even the pieces reproduced by Dr. Sankalia in figs. 94, 96, 98 and 103, excepting four or five, are not such that the reconstructions, e.g., that of the dish-on-stand, can be safely accepted. The few designs, however, bespeak their Harappan affiliation. It seems there was at least one dish-on-stand, which was placed in an oval pit, along with a few other pots. It did not contain bones but the pit was covered over with a stone slab.

The four pot-burials exposed "contained only a few human bones, and vessels". This description of the oval pit and its contents as well as that of the four pot burials is from Dr. Sankalia's account based on Dr. Joshi's paper on the Surkotada excavations published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*. Dr. Joshi, in his contribution on the same excavations published in *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology* by Agrawal and Ghosh, has described the oval pit with its stone covering to be a burial. Of the four pot-burials his account differs so much from that given above from Dr. Sankalia's that it must be quoted in full: "In one burial only one dish-on-stand and pots and fragments of human bones have been found. The system of pot-burial consisted of digging of an oval pit (longer axis: east-west) upto a depth of 30 cms. and putting the pots

with or without bones, filling up the pit with loose earth and covering with a cairn of random rubble stones and placing of a vertical slab towards the west on the top". These pot-burials were all from Period I. In the pottery assemblage besides beads, bangles, etc. some clay objects were found which are described as "linga-type" (probably cult objects). No seal appears to have been discovered.[58]

Rangpur which appears to have been no-walled town but only a large village, according to its excavator Dr. Rao, had a microlithic period before it became a Chalcolithic Harappan settlement. Dr. Sankalia on the analogy of Lothal seeks to posit a Micaceous Red ware pre-Harappan "culture". The Harappan Period, i.e., II-A produced principally four ceramic industries, e.g., the red, the buff, the coarse red and the coarse grey wares, the black red and the micaceous red wares being minor industries. Typical Harappan forms and shapes of pots and of their black painted designs leave no scope for any doubt about the Harappan nature of the culture, though no seal has been discovered. The cylindrical perforated jar, 2 ft. 2.5 in. in height, found intact in the early level of the Period, which is illustrated by a photograph in pl. XIX-A and in drawing in fig. 19 (28), is proof certain that the culture was Harappan. One pottery object which appears in the assemblage of the last phase of the Harappan Period here is the shallow lipped bowl for use as a lamp. It is called 'panti' in Marathi. Strange as it may appear lamps are so rare in the proto-historic finds in India (Bharat), that the Rangpur datable piece deserves special mention. It appears to be carefully made with the incurved rim painted in black.

Some copper tools and chert blades were discovered. Ornaments appear to have been almost a passion with the people, beads of steatite agate, carnelian and faience satisfying it. One gold disc bead deserves mention. The discovery of a miniature jar with four-thousand-nine-hundred micro-beads of steatite is intriguing. The houses whose plans could not be traced were built of mud-bricks over platforms of same material. Yet they were provided with drains, though of mud-bricks, for the waste-water to flow out. Dr. Rao, the excavator, thinks that the water was discharged into "a large public drain". He also informs us that "headers and stretchers [bricks placed on end and lengthwise] were laid in alternate courses in the construction of walls and platforms". However the brick work seen in pls. VIII, IX, X and XI does not show bricks used as 'headers'.

Period III, the post-Harappan, is marked by exuberance of Lustrous Red Ware to such an extent as to lead the excavator to call the period

58. *Ind. Arch.*, 1970-71, pp. 13-15; *Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*, p 26 fn.; *Radiocarbon* etc., pp. 177-79; Sankalia, *The Pre- & Proto-history* etc., pp. 360-67.

by that name. Black-and-Red ware which was very rare in the Harappan Period also became abundant in this period. The lipped or channelled bowl-lamp figures in the coarse red ware assemblage. Similar lamps occur in Lothal-B. Some of the pots in Black-and-Red ware bear some line paintings in white and may be called White-painted Black-and-Red pottery. There are three pieces of corrugated pottery in the Coarse-Red Ware assemblage of this period. They are broken parts of stands or stems of pots. Such corrugation, as will be clear later, is abundant at Navdatoli in M.P. and to a less extent at Ahar in Rajasthan. Neck-portions of two jars establish the occurrence of high-necked jars, while the neck and shoulder portion of another bespeaks a bottle-necked but bulbous-bodied vessel.[59] Both these forms are as, we shall see, much better represented in the Malwa and Maharashtra sites.

The people's food appears to have included both rice and pearl millet (bajra) and fish. Cotton cloth was in use.[60]

Lothal, too, began as a village but unlike Rangpur it developed into a city, a manufacturing one too, and perhaps also a port. Dr. Rao, the excavator, finds evidence of the settlement having been destroyed by floods "at least four times during its span of life". The village began to develop into a standard town of the Harappan type when, it is suggested, a colony of Harappans settled there about 2450 B.C. By about 2000 B.C. Dr. Rao informs us it reached its zenith. Initially the city was laid out as a rectangle, 300 ms. north-south by 400 ms. east-west. It was protected against floods by a thick wall of mud-bricks, reinforced with baked bricks on the north side. The city, however, overflowed the boundary on the southern side sometime before its devastation by a flood so that it is stated to have been 2 kilometres in circuit at its zenith.

Within the city a mud-brick platform measuring 117 ms. east-west, 136 ms. on the north and 111 ms. on the south stood contiguous with the wall on the east and nearer the northern wall than the southern. It is called by Dr. Rao the acropolis. On it stood a big building which can be construed to have been the residence of the ruler or the city governor or whatever he or 'they' together might have been called. In the excavated part of the city beyond this platform, bazar area, residential quarters, and factory areas are distinguished. In the restored plan of the acropolis we can see two streets, numbered 3 and 4 which run east-west on the platform. There are five lanes, first, second and fifth running north-south and the third and the fourth running east-west. On the south side of the platform below, street numbered two runs east-west. It has a great structure on a platform, construed to be either a

59. *Ancient India,* Nos. 18 & 19, pp. 15, 20-2, 32, 34, 41, 42-44, 61, 101, 120: pls. IX XXI-A, 9; figs. XXIII-A, XXVII-A 3.
60. *Ibid.,* p. 46.

warehouse or a granary standing on its southern side. There are three more streets marked in the plan of Lothal town. The street numbered one is referred to in the text of Dr. Rao as the bazaar street. It runs north-south. Towards its southern end street numbered nine runs to the west. The street numbered five runs by the west side of the acropolis platform, apparently in the north-south direction. Streets evidently numbered six, seven and eight are neither shown in the plan nor referred to in the text. There was a large basin on the side of the city adjoining the eastern wall which Dr. Rao claims was a dock while Drs. U. P. Shah, Leshnik and Fairservis Jr. are convinced that it was a reservoir of water. Dr. Sankalia holds the opinion that Dr. Rao has not yet been able to substantiate his view quite adequately.[61]

The Harappan character of Lothal culture is further established by the seals, more than a hundred in number, found in the remains, which bear inscriptions in the same script as that on the seals of Indus civilization. One of the seals had on it instead of the usual animal motif, seed-drill, testifying to developed agriculture. The existence of the so-called factory of beads and the great number and variety of beads discovered suggest trade and commerce. The suggestion is supported by the find of a necklace of micro-beads of gold and the fact that the beads were largely of such semi-precious stones as carnelian and agate. Workshops of shell-workers and of a copper worker discovered in the bazaar area as well as a smithy evidently meant for use by a number of coppersmiths discovered along with unmistakable signs of active work on the premises further emphasize the importance of trade and commerce in Lothal culture.[62]

The pottery discovered, too, proclaims the Harappan character of the culture. The designs painted in black on red ground and the shapes of pots are predominantly of the Harappan type. Among forms, the 's'-shaped-profile vessel, dish-on-stand, perforated cylindrical jar, and bowl with stud-handle stand out among them as the most significant indicators of its Harappan relationship. The tools, which stamp Lothal as a Culture as Chalcolithic, and the ornaments are other elements which affine Lothal with Indus civilization.[63]

Presence of baths and skin-rubbers, added to the well-made drains to carry dirty water away bespeak cleanly living. The food of the people appears to have been based on both cereals like wheat, pearl-millet and rice and on fish and bowl and other eatable animals. Terracotta sculp-

61. *Lothal and the Indus Civilization*, pp. 52-4, 57, 61-62, 70; figs. 12, 14,; Sankalia, *The Pre- and Proto-history* etc., pp. 371-74.
62. *Lothal* etc., pp. 57, 68, 79, 90; pls. XXVI-B; XXIX-C, D, & E.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 96, figs. 22, 23-24, pls. XXVIII A & B.

tures, though only few, and bronze animal figurines indicate refined taste, in so far as they are not construable as cult objects.[64]

There are indications in Lothal finds of no other religious worship than perhaps of Fire-cult, for no Mother-goddess figures, nor even conical stones, suggestive of phallus worship, have been discovered. In Rangpur too, the same situation prevailed. None of the seals bears any semblance of a human figure. On the other hand, a number of houses had "rectangular or circular mud-enclosures built into the floor or raised over a dwarf mud-brick platform". Some of the mud-enclosures contained ashes and terracotta cakes, of triangular shape. These enclosures Dr. Rao thinks were fire-altars and compares them with similar [?] objects discovered in Kalibangan.[65] Though the Kalibangan comparison does not appear to me to be quite valid, the Lothal mud-enclosures may be construed to have been fire-altars, particularly as they cannot be taken to have been routine household hearths.

In the matter of the disposal of the dead Lothal has yielded much better evidence, sixteen graves in the cemetery having provided some remains of the human skeleton. The pit for a burial was a rectangle, measuring 3.2×0.75 ms. and 0.3 to 0.5 m. deep, oriented north-south. The body appears to have been laid in the extended position with head towards the north, slightly tilted to the east, in all but three out of the sixteen graves. In the three graves the bodies lay on the side. Dr. Rao has not stated whether the side was right or left.[66] In one grave bones of a goat and in another "a jaw bone of a bovine species" were found. I do not think that any worthwhile conclusion about the accompaniments of the burial rites can be drawn from this.

It is seen that in the matter of the plan of the city Lothal does not compare well with Kalibangan. Even Surkotada tallies better with the Indus civilization planning of cities. The road system of Kalibangan is very much better than that of Lothal, whose acropolis with its lanes and streets appears in comparison to be almost a higgledy-piggledy affair. Disposal of the dead as practised in Kalibangan does not conform to the method of burial met with in Lothal. On the other hand, Lothal culture appears to have been richer; and its citizens have left enough traces of their refined pattern of living. However the site did not have any settlement on it afterwards till about the 4th century B.C.

Rajasthan next claims our attention not only because it has numerous chalcolithic sites but also because some of them, like Ahar, stand next after Kalibangan and Surkotada. Rangpur-Lothal of Gujarat in chronological order. Another reason for our selection of Rajasthan, a very im-

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 109-10; pls. VIII; XIX-C, XXII-B, C, D; XXIII-B, C.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40; pl. XXXVI-A.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

portant one at that from the point of view of cultural history, is that Ahar culture appears almost unique in the Indian proto-historic scene. An additional compelling consideration is that Rajasthan's north-east, which offered us Harappan Kalibangan as a successor to a pre-Harappan Kalibangan, has in Noh of Bharatpur district a chalcolithic site bearing Ochre Coloured Pottery and thus affining itself and Rajasthan with western U.P.

At Noh in Bharatpur district, a region which in Vedic times was occupied by the Rigvedic Matsya people,[67] a trial excavation has revealed a settlement with five cultural periods. Period II-V stratum yielded the famous Northern Black-Polished Pottery while Period III was marked by the occurrence of Painted-Grey Pottery. Two samples from the Painted Grey Pottery level were dated by C-14 technique to 740 and 530 B.C. Period II yielded Black-and-Red Pottery which was not painted. Neither copper nor stone tools and implements were discovered. Period I yielded Ochre-coloured Pottery, all in sherds, one of which bore "incised decoration, simulating those" found at Atranjikhera, U.P.[68] The pottery was said to be the Ochre-coloured ware of various shapes. Human occupation of a permanent type was evidenced by three walls built of sun-dried mud-bricks, each measuring 21 cms. × 15 cms. × 6 cms. and by made-up floors bearing port-holes. The *Times of India,* in its issue of September 11, 1975, announced, through its news columns, the discovery of "the evidence of iron smelting and blacksmithy" at Jodhpura in Jaipur district, also a Matsya-people tract in Vedic times, datable to 1100 B.C.

Ahar (Tambavati) a site only about 2 miles east of Udaipur as Dr. Sankalia informs us and about sixty miles to the south-west of the historically famous fortified town of Chitod, which is almost fully excavated and well reported upon, is the crown jewel of the Rajasthani archaeology. Dr. Sankalia has divided the whole culture-sequence at the site into two Periods, Period I and Period II, each with three phases within it. He dates the 1st phase of Period I between 1940 and 1765 B.C., phase two to 1725 B.C. and phase three to 1550 B.C. The nine C-14 dates of nine Chalcolithic samples listed by Fairservis yield the average date as 1661 B.C., while the nine dates listed by D. P. Agrawal total up to the average date as 1768 B.C.[69]

The speciality of Ahar I Dr. Sankalia tells us is that pottery "constituted to be the principal find", other objects such as ornaments (beads, etc.), toys, coins, tools and weapons being in small quantity". Another striking find is "a group of about thirty-eight terracotta spindle-whorls

67. Vide Chapter VIII above.
68. *Ind. Arch.,* 1964-65, pp. 34-35; Fairservis, p. 397.
69. *Excavations at Ahar,* pp. 5-6, 18, 28; fig. A; Fairservis, *op. cit.,* p. 394; D. P. Agrawal, *op. cit.,* table 3, p. 99; *Ind. Arch.,* 1961-62, pp. 45-6, 50.

or beads, biconical, globular or areca-nut in shape and having incised decoration". Lithic blades were "almost totally absent. Ahar culture was thus a pure copper culture, copper being "the basis of the economy of the people for nearly two thousand years" from the beginning of the settlement". The abundant pottery of Ahar is "very distinctive both in fabric and technique, shape and decoration". Looking through the illustrations in line drawings or in photographs, of pottery finds of at least a dozen pre-historic or proto-historic sites in India (Bharat) I have carried the impression that Ahar is unique in its pots and pans, particularly in their decoration. The pottery is wheel made.

Three main varieties of pottery may be distinguished: (i) Black-and-Red, (ii) Grey and (iii) Red. Black-and-Red pottery is the most widely spread and next to the pre-Harappan and the Harappan appears to be the oldest in India (Bharat), though it makes its appearance in western U.P. after the Ochre-coloured pottery. And Ahar Black-and-Red pottery with its white painting, stands out among the pots and pans of pre-historic and proto-historic sites. Both large-sized and medium-sized vessels are absent in the assemblage, a feature which combined with the shapes of the pots in this variety point to the conclusion that it was meant for the use of the elite. This conclusion is suppored by the fact that in the still more abundant assemblage of Red ware at the site other elegant shapes were produced in profusion. About this assemblage Dr. Sankalia (p. 26) observes: "Here we encounter bowls with graceful outline and finish and exquisite dishes-on-stand, and soft-surfaced lotas and vessels with delicate ribs". The above inference, if valid, implies that Rajasthani society of proto-historic Ahar was a stratified one, some sections having refined tastes and the means to have them satisfied as against the comon people who could and had to satisfy their plebeian tastes with the routine pottery.

The three house-plans which the excavators have been able to expose may be taken to reflect a stratified society, though the factor of the size of the household based on the joint family system might have influenced the differential housing. One of the houses, the largest, was 33 feet long and its width, which could not be detected on the spot, taken to be about 23 feet, would provide an area of a little over 750 sq. ft. (p. 216). The plinths of these stone-and-mud-walled houses were built with roughly dressed stones and the floors appear to have been well made. Hearths or Chulas[70] in situ with saddle querns for grinding condiments (?) or some variety of corn or both in some of these make the scene of the living pattern of the proto-history Aharians quite realistic. In pl. LXXXI-C of *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, we see the kitchen fitted with a hearth

70. *Indian Arch.*, 1961-62; pl. LXXI-B & C.

having four openings for fuel and as many rests for four pots, for simultaneously cooking the food of the family, with the large saddle quern lying in the fore-ground. Perhaps it is the largest quern which, the excavators inform us, measured 12 feet square. The largest quern, 'pata' or 'phator' in Marathi, known to me as in use in a large joint family some thirty years ago, could not have been more than 8 feet square.

The 'chulah', 'chula' in Marathi, appears to have been built with clay on the spot. It bears testimony to the developed quality of Aharian culture that the 'chulah' should have been provided with internal knobs, one in the centre and the other two on the two end-sides near the opening, all a little below the top-surface. These constitute a device to enable the housewife to accommodate a small vessel, too, on the 'chulah' whenever necessary. In Maharashtra besides these protuberances or knobs the 'chulah's whether ready-built or built on 'the spot', there are generally three knobs on the top surface, one in the centre and two on the two side-ends. The provision of these knobs secures more effective heating and less smokiness owing to better burning away of the fuel. The close competition between the Aharians of Rajasthan and the Navdatolians of Malwa in cultural refinement stands out in this artefact as in pottery. The 'chulah's of the latter appear rather crude and poorly built up. They do not have the internal knobs. However, the very crude single 'chulah' we are told by Dr. Sankalia had "three humps to support a pot at some height". What Sankalia calls humps are the knobs on the top in Maharashtrian "chula"s of clay.[71] There is another refinement in Maharashtrian "chula"s of today and yesterday; and that is that they are generally provided with one or two smaller hearths, one on either side of the main hearth. They are closed from outside and burning fuel for them is fed through the side opening or openings of the main hearth which is open-mouthed. This innovation besides effecting some economy in fuel enables the housewife to cook partially one or two dishes, besides the main one being cooked on the main hearth, simultaneously, or to keep the cooked ones quite warm till the one on the main hearth is ready or till the time when food is to be served. These type of "chula"s are called "vaeela-chula" or "vailchula".

I have come across the above-mentioned refinement in only two archaeological sites. At Atranjikhera, which, as we have seen, being in its 1st Period a site of Ochre-coloured pottery, is datable to about 1500 B.C., in the fourth period stratum, among domestic hearths discovered was one,[72] which the excavators described as "a peculiar type of hearth showing one mouth and three openings [pot-rests ?]". The chulah does not

71. Navdatoli, pl. VI, 3; fig. 27; pl. 69.

72. *Ind. Arch.*, 1964-65, pl. XII-A; 1965-66, p. 47; pl. XXXIII-A; Sankalia, *The Pre- and Proto-history* etc., p. 434; *Ind. Arch.*, 1970-71, p. 8.

show any knobs either, internal or top ones, for the main hearth or the two side pot-rests. Atranjikhera IV being an overlap period of Painted Grey pottery and Northern Black Polished ware is datable to about 600 B.C. The 'chulah' is much cruder than those of Ahar. The hearths of Eran in Sagar district, M.P., are better. Of the two 'chulah's revealed, the one with only two mouths is much better and though it has not the clever device for accommodating small pots on it like that of the Ahar hearths it appears to be very regular and well made. The other hearth, which is a meander-looking object, though provided with additional conveniences for a housewife cooking on it, is both disproportionate and appears to demonstrate the inexperience of its makers. It has a side-rest for a small pot, on the left side of the cook; but apart from being very small it is not in line with the main 'chulah', forcing the cook to push the fuel far inside the main 'chulah', to the side-pot-rest, which Dr. Sankalia tells us is known as "hola" in that part of the country. There is some circular appendage which must have been meant as a rest for pots of cooked food till the food would actually have to be served. The time-period of the 'chulah' find, being from a "late phase", is not clear. The significance of the innovation of the Aharians can be properly appreciated when one knows that so late as the Mauryan age it had not been known or adopted in Delhi as the Purana Qila excavation by Prof. B. B. Lal and Dr. B. K. Thapar and others shows. In pl. XIX-A they have reproduced the three well-made but either incomplete or partially broken single 'chulahs' they found. They are without the Aharian innovation.

It is interesting to know that one of the 'chulah's at Ahar standing on a square platform bore "decorations of depressed chevrons" (pl. LXXI-B, *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62).[73]

The terracotta lamps, 'panti', in Marathi, 'kodia' in Gujarati, discovered were in contrast undecorated comparing unfavourably with the lamps of the Rangpur assemblage. Only two specimens appear to have been circular in shape, resembling the Rangpur lamps in shape. Other two or three were rectangular and declared their affinity with the lamps of Chalcolithic Navdatolians of Malwa, M.P.[74] Apropos of the generally accepted Harappan origin of Rangpur culture, I should point out that such lamps are attested in the early cultural assemblages of Jericho and Megiddo and the Iron Age II strata, datable to between the 8th to 6th century B.C., and of Tell-Beit, Mirshim in Palestine.[75]

Nine terracotta skin rubbers of Period I, are distributed by the exca-

73. *Ahar*, pls. XVIII, XIX; figs. 115-116; pp. 188, 216.
74. *Exc. at Navdatoli*, pp. 374-78; pl. XXVII; figs. 117-18.
75. Schaefer: *op. cit.*, figs. 117, 118, 143, 144; *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vols. XXI-XXII, pl. 15, pl. 69B.

vators in six classes, one class comprising three sub-classes and another two. The great importance rightly attached to this artefact in the life of the people is attested by Dr. Sankalia's devoting to them two plates and two figures-pages in his book *Excavations at Ahar*. Such variety of skin-rubbers bespeaks the peoples' intense desire for bodily cleanliness and their passion for functional perfection in their artefacts. Three copper 'kohl'-sticks remind one of the age-old practice of Indian women of beautifying their eyes and eyelashes with collyrium. Fairly large number of pieces of shell bangles, as also the two pieces of glass bangles, while exciting curiosity regarding their source, lead one to think of Aharian women as fond of ornaments, an inference supported by the presence of twenty-one terracotta ear-studs divided into as many as nine typological groups. They further invite one's attention to the affinity of Aharian culture with the Navdatolian culture of Malwa. For Navdatoli yielded about 60 terracotta ear-studs in the strata of the four-phased Period I of the site, divided by Dr. Sankalia into eight or nine groups. What is more some of them were decorated just as a few of the Ahar ones were.[76] That this feature of Ahar culture is an important trait may be judged from the fact that Dr. S. R. Rao who has devoted quite ample space to describe the twenty-five objects of terracotta from Rangpur, classed as "ear-ornaments, whorls and beads" has found only two beads among them deserving of detailed description.[77]

Beads are the one ornament that appears most widely spread during the pre-historic and proto-historic times. But the quantity of beads discovered at Ahar and also their variety are such that the excavators of the site have devoted one separate chapter 7, with one plate IX, and seven figures 98-104, to describe and illustrate 193 pieces, of which 172 fall in the Chalcolithic age. Being ornaments, the material, variety and decoration of the artefact provide an index to the status of the culture as well as to social stratification, if any, within it. No precious metal formed the material of any one of the Ahar beads; but semi-precious stones like carnelian, crystal, agate and lapis lazuli formed the material of sixteen of them. Terracotta beads numbered 110, shell ones 17, faience 9 and glass ones 5. The terracotta beads appear to be all incised and the excavators declare that they "are so far unique in India" and that "save Chanhudaro [in Pakistan], no other proto-historic site has given such a range of terracotta beads with beautifully executed decorations. With more than 2500 beads of more than twenty different materials including faience, shell, opal, copper and gold, in more than thirty different shapes Navdatoli scores over Ahar, though not in respect of the

76. *Ahar*, pp. 199, 214, fig. 129(ii); p. 179, pl. XII; fig. 106; *Exc. at Nav.*, pp. 378-79, pl. XVII.
77. *An. Ind.*, nos. 18-19, fig. 51, p. 144.

intensity and spread of the desire for personal adornment of its people. The large number of beads indicate that the village had or was a factory for bead-making, the variety demonstrating both the nature of the demand, the expertise of Navadatolians and their trade contacts.[78]

In their earlier report, the excavators of Ahar had illustrated with line-drawings eight of the beads along with their parallels from either Anau in Turkmenia or Troy in Asia Minor, and had remarked: "Further evidence is, however, needed to establish such tenuous foreign links".[79] Dr. Sankalia [80] speaks of not only geometrical designs but also of animal ones on the beads. However, the excavators, neither in their earlier report in *Indian Archaeology* nor in their *Excavations at Ahar*, mention any animal designs on the beads. In *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, they have told us about "aimal-headed handles" of pots as "simulating such features from Troy and Geoy Tepe and as being "unique" among Chalcolithic finds from Central and Western India.

There is hardly anything in the Ahar finds which can be more or less definitely identified with any religious practice. The so-called votive tanks are not positively datable to the Chalcolithic strata of the culture.[81] As for Aharian food Dr. Sankalia [82] thinks that rice and that, too, "perhaps the ancestor of the famous sweet-smelling Dehradun rice" was "certainly" used. He has concluded from the analysis of their kitchen-middens that Aharians ate fish, and the flesh of fowl, turtles, goat, sheep, deer, pig and also buffalo, cow and ox. Nothing calculated to shed light on the manner of the disposal of the dead among the Aharians has been discovered.

Proto-historic Aharians evidently wanted posterity to judge them by their pottery; and that they were quite right in doing so is proved by Dr. Sankalia's high valuation of the potters of proto-historic Ahar. Writing about the Black-and-Red and Red ware he observes: "both are beautiful to look at" and adds, "no less attractive are the storage jars in the thick Red-slipped Ware and the Grey Ware.... Here is a perfect combination of the sense of beauty and utility". Leaving out the genres variously christened "dish-on-stand", "bowl-on-stand", "pedestalled bowl", for their study along with similar pots from Navdatoli and other appropriate sites I may mention here the features of Ahar pottery that impress one: (1) The graceful "lotas" [83] better the "lotas" of Rupar and

78. *Ahar*, pp. 167, 175; *Exc. at Nav.*, pp. 351-370.
79. *Ind. Arch.*, 1961-62, p. 50, fig. 19.
80. *The Pre & Proto-history* etc., p. 418.
81. *Exc. at Ahar.*, p. 181.
82. *The Pre- & Proto-history* etc., pp. 408-09.
83. *Ahar*, pp. 25-27, 59, 106, 109; pls. IV, V; Sankalia, *The Pre- & Proto-history* etc., p. 411.

Kalibangan, where perhaps the type was almost an exotic being known only in the perforated variety; (2) Bowls including basins in great variety, more than six types being easily recognisable; (3) Pans, flat, shallow, coarse-bottomed vessels by hundreds, which the excavators recognise as "tava", frying pan of pure Indian style; (4) Large "elongated and globular pots", shoulders decorated with applique, incised or cut designs, with lower parts slender and rusticated, and (5) High-necked pots, Types 113, 171-79. There is absence of 'S'-profile pots of Harappan culture. The white painting on black-and-red background can be considered to be a development of the rather limited use of this paint in pre-Harappan Kalibangan culture. Some simple white painting, a few linear strokes, is witnessed in the Black-and-Red pottery of Rangpur III, 1000-800 B.C.[84] Corrugation, deep or shallow, thick or lean, is a prominent decorative element abundantly used here. Pottery-decoration by incising, cutting, pinching, impressing and by applique method is abundant and yet tastefully executed. On the whole the pottery assemblage of Chalcolithic Ahar, except for its dish-on-stand or bowl-on-stand genres, is such as not to remind one much of Indus Civilization. The high-necked pots of the place link it up more with Nevase and Navdatoli than with Late-Harappan Surkotada, Rangpur and Lothal of Gujarat.[85] Ahar was abandoned about 1200 B.C. and did not have any settlement for about 900 years.[86]

84. *An. Ind.*, 18-19, p. 122, fig. 44.
85. Sankalia, *The Pre-* & *Proto-history* etc., p. 367; Rao in *An. Ind.*, 18-19. pp. 111, 194; in Lothal, p. 45; B. K. Thapar in V. N. Mishra and M. S. Mate, p. 162.
86. *Ahar*, p. 6.

13

Non-Literate Vedic India: Central and Eastern

We may conveniently take up the thread of our study of the ethnic units, noticed in the Vedic and Puranic literatures in relation to the archaeological revelations of cultures. We saw that Kalibangan lay in the region of the Matsyas and that the Salvas, too, were known to have been nearby, though perhaps a little later, and that there was some traditional evidence supported by a regional name to hold them to have been a Sindh ethnic unit that had migrated from Sindh into the particular region from the south. Neither of these two ethnic units figures among the dynastic lists collated and presented by Pargiter. They seem to have been eclipsed by the Yadavas, their neighbours.

The Yadavas, traditionally are the descendants of Yadu, who figures in the Rigveda as the leader of one of the famed Five Peoples, and as one of the five sons of Yayati in the Puranas. Traditional history relates that Yayati gave to Yadu as his patrimony, the region to the south-west of the eastern part of the Ganga-Yamuna doab. It must have lain to the west of the Chambal and east of the Matsya country. Sasabindu, the thirteenth king from Yadu, was a great monarch and it was during his reign that the first recorded alliance with an eastern ethnic unit took place. Sasabindu's daughter, who appears to have retained her grandfather's name associated with her name and is mentioned as Chaitrarathi Bindumati, Chitraratha being Sasabindu's father, was married to the Ikshvaku monarch Mandhata, even more famous than Sasabindu. Mandhata's own mother, Gauri, was the daughter of king Matinara, 12th in descent from Puru, a brother of Yadu. Puru's, and therefore the Paurava, realm lay in the Ganga-Yamuna doab with the capital at Pratishthana, Allahabad.[1]

It is interesting particularly for students of Indian culture, to note that Gauri was borne to Matinara by his queen Jvalana, who was a daughter of the great Naga leader Takshaka, one of the most famous of Naga

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 141, 259, 261-62.

lineages. The prestige which the Naga people had come to possess in the early Gupta age must have led Kalidasa to record the lineage of the second wife of Kusa, the son of Rama. From Kalidasa's account we learn that the people of Ayodhya of that time, about 1300 B.C., knew of a Naga by name Kumuda, living, presumably with his people, on the waters of the river Sarayu. This valuable information along with the incidents in the story of Krishna's destruction of Kaliya Naga in the deep waters of the Yamuna at Mathura, described in the Mahabharata, suggests that the Naga people or at least some of their sections or sub-units were expert in the art of navigating in the rivers in their boat-houses. Kumuda Naga, Kalidasa tells us, offered his sister Kumudvati to Kusa in marriage and pacified him. Kumuda Naga describes himself as the fifth in descent from a Naga of the Takshaka lineage. It was a Takshaka Lineage, according to traditional history, that killed, by ruse or by trachery, Parikshit, the grandson of the Pandavas, i.e., about 900 B.C.[2]

The next Naga individual and lineage of the region getting indirect notice in Epic-Puranic literature is Aryaka. His daughter named Marisha or Bhoja was given in marriage to Sura, a prince of the Yadavas. Sura had by her, among other children, Vasudeva, the father of Krishna, and Pritha, later known as Kunti having been given in adoption to a prince named Kuntibhoga, who was the mother of the Pandavas. Arjuna late in his life is said to have been forced into marriage by Ulupi, a Naga widow of a Naga man. But the further incidents in Arjuna's and Ulupi's life described in the sources being not congruous, I shall not dwell on it.[3]

We saw above that the Yadava realm lay west of the Chambal, east or somewhat south-east of the Matsya country. But later the Yadavas, in their various descendant lines, spread over a much larger region. However, their realm was wrested from them during the reign of their king Madhu, standing 61st in the dynastic lists, by Satrughna, the brother of Rama. The city of Mathura, tradition asserts, was built by him, after cutting down the forest of the region known as Madhuvana. The country came to be known as Surasena after Satrughna's son. It appears that after Surasena one or two generations only of the Ikshvaku lineage ruled there. For Bhima, the son of Yadava Satvant, drove out the Ikshvakus and regained the Yadava territory which retained its new name Surasena. The Yadavas came to be known as the Satvatas from then on. Bhima stands 66th in dynastic lists. This change of ethnic name must thus have occurred about 1300 B.C. As stated in chapter 8, the Satvatas were very well-known to the elite of the later Vedic litera-

2. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 121, 129, 212, 220; *Raghuvamsa,* XVI, 72-88.
3. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 126, 575.

ture but not the Yadavas. One of the four sons of Bhima Satvata it was who, it appears, carved out a kingdom for himself and his sons in the territory watered by the river Banas or Parnasa. His son Babhru Daivavridha is mentioned as a pupil of Parvata and Narada in the *Aitareya Brahmana*.[4] Early Vedic literature, as pointed out in chapter 8, knows this part of the country as inhabited by Nishadas, so that we may conclude that the region in which Ahar culture is located was, at about the time of that culture, occupied by Nishadas and was perhaps under the dominion of the Yadava Satvatas who might have received some infiltration of the Ikshvaku ethnic stock. The Nagas came into the picture in this region, according to traditional history, only about 1000 B.C. In view of the fact that, as stated above an early King, the 18th in the lists, of the Pauravas, whose realm spread out in the north and the north-east of the Yadavas, had married a Naga woman and that an Ikshvaku king standing 22nd too, had taken to wife a Naga woman of the Narmada region in eastern Malwa, we may well assign some share in the Ahar culture to the Nagas too.

From Ahar of south-eastern Rajasthan one passes on easily into western M.P., a region of both legendary and historical fame. In traditional history Mahishmati, Mehesvara/Mandhata, is the second oldest city of India (Bharat), Sravasti being the first. Sravasti is said to have been founded by Sravasta, the 10th monarch in the Ikshvaku dynasty, while Mahismati is said to have been founded either by Muchukunda, one of the sons of Yaunasva Mandhata of the Ikshvaku dynasty, involved hepelessly in legends, or by Mahishmant, the 23rd monarch in the Yadava-Haihaya dynasty, i.e., about 150 years after Sravasti.[5] Whoever founded it, Mahishmati appears to have soon passed into the hands of the Karkotaka Nagas and is otherwise named Bhogavat, celebrated as the city of the Nagas in some Puranas.

Karkotaka in Puranic tradition is one of the many families or lineages of the Nagas, who must have been a people who might have had cobra for their totem or might have had a hooded head-dress as a tribal heritage. Karkotaka lineage is the most historical one in as much as it figures as the conqueror of Mahismati and as being ousted from it by Kartavirya Arjuna about 90 years later.[6] The dynasty that came to power in Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. and gave some of its most illustrious monarchs to the country is named Karkotaka and was believed to be under the protection of Karkotaka Nagas. The great impress the Nagas made on Kashmir is brought out in brief in the following comment of

4. Pargiter, pp. 170-1, 279-80; *Vedic Index.*
5. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 260, 262-63; Chitrav, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

R. S. Pandit,[7] the translator of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. Telling his readers that the legend of Chandralekha is one of the many stories relating to the Nagas current in Kashmir, he observes: "The Nagas the semi-divine beings are, according to legend, the original inhabitants of Kashmir. . . . The word Naga survives to this day in Kashmir in the various place names and is commonly used for a spring in the form of a doublet—Chashmanaga—half Persian and half Sanskrit". Kalhana[8] himself has sung about the havoc caused by the raids of the Nagas till the rule of the cruel Mihirakula. In the legendary story of Chandralekha figures an early King of the legendary period, Nara I alias Kinnara who must have lived about 994 B.C.[9] In the Mahabharata while Karakotaka Nagas are said to have been resident in the Deccan, one of them is mentioned as a benefactor of Nala in the famous Nala-Damayanti episode, a circumstance implying the presence of Karkotaka Nagas more or less, precisely in the region of southern or southeastern Malwa.[10]

The Nagas were a fairly powerful people in the region round about 1825 B.C. is indicated by the marriage of Purukutsa, the son of Mandhata, the Ikshvaku monarch, with Narmada, who appears to have been a Naga princess. For traditional history tells us that Purukutsa, at the request of his wife, helped the Nagas of the Narmada region against their enemies. Purukutsa, we find, had some Naga blood in him too; for his mother Gauri, Mandhata's wife, was the daughter of Matinara, 19th in the Paurava line, by his queen who was a daughter of Takshaka Naga, another equally famous Naga lineage but only in legends. The Nagas must have risen to power in the region again even before Sagara the 41st monarch of the Ikshvaku line had subdued the Haihayas. For they are represented as having been in conflict with Marutta, the 40th king in the Vaisali line. Evidently they had kept on holding their own in Vidisa, modern Besnagar, and were a component of the confederacy that had besieged the 38th king of Vaisali line. This event brings us to about 1500 B.C. as the time-period of the Naga power in the region of south and south-east Malwa with its capital at Vidisa.[11]

Putting aside an account of the spread of the Naga peoples as it emerges from later history, we have to look into the antecedants of the ancestors of the Haihayas, who under their great conqueror-monarch Arjuna Kartavirya overran north India and humbled the peoples of Kasi and Kosala. Traditional history represents them as either a confederacy or an ethnic group of five tribes or lineages, and that they were the descendants of Talajangha, 34th in the dynastic lists. The families named are:

7. P. 27, fn. 201. 8. *Raj.*, I, 215-317 9. *Raj.*, I, 199-220.
10. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 266, fn. 1; Chitrav, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 290-91.
11. Pargiter, pp. 262, 268-9; Chitrav, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

(1) Vitihotras, so called after the eldest son of Talajangha; (2) Tundikeras, evidently like the name Talajangha, a nickname; (3) Bhojas; (4) Avantis and (5) Saryatas. They were known as the Haihayas because the eldest of them, Vitihotra, was also named after their early ascendant Haihaya.[12] Of these sub-units only the Avantis are found among the Janapadas, ethnic states, enumerated by Panini. It locates itself by its name; and V. S. Agrawala[13] has correctly shown its locale in the region east of the Chambal, stretching from the region round Ujjain to the lower reaches of the Narmada bordering on Surashtra and Pippalikaccha, modern Rajpipla, which covered the mouths of the Narmada and the Tapi rivers.

The Saryatas as a group related to the other component units of the Haihaya tribe present a difficulty though they tend to light up one corner of politico-cultural history which would otherwise have remained dark. They are said to have been fairly recent refugees from Kathewad, modern Saurashtra. Pargiter would describe them as refugees from Gujarat; but that is not quite correct. For they are said, in the sources, to have had their realm in Anarta. Anarta, as I have pointed out in another chapter, was not known to Panini who speaks of Kaccha and not Anarta. The beauty of it is that Pargiter in his fine map locates Anarta in the north-western part of Kathewad and not at its centre and fixes quite correctly, Surashtra (Saurashtra of the present) at the head of the Gulf of Cambay on its eastern littoral. Before their arrival in Malwa the Saryatas are said to have had dominion over Kathewad or Anarta as the sources have it. With Saryati, whose descendants the Saryatas were, we are at the end of the 3rd millennium as Pargiter's scheme of chronology gives us 2078 B.C. as the date of Saryati. Kartavirya Arjuna lived according to the scheme in about 1718 B.C. The Saryatas who were thus ruling over Kathewad for about 300 years were routed by a people whom the sources call Punyajana Rakshasas. This brand of Rakshasas apparently does not figure in any other account of the conflict of the Indians with Rakshasas. The Saryatas of Kathewad were the descendants of Saryati, one of the sons of Manu to whom evidently Manu had assigned the region of Kathewad.[14]

I have tried to show that Saryati's kingdom in Kathewad, asserted as a reality of fairly long duration, has no authenticity. Here I shall state further facts which must militate against the Puranic assertion, these being from the Puranas themselves. The Puranas evidently do not give a complete genealogy of Saryati and his descendants. From Chitrav's *Dictionary of Ancient Biography* one finds that only three or four descendants of Saryati are mentioned: (1) His son Anarta, after whom the realm is said

12. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 267; Chitrav, *op. cit.*, p. 545.
13. *Op. cit.*, p. 62 and map 3.
14. Pargiter, pp. 97-98, 255-56, 265-67, 288-89.

to have received its name; (2) Anarta's son Rochamana; (3) Rochamana's son Reva or Revata and (4) Revata's sons Raivata, Kakudmin and ninety-nine others, apparently not named. The explusion of the Saryatas from Kathewad does not appear to have been specified in relation to any well-known event or king or dynasty. Pargiter's perusal and collation of the Puranic data has led him to put it down to the period just preceding the rise of Kartavirya Arjuna. The Saryatas must have been ruling in Kathewad for more than three centuries and yet their genealogy is wanting. And what is more is the fact, noticed by Pargiter and dubbed appropriately as a myth, that Raivata Kakudmin is said to have visited the country of the Gandharvas, sojourning there for well nigh eight hundred years and to have found, on his return, his realm occupied by the Yadava-Vrishnis under the leadership of Balarama the brother of Krishna. Making the most of an extremely bad bargain he gave in marriage his daughter Revati to Balarama.[15] Such fantastically impossible statements about Saryati's family, whose Vedic Epic-Puranic incidents in relation to Chyavana are better explained without the postulation of its domicile in Kathewad, force one to reject the Puranic theory of its connection, and that quite long, with Kathewad.

It is thus seen that the connection of the Yadava-Vrishnis with Kathewad does not pre-date 1000 B.C., Kutch-Kathewad not figuring anywhere in Vedic literature, nor in Epic-Puranic literature before 1000 B.C. we have to conclude that that region of India (Bharat) had remained in isolation from the mainland for long. The Puranic tradition of Punyajana Rakshasas invading the region may be a memory of the Sindh people, the so-called Harappans, intruding for colonization. It is very tantalizing, in this context, to read in "Punyajana" of the Puranas an echo of the Rigvedic Panis, Pani being changed to Panya, its ideological equivalent! Panis were well-known in the Rigvedic society as great traders and as usurers and misers. The folk settled in the Kuccha-Kathewad area in that age might have been the people known to the Mahabharata as the Abhiras, the ancestors of modern Ahirs (?). It is stated in the great epic[16] that Arjuna, escorting the Yadava women out of that region after the horrible family tragedy of fraternal massacres, was attacked by the Abhiras, who must have retired to the hilly region of the Aravali hills on the Yadavas' occupying the country and lying in wait for their opportunity.

The other conclusion is that we cannot postulate any ethnic influence in Malwa from Kathewad in the early part of the 2nd millennium B.C. as the inclusion of the Saryatas among the Haihayas, whom tradition

15. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 497; Pargiter, p. 98.
16. Pargiter, *op cit.*, p. 284.

places in that region from the early centuries of the 2nd millennium, in the full Puranic tradition implies. The culture of Malwa, with Kayatha on the one side, Eran on the other and Navdatoli, though on the left bank of the Narmada, in the middle, must be looked upon as the creation of the Nagas with whatever influence the Ikshvakus might have exercised on them through their marital and politico-cultural connections and of the Yadavas, who as Haihayas raised the country to a high status among the Indian States of the time. The early Yadavas were, it appears, reinforced by a later infiltration of the same stock on the eastern side. For traditional history tells us that the Yadava king Jyamagha, standing 38th in the dynastic lists, having been expelled by his brothers "sought his fortune southward in the hilly upper regions of the Narbada ... and in the Riksha hills (Satpura range) which country was wild and inhabited by Nagas and other rude tribes".[17]

That the Naga stock was strongly entrenched in Central India, with its western extension reaching Mathura and its eastern spread intruding into Magadha-Bihar or perhaps further, there is good deal of evidence to indicate. Traditional history which is supported by independent evidence speaks of a great dynasty of kings ruling over Bihar from about the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. It is known as the Saisunagas.[18] This dynasty ruled from 567 B.C. to about the beginning of the 4th century. Its name meaning "Little (child) Nagas" implies another branch, section or unit of Nagas, which might have been named "Vriddha" or "Brihan"-Naga, i.e., "Great Nagas". Even if it might have been so, the Saisunaga dynasty with its king Ajatasatru, so famed in Buddhist literature, was so powerful in its days that it had humbled the Pradyota dynasty of Ujjain which had evidently supplanted the Haihayas earlier. At Sonpur in Gaya district, in a stratum yielding Northern Black Polished pottery and iron implements, among the terracotta figurines figured both humans and "Nagas". Prof. B. P. Sinha and Dr. B. S. Verma appear to have discovered terracotta "naga"-figurines along with figurines of humped bulls and birds in the Neolithic context at Chirand in Saran district, Bihar.[19] There is no illustration of these figurines. The Naga figurines might have had only cultic significance; yet the new feature in terracottas can be taken to register the fact of the importance which the Naga stock had achieved.

At Eran in Sagar district, M.P., coins of the Nagas were discovered among the large hoard of coins datable to *circa* 200 B.C.[20]

17. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
18. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87; J. Allan and others, *Cambridge Short History of India*, pp. 15-19.
19. *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 5; 1969-70, p. 3; *Puratattva*, No. 4., p. 20.
20. *Ind. Arch.*, 1961-62, p. 25.

From about the 3rd century A.D. to the 6th century, inscriptions of different kings testify that the Naga royal families had continued to hold their own in their small principalities. After the Kushans at Mathura, the Nagas rose to power in the 3rd century A.D. There are mentioned in Samudra-Gupta's inscription three kings having names with "Naga" as one element in them, among the many that the emperor encountered and defeated in his victorious all-India march. They are Nagadatta, Nagasena and Ganapati Naga. The coins of Ganapati Naga have been found at Pawaya, Padmavati, in Gwalior district, a centre figuring in the Puranas as a centre of Naga power. Nagasena belonged to the Naga house of Padmavati as Bana's *Harshacharita* states. This implies the correctness of the Puranic account of the Nagas. Two inscriptions from Khoh in the former Nagaudh State, of A.D. 513 and 529 respectively, bear testimony to merchants of Naga stock and to a sub-taluka-like area being named after it. The merchants making grants were named Swami Naga, Sakti Naga, Kumara Naga and Skanda Naga. The taluka-like area wherein the village, part of which was to be set apart as the land for the repairs expense of the temple of a goddess called Pishtapuri, was called Mani Naga Petha. That Chandra Gupta II, justly known as Vikramaditya, the greatest monarch of the Gupta dynasty, should have taken for his wife a princess of a family of the Naga stock, a stock two or three kings or chiefs belonging to which his father Samudra Gupta had defeated, implies that the noble lineage of the Nagas was very well recognized. Kuberanaga, the new queen, was not the principal queen. However, her daughter by Chandra Gupta proudly mentions in her records, after her marriage with the Vakataka family of Vidarbha, not only her father but also her mother and the fact of her mother having been a princess of a Naga family.[21]

That the Nagas had penetrated north deeper into UP area is attested by a tract having been referred to as the portion of the Antarvedi, region lying between the Yamuna and the Ganga, and as the district governed by the local chief Sarva Naga—'s' palatal—in a copper-plate grant from Indore, near Dibhai in Bulandshahr district, UP dated A.D. 499.[22]

Navdatoli in Nimar district, Madhya Pradesh, being on the left bank of the Narmada may be said to be oriented to the south which can, therefore, claim some connection with it. The northern Deccan and its Vidarbha with Prakash, a Chalcolithic site on the Tapi, so to say facing Navdatoli, figures as the natural claimant. This claim is supported by not only Puranic tradition but also by Vedic statements about Vidarbha. Jyamagha's grandson moved south out of his grandfather's lair in the

21. Sircar, *Select Ins.*, pp. 156, 257, 370-75, 411-16; *Cam. Short Hist. Ind.*, pp. 93-94.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-311.

eastern part of Malwa and carved out a kingdom on the Tapi. His name was Vidarbha and the realm acquired by him came to be known as Vidarbha.[23] In chapter 8 I have already presented evidence from Vedic literature, clearly making out Bhima Vaidarbhi, the son or some such descendant of Vidarbha, to have been fully Vedic-culture prince. Vidarbha being 40th in the dynastic lists, we find literary evidence for Yadava presence in Vidarbha by about 1500 B.C. The Yadavas might have brought with them some elements both ethnic and cultural from the eastern area of Malwa too. Among these elements may be included Nagas of Malwa. Eastern Malwa was ruled over by dynasty known as the Bharasivas, more or less contemporaries of the Vakatakas of Vidarbha. That they were of the Naga ethnic stock is attested by epigraphic evidence which further reveals the infusion of Naga element among the Vakataka kings of Vidarbha and that region, who, in the 4th-5th century A.D. were powerful and prestigious enough to induce the imperially mighty Guptas to seek alliance by giving one of their princesses in marriage to their king. The son of that Gupta princess, herself, a daughter of a Naga princess married a princess from the Bharasiva Nagas of Central India. The father of this princess was named Bhavanaga. The Bharasiva Nagas though Nagas are described in the record as the performers of ten Asvamedha, horse-sacrifice.[24]

Some generations after the first kingdom of the Yadavas in Vidarbha, a branch of the Ayodhya Ikshvakus appears to have precipitated to the banks of the Godavari. The Asmakas figure as an ethnic state, 'janapada', in Panini's list of such units known in his day. In the Puranic account in the post-Bharata-war dynasties upto the time of Mahapadma Nanda twentyfive kings of the Asmakas are said to have reigned. Panini has also paired Asmakas with Avantis as Avantyasmakah. As Dr. Agrawala has pointed out Asmaka country with its capital Paithan, (Pratishthana) on the Godavari, appears as Assaka in Pali literature. The Vayu Purana traces the origin of the people or rather the State called Asmaka to an Ikshvaku prince of the name. As it speaks of Mulaka along with it and attributes the latter State to another Ikshvaku king named Mulaka, there is a suggestion or implication that these two Deccan States, Asmaka and Mulaka, were founded by the two Ikshvaku kings who figure in the Ikshvaku genealogy as the 55th and the 56th. Tradition records some trouble with the family chaplain in the Ikshvaku line in the reign of the 54th king, and it would not be unreasonable to attribute the new States to

23. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
24. Sircar, *Select. Ins.*, pp. 415-21; also in *History & Culture of the Indian People*, vol. III, p. 178.

the activities of the princes of the Ikshvakus who had to flee or who were banished as a consequence of that trouble.[25]

Thus while Prakash on the Tapi claims connection with Navdatoli because of its Yadava-Naga basis being more or less identical, though later, with that of Navdatoli, Nasik and Nevase on the Godavari, later still in traditional origin, stood connected with Avanti and therefore Navdatoli evidently from sometime before Panini.

That Nagas were a people and not reptiles must be admitted on the data so far presented. I shall now present some facts which tend to establish that in all probability they were a tribe or a group of tribes among the Rigvedic peoples. The 76th hymn of the X book of the Rigveda is traditionally the composition of sage Jaratkaru. Sarpas are the deity of the hymn. Sarpa means serpents, cobra, and is the older word denoting the particular variety of reptiles. The Atharvaveda and the *Panchavisma Brahmana* speak of a group-sacrifice performed by the Sarpas. Names of some of the sages, apparently of the Sarpa ethnic unit, who acted as priests, are also recorded. One of them, named Dhritarashtra, was of the Airavata lineage.[26] Another named Patanjali, it is quite intriguing to find transfixed in a statue down south, in a late mediaeval temple in the traditional way of representation of the Sarpa or Naga ethnic stock, i.e., human above the waist, serpentine below, with the fully expanded cobra-hood rising at the back of the head.[27]

The composer of the Rigveda hymn mentioned above is believed to be sage Jaratkaru. He figures as a priest at the sacrificial session of the Sarpas in the later Vedic literature. In the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, III, 2, 1.13, we come across an inquiring philosopher-teacher named Artabhaga Jaratkarava, evidently a son or descendant of Jaratkaru, as one of the disputants who engaged the great philosopher Yajnavalkya in a philosophical discussion. In the Epic-Puranic literature he appears as a strange youth of a specially known Brahmin lineage. He had resolved to marry only if he got a bride bearing the same name as he. A sister of the famous Naga, Takshaka, happened to be the only woman satisfying Jaratkaru's condition. When his wife was pregnant Jaratkaru on some reason or excuse left her. The Naga girl gave birth to a son who was named Astika. Naturally Astika came to manhood or rather youth in his maternal uncle's home. At the sacrifice of serpents brought about by Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, Astika skilfully saved his maternal

25. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Sircar, *Suc. Sat.*, p. 11, fn. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
26. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 277; AV, VIII, 10; P. V. Jagadisha Iyer: *South Indian Shrines*, pp. 210, 252.
27. Chitrav, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56, 201-02.

uncle from being sacrificed. There is some indefiniteness about the relationship of the lady, another account making her the sister of Vasuki.[28]

Throughout Epic-Puranic literature the sacrifice performed by Janamejaya to avenge himself for the murder of his father by Takshaka, who is always called a Naga and never a Sarpa, is called the Sarpasatra and not a Naga-satra. It is tantalizing to conclude that the ethnic unit which was known as the Sarpas later came to be known as the Nagas, and to identify both as one and the same ethnic unit. However, one cannot ignore the fact that Lord Krishna,[29] while identifying himself in his Universal Form with the best or highest of a class of objects and qualities, identifies himself with Vasuki as the highest or greatest among the Sarpas and with Ananta among the Nagas, thus maintaining distinction between the Sarpas and the Nagas.

It is seen that Vedic and Epic-Puranic literature furnishes some evidence of an ethnic unit known as Sarpas and Nagas, the distinction between the two being not clear, which must have formed part of the complex Rigvedic peoples. The culture of the Nagas has, therefore, to be considered as more or less Vedic, variations from the main component of the Vedic culture not being ascertainable.

With this background we may proceed to study briefly Navdatolian culture as revealed by the archaeologists' spade. Navdatoli started as a Chalcolithic settlement about 1600 B.C. and continued to be a sort of village settlement till about 1300 B.C. Thereafter the settlement remained fallow till about 300 B.C. The excavators have distinguished four Phases in the Chalcolithic period. They were able to unearth the plans of a number of houses through the four Phases. From their survey of the exposed structures they have concluded that the houses throughout were "principally one-room", tenements built with mud and timber. The houses were of two types, circular and rectangular, approximately half-and-half in proportion. The population in the earliest, Phase I, settlement they have estimated to have been 150 persons.[30]

Though Chalcolithic like Ahar, Navdatoli was very largely dependent on stone-blades for its tools and weapons with only ten or twelve copper objects belonging to the class of tools and weapons. The excavators have counted 23000 blades left by Navdatolians over the long period of 600 years, and have assured us that there was no variation in the type.[31]

Though the Navdatolians were satisfied with their stone blades keeping to the stereotyped form throughout, in their pottery they clearly exercised their ingenuity to an immense degree. Both in fabric, shapes and orna-

28. *BG*, X, 28, 29.
29. H. D. Sankalia and others: *Chalcolithic Navdatoli*, pp. 17, 38-9, 42, 75-76.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43.
31. *Ind. Arch.*, 1967-68, p. 24.

mentation designs they kept on changing their pottery objects to some extent at least from Phase to Phase. Whether all this variety and change was inspired by outside influences is a debatable matter. We can be sure only about the kind of inspiration the Navdatolians must have received from the Banas culture of the Aharians. For their white-painted Black-and-Red pottery appears in their culture along with another type of pottery, which the little work already carried out by Mr. V. S. Wakankar and his associates at Kayatha shows to be the earliest Malwa Ware. Kayatha, a few miles east of Ujjain in its culture Period I, datable to 2200-2000 B.C., i.e., five to six centuries earlier than Chalcolithic Navdatoli, and characterized by the presence of two copper axes and a number of copper bangles, in its pottery assemblage did not have any white-painted Black-and-Red Ware. This latter type of pottery made its appearance only in Kayatha Period II datable to about 1900 B.C.-1600 B.C.[32] The Malwa or Black-on-Red ware is the most abundant pottery among the four or five wares discovered in the diggings. The shapes of pots which are more varied than those of the Aharians do not reflect any Banasian influence. The Black-on-Red pottery of Navdatoli shows an enormously large variety of designs in the paintings, including not only deer, goat, crane and peacock but even scorpion, tortoise and crocodile.[33] Unfortunately the kind of vessel on which scorpion-decoration was painted cannot be ascertained. However it reminds me of the custom of drawing a rough figure of scorpion on large pots in the kitchen in which water is stored current in some parts of the country. Such pots are the haunts of scorpions and the picture drawn is a magic formula for freedom from scorpion bite. Human figures, too, however stylized, are among the decorative patterns, one such depicting four or five figures with interlocked hands appears to represent a group dance.[34]

The principal pottery forms are bowls in many styles of upper parts, with simple carnination or with a single ridge at the lower end of the upper part, basins of various depths some of them bearing three to six corrugations or ridges on the outside, goblets or small bowls-on-stand; and dish-on-stand and basin-on-stand, some of them bearing corrugations or ridges on the outside and some even on the inner side.[35] The fascination of Navdatolians for corrugation or ridging as an ornament—I take it that there was no other motive for such a feature—stands out promi-

32. *Ex. at Nav.*, p. 212, fig. 88, D 605, D 604 and D 603.
33. *Ibid.*, fig. 63, D 322; p. 218.
34. *Ibid.*, pl. XII, B; fig. 32; fig. 33, 2 & 3; fig. 42 T7 A & Ai; fig. 50, T19 A & B; fig. 51 T19 D & E; fig. 83, T 105A; fig. 47 T 16A, Ai and Aii.
35. *Ibid.*, fig. 44, T12 A and Ai; fig. 47, T 16A and Aii, T 163; fig. 56, T 27A B, C; fig. 57, T28 Ai, T 29A, Ai, B, Bi; fig. 83, T 105A; fig. 84, T 106B and C; pls. XV, A, B, C.

nently when one compares their pottery-assemblage with that of even the Chalcolithic Aharians and much more so with that of the Harappan Rangpurians. This is seen to best advantage in the beautiful pots, which are called "kujas" by the excavators and which stand out quite unique among the pottery-assemblages of sites in India (Bharat) datable to before the first millennium B.C. Readers may be reminded that ridges or corrugations are only a multiple use of the single 'cordon' going round the walls of bowls at about two-thirds of the body from the rim seen in the pottery-assemblage of KLB-I mentioned in the last chapter.

Another "unique" piece of pottery in the repertory of Chalcolithic Navdatolians is the channel-spouted bowl. The channel-spout at the rim, just a fair way out and slightly tapering towards its outer end which slants gently. It bears paintings in black on the outside at the edge of the bowl right round the sides of the spout. "Weird human figures" are painted on the bottom inside. These bowls are without any handle and must have been held with the bottom placed in the user's both palms together.[36] It has an analogue in the Copper Hoard from Khurdi in Nagaur district, Rajasthan.[37] The uniqueness of the Navdatoli specimen does not lie in its having a channel but in the stance and length of the spout and the painting on it.

Short or very short channel-opening protruding from the rim of a bowl in the fashion of the lower lip of a human being protruding, are known from at least four sites in North India. One of these sites, Saipai in Etawah district, UP, excavated by B. B. Lal and L. M. Wahal, being datable to about 1800 B.C., is older than the Navdatoli phase which yielded the artefact.[38] The Navdatoli bowl came from Phase II stratum and Phase I of the site is datable, according to the calculations of Dr. D. P. Agrawal,[39] to about 1700 B.C. The spout of Saipai article is almost less than half as long as the spout of the Navdatoli specimen. At Ahar in its I-B cultural phase, datable, therefore to about 1600 B.C., figures an article which is described by the excavators as a "basin with small channel-spout". The spout, therefore, is the oldest so far. The pot is reproduced in *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, pl. LXXIV-C. The article in the full report, entitled *Excavations at Ahar* appears as T234 in Fig. 85, page 146. The description on page 151 makes it out to be a complete basin with short, broad channel". In the latter place it is said to belong to Period II, but in the earlier *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62 report it figures among the pots of Period I. Chirand in Bihar is credited with a channel-

36. *Nava.*, fig. 71, T 59A, pp. 183, 415; *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, pl. XXXVII-C and D, p. 31.
37. See pl. 21-A in the *Birth of Indian Civilization* by Allchin and Allchn.
38. *Puratattva*, No. 5, pl. I-B.
39. *The Copper* etc., p. 96.

spouted bowl or basin by Dr. D. P. Agrawal but Naseem Akhtar, who has figured it and the specimen from Sonpur in Bihar too, more correctly describes it as "lipped". Chirand in Dr. Agrawal's counting is datable to about 1750 B.C.[40] Mahisdal and Pandu Rajar Dhibi both in West Bengal have yielded such pottery artefacts. Mahisdal in Agrawal's view is dated to about 1400 B.C. He puts both Mahisdal and Chirand culture in the same time-period as the Jorwe culture which is dated "around 1400-1300 B.C." Pandu Rajar Dhibi is datable to not earlier than 1100 B.C. The channel-spouted bowl from the last site is finely reproduced in pl. LXXXI-B, *Indian Archaelogy*, 1962-63.[41]

A third type of pottery article from Navdatoli, that one is tempted to declare to be unique among pottery assemblages of proto-historic sites of India (Bharat), is what is properly called 'wine cup', though it has been described as goblet by Dr. Sankalia and his co-excavators, who define goblets as "bowls of various shapes mounted on solid, slender cylindrical stems which have a broad, thin, circular base". There are three or four of them in the Navdatoli assemblage.

Commenting on the "footed cup" of Kalibangan, Dr. Sankalia says that it and "its likes remind him of the Iranian goblets from Sialk" and "the goblets or footed cups from Navdatoli", evidently referring to the artefact just described as goblet. The Kalibangan article referred to by Dr. Sankalia appears to be the piece numbered 13 in fig. 8 of *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63. Prof. B. B. Lal and Dr. B. K. Thapar, the excavators of Kalibangan, have described it as a "small chalice" or as a "miniature chalice" as in the previous year's report. On the other hand, Prof. Lal writing in 1964, has described one of the four intact Navdatoli specimens, the one that is A in pl. XIV of *Excavations at Navdatoli*, as "stemmed chalice". Dr. Fairservis describing it as a "goblet", speaking of the pottery finds from Swat necropolises, describes the articles reproduced in fig. 73 of his book as "pedestal goblets". The piece standing first in the upper row of the picture is almost identical with the above-mentioned Navdatoli artefact appearing as No. 10 in Fairservis' fig. 69.

Dr. S. R. Rao, describes a pot with "tapering sides and pedestal base" as a "goblet". The kind of pot, i.e., 140 or 140a of fig. 45 from Rangpur, which resembles the pot from Kalibangan referred to by Dr. Sankalia and others, is a "stemmed bowl" or "bowl-on-stand". For he considered "the chalice or wine-cup with a solid stand", by which I take it he means articles like the three or four Navdatoli artefacts which we have been considering, as "evolved from the earlier Harappan bowl-on-stand". He

40. Agrawal, *The Copper* etc., p. 79 and chart facing p. 100; Naseem Akhtar in Sinha's *Potteries* etc, p. 286; fig. 3 after p. 300.
41. Agrawal, *ibid.*, p. 100, Alchin & Alchin, pp. 198-99; *Ind. Arch.*, 1964-65, p. 47:- "frequent examples of the channel-spouted bowl".

thus describes the pieces, which Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators describe as "goblets", as either 'chalices' or "wine-cups".[42]

We would be better advised to restrict the use of the term wine-cup to the particular artefact in preference to chalice which, in Christian ritual history has taken different shapes. And 'goblet' is a generic term applicable to any drinking vessel. As a matter of fact, Dr. Sankalia[43] has himself described the Kalibangan article, which reminded him of these Navdatoli peculiar pots and also similar artefacts hailing from Rangpur, as goblets. Mortimer Wheeler[44] described the "small pointed vessels" of Indus Civilization as goblets. Wine-cup is a term which particularizing the nature of the drink from the artefact has no doubt the disadvanage that it implies the use of alcoholic drinks in the age of that artefact. However, in view of the fact that it marks out the thing as an article showing refined taste or/and catering for luxury, it recommends itself for being adopted. In addition there is the undeniable historical fact that its shape and form have proved to be the pre-historic predecessors of the wine-cups of later days.

Looking about for their analogues in India (Bharat) and in nearby or farther off countries, I find it gratifying to note that nearby Rajasthani and more ancient Ahar yielded at least one pottery artefact which cannot but be classed with the Navdatoli pieces as a wine-cup. It is reproduced in pl. LXXIV-D of *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62. It is described at page 48 as "a dish-on-stand". The description is misleading. Unfortunately the article is neither reproduced nor described in the full report entitled *Excavations at Ahar*. A comparison of the Ahar piece with the fourth, i.e., D article of pl. XIV under discussion will convince anyone that the Ahar specimen is not only of the same category but adds a fifth variety to the group. The bowl of the Navdatoli specimen D resembles a dish much more than does that of the Ahar artefact. The bowl of the Ahar artefact is like a fair-sized pot known to Marathi-speaking peoples as 'vati', in use in all middle class houses for serving a curry in at dinner. The Maharashtrian "vati" is exactly like but smaller than the pot which stands to the reader's left in the top row of the group pots forming a "dining set" put up by Prof. B. B. Lal from the finds at Ahicchatra, Hastinapura and Rupar of about 1100 B.C.[45] The base of the Ahar piece is rather thick and the stem rather short; but the upright walls of the bowl are painted in white with designs, which, though simple, are sym-

42. *Navdatoli*, p. 108, pl. XIV A-D; *"Pre & Pro"*, p. 345; *Arch. since Independence"*, pl. VII; Fairservis, pp. 341, 355; *An. Ind.*, No. 18-19, pp. 83, 124 Types 122, 122a; *Lothal* etc., p. 45.
43. *The Pre- and Proto-history*, p. 459.
44. *The Indus Civ.*, p. 94.
45. Lal, *Ind. Arch.* etc., pl. X-A in *Potteries* etc., pl. 4, after p. 8.

metrical. This then is another cultural correspondence between proto-historic Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Another such correspondence, though the material of the corresponding article belonged to a slightly later technology, that of metal, in the case of Rajasthan, already mentioned, is in respect of the channel-spouted bowl.

For the wine-cup of Navdatoli nobody can come forward to claim a direct Harappan parentage, for delicate, proportioned and nice-looking artefacts of this variety do not figure in the Indus civilization assemblage. Pottery of proto-historic Swat in Pakistan provides a greater variety of pots similar to the Navdatolian artefacts under discussion. That is the nearest correspondence outside India to our objects. I have drawn attention to Dr. Fairservis' reproduction of a group of them and specified one of them as almost identical with the first among the Navdatolian cups. There are three other "pedestal goblets" or wine-cups in the group reproduced. Accompanying Antonini's article in *East and West 1963*, from which Fairservis has taken the specimens, there is at least one more. It is fig. 2. Whereas the article pronounced by me as almost identical with Navdatolian D is fig. 4, the latter article Antonini has described as a highly modified form of brandy cup, while the article of fig. 2 he has described as "brandy cup". This specimen has its analogue in the Quetta valley at Damb Sadat II in the object numbered 4 in fig. 32 of Dr. Fairservis' book. The artefact numbered 4 in the same book in fig. 29 which among its pottery objects from proto-historic Afghanistan at Mundigak IV has two other similar pieces, Nos. 1 and 2, resembles the Swat article fig. 2 most. A more or less similar pottery object from the much older Tepe Yahya of Iran, which the excavators Lamborg-Karlovsky and Maurizio Tosi[46] have described as "chalice" appears to be an analogue of the Swat specimen, fig. 2.

What Fairservis describes as "hourglass-shaped" "pedestal goblet" forms fig. 6 in the article of Antonini, who describes it as "glass shaped like champagne cup". It is highly intriguing to find an almost identical object at Tell-el-Pella on the eastern slopes of the Jordan valley, 17 miles south of the Sea of Galilee. It is somewhat squattish with a broader bowl. It was discovered from a Tomb dating from the middle of the 16th century B.C.[47] The third object not characterized by Fairservis, as pointed out by Stacul has its analogue in an assemblage from Marlik in north-western Iran datable to about 1200-1100 B.C. Edith Porada writing on Facets of Iranian Art, describes the artefact as stemmed triple beaker. The difference between the two specimens is that in the Marlik artefact the small ball-like or bulbous lower parts of the bowls or recep-

46. *East & West.*, 1973, fig. 107.
47. *Archaeology*, 1968, p. 134.

tacles have fairly longish prolongations which are tubular.[48] The fourth object in his reproduction Dr. Fairservis quite rightly describes as "a floral-like vessel particularly striking". A pottery vessel from Palestine of the periods of Early Bronze through Iron II reproduced by James B. Pritchard[49] offers some kind of correspondence though devoid of floral quality. A close analogue of it is reported from Anatolia. Dr. Schaeffer has figured it in fig. 192 of his book *Comparative Statigraphics etc.* What may be called a plebeian relation of it may be seen in the grey pottery assemblage of Hissar II-A, which alternatively can be matched with one or other of the four Navdatoli specimens so far discussed.

There is at least one more article among the pottery finds in the Swat grave-yards, which, being not represented in the Indus pottery-complex and yet occurring in a more or less similar form at some sites in India, claims our attention. And that is the article labelled type A/IV, fig. 14 in Georgio Stacul's paper entitled "Notes on the discovery of a Necropolis etc." in East and West, 1966. Stacul has described the article at page 268 as "beaker with hemispherical body raised on a conical pedestal". Analogous object but with a shorter, less broad and more elegant conical (?) pedestal is seen in the Tepe Yahya pottery assemblage. It figures as fig. 108 in the paper of Karlovsky and Tosi[50] referred to above. They have described it as "pedestal bowl" or "pedestal chalice". The object labelled T 143 and described as "bowl-on-stand" by Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators differs from this artefact only in the stand being cylindrical and not conical. The above-mentioned authors in their concluding comments on Ahar culture have specifically mentioned first this artefact among the three which according to them "recall similar forms from Tepe Hissar, Shah Tepe and Troy" respectively. They are so convinced about their suggested correspondence that they again observe lower down in the same paragraph which begins with the comment quoted: "Some pottery forms from Ahar, for example, the animal-head handles and the hollow-stemmed bowl [T 143 mentioned above] do recall similar types at Shah Tepe and Geoy Tepe and Hissar".[51]

Schmidt has reproduced pictures of two artefacts which answer the above comparison. They are labelled H 3446 and H 3453. While the former is described as "bowl stemmed", the latter bears the description "bowl, footed and stemmed". I do not see any difference between the two objects except that the first is much better proportioned, has a thicker 'foot' or 'stem' which is more conical, and has a bowl with an elegant

48. Stacul in *East & West,* 1970, pp. 92, 99; *Archaeology,* 1964, p. 203.
49. *The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* 1954, picture 148.
50. *East and West,* 1973, p. 41.
51. *Exacavations at Ahar,* pl. VI; p. 223.

curve.[52] If one places the pictures, of the three artefacts, Aharian, Swat and Hissar, side by side he will find that the degree of their mutual resemblance is much better defined and measured by the order of placement, Swat specimen bettering Aharian and Hissar one bettering the Swat artefact.

Dr. Marija Gimbutas[53] has brought to light some "exquisite black polished" pottery from Neolithic Obre, a place near Sarajevo, in Bosnia, Yugoslavia. She speaks of "vases standing on cylindrical or baroque legs of fruit stand type, hundreds of 'wine or beer cups', large cylindrical and biconical shapes and globular vases . . . ." Among the very few objects reproduced for illustration there are two which are labelled "footed bowls". One of them appears to me to be a very elegant analogue of the Hissar bowl. Its stem or foot is little shorter and its bowl has the shape of a cup without handle. The assemblage is datable to about 5000 to about 4000 B.C.

For a change as it were, this artefact has an analogue, and that, too, very close to the Hissar, H 3446 and H 3453, in Bronze age Thailand. At Kok Charoen about 13 kms. from Chaibadon, some burials of the Neolithic age yielded pottery among which "bowls on a low pedestal" claim our attention. The bowl in question is 22.3 cms. in height. The time-period of the assemblage is defined by the three C-14 dates: 1315 ± 200 B.C.; 2290 ± 90 B.C.; 2325 ± 200 B.C.[54]

The people of Chalcolithic Navdatoli cultivated wheat, lentil, black-gram, green-gram, grass pea and linseed from an early phase of their culture and rice from Phase II.[55] The great number of beads, more than 2500, which the excavators collected and counted, would have certainly implied an inordinate desire for ornament in the people if the probability of export trade in that commodity had not existed. That they were locally manufactured there is enough evidence in the finds.

The people have left nothing in the debris of their culture that can guide us to some knowledge of their religion or even of their customs regarding the disposal of the dead.

So far nothing is known about the cultural scene at Navdatoli after the culture described above ended about 1300 B.C. The other two sites of M.P., Kayatha and Eran, enable us to fill in some vacancies in our knowledge. Mr. V. S. Wakankar's excavations at the former site, where culture began earlier as already stated, have brought to light a large number of terracotta stylized bull-figurines belonging to the later phase of the first period of its culture. This feature has rightly led the excava-

52. *Tepe Hissar Ex.*, fig. 33, pp. 41-42. 53. *Archaeology*, 1970, pp. 279, 290, 297.
54. Schmidt. *Ex. at Tepe Hissar*, p. 41, figs. 32, 33; *Antiquity*, 1968, pp. 303-04.
55. *Exc. at Nav.*, pp. 417-19

tor to posit the prevalence of a bull-cult at Kayatha from about 1800 B.C. The figurines have prominent hump and horns but neither head, nor legs, some of them being "decorated with serpentine lines and crescentric marks". The Chalcolithic culture was soon followed at the site by one using iron and Northern Black Polished pottery.[56]

At Eran in Sagur district, the settlement was fortified with a mud-rampart in the middle phase of the Chalcolithic period, the rampart revealing two structural phases. Iron marked Period II-A of the site. The C-14 dates for Period II-A are: 1270 B.C. and 1040 B.C. while for Period I the four dates available are 1500 B.C., 1445 B.C., 1425 B.C. and 1365 B.C.[57] It will be seen that Eran settlement was a fortified place for at least a century before the Chalcolithic culture of Navdatoli had ended.

Passing on to Bihar one finds greater uncertainty than elsewhere. For while various claims are made in some papers appearing in symposia, which the formally and departmentally published reports, very deficient in illustrations, do not support,[58] there is not a single full scale report on any one of the three important sites Chirand, Saran dist., Sonpur Gaya district, and Oriup, Bhagalpur district. The C-14 dates published in *Indian Archaeology*, 1970-71, show the dates of 605 B.C. and 405 B.C. for two samples of charcoal, one of which is at least from supposedly Neolithic stratum and the other from an even earlier stratum of Chirand. The earliest layer, No. 10, sample has yielded 1050 B.C. as its date, while the earliest date, 1755 B.C., is claimed by a sample from the 12th layer. Leaving out the first three dates and averaging the rest, which with the 1755 B.C. date number eight, I find that the average date of the Neolithic period of Chirand comes out to be 1535 B.C. The earliest date is 1755 B.C. and the latest 1270 B.C. The sample No. 10, yielding the date 1050 B.C., is described as one from the Black-and-Red pottery levels. Dr. D. P. Agrawal has come to the conclusion that Chirand culture is "roughly contemporaneous to the Jorwe culture" of Maharashtra which is datable to 1400-1100 B.C. Dr. B. S. Verma's dating of the Chirand Neolithic period as from 1900 B.C. to 1300 B.C. is thus very much wide off the mark. In their annual report on their excavations in *Indian Archaeology*, 1969-70, the excavators reported that "the lowest levels of the Chalcolithic Culture" was dated to 1650 B.C. In view of this Dr. Verma's contention against the route of the debut of the Black-and-Red pottery into Bihar suggested by Dr. Agrawal cannot be upheld.[59]

56. *Ind. Arch.*, 1964-65, pp. 18-19; 1967-68, pp. 24-25.
57. *Ind. Arch.*, 1962-63, p. 11; 1964-65, p. 17; 1965-66, pp. 87-88.
58. See *Potteries in Ancient India*, pp. 103; 286, figs. 2 and 3 after p. 300; *Puratattva*, No. 4, p. 21.
59. Agrawal, *The Copper* etc., p. 100; *Puratattva*, No. 4, p. 22; *Potteries* etc., pp. 105, 110-11.

The periodization of the excavated strata and the ascription of artefacts to them by the excavators leave much to be desired. First, in their 1964-65 report on Chirand excavations, they spoke of the confirmation of their still earlier statement that the lowest levels showed remains of the Chalcolithic vintage, evidently dividing the period represented by them into "Sub-period I-A" and "Sub-period I-B". The latter sub-period according to them was "marked by the use of iron objects", whereas the former had yielded copper objects and microliths. Among associated finds in both sub-periods figured ivory, beads of terracotta and stone, styluses and arrow-heads of both. Their excavations of 1969-70 they say "brought to light, for the first time, a full-fleged neolithic culture". Not only microliths and objects of bone as in the earlier excavations but also Celts [stone], objects of antler, beads of "chalcedony, agate, jasper, steatite and faience" and "tagged and socketed arrow-heads", terracotta figurines of humped bulls, birds and 'nagas', "bangles" and toy-cart wheels, too, figured among the finds. Though the objects are illustrated in twelve plates only one object, "piece of copper wire", finds specific description in the text of the report. The reader without the guidance of the experts who handled the objects is left to guess. The guess may be correct as in the case of the stone or the terracotta bull figurine (No. 2 in the top row of pl. VIII in *Indian Archaeology*, 1969-70) but one cannot be so sure about the third object in the second row being a 'naga' figurine as I take it to be.[60] With the discovery of the Neolithic stage, the excavators changed their periodization to suit the new finds, and instead fixed the Neolithic period as Period I and the Chalcolithic as Period II. But then what about the copper objects of the earlier sub-period I-A and the iron objects of sub-period I-B? They have shoved the copper objects as a singleton of sub-period I-A into Period II and have ignored the iron objects of sub-period I-B. The singleton copper object that is photographed appears to be either an ear-ring or an ear-lobe distender. In period I, the Neolithic period of the new periodization, two stone celts are mentioned among the finds appear to be photographed in pl. VII in I-A, 1970-71. In I-A 1964-65 report two neolithic celts and a chisel were mentioned among the finds of the then Period II, i.e,. the Northern Black-Polished pottery period which in the new scheme becomes Period III, and stand photographed in pl. VIII-A. In Dr. B. S. Verma's paper in *Puratattva*, No. 4, at page 23 we read of "four neolithic celts" having been discovered in the neolithic complex! Though a variety of pots and pans are stated to have been found the illustrations include only one or two broken 'thali'-like platters and a dozen or so sherds, none of the footed bowls, spouted bowls and dishes-on-stand figuring therein.

60. Pls. II-IX in I-A 1969-70; pls. VI-VIII in I-A 1970-71.

Even in his paper on Chirand throwing "new light on the Indian Neolithic culture-complex published in *Puratattva*, No. 4, Dr. B. S. Verma has devoted only one page to illustrate the pottery of the period with only fifteen pieces, all of which except one are small, tiny pieces. On the other hand, he has reproduced the photos of bone and antler implements, all of which were illustrated by larger and better photographs in two fine whole-page-plates in *Indian Archaeology*, 1969-70. It is to be noted that Prof. B. P. Sinha and Dr. B. S. Verma in their report published in the last Journal did not describe the most interesting object of the lot which stands in the middle of the top row of articles appearing in pl. II of that Journal as a bone-axe along with the other bone objects of the top-row. Only in the descriptive tag at the foot of the plate one finds the clue.

Such being the manner of recording and reporting of the finds, I do not think much of real value can be gained by dwelling on the Bihar finds at fair length. Dish-on-stand No. 8, stemmed or footed small bowl No. 6, deep dish perforated at the base and having three legs, No. 5 and short-channel-spouted bowl, No. 4, lipped jug, No. 2, and a 'handi'-like globular pot with two rows of perforation just below the rim, No. 1, figured in *Potteries in Ancient India*, after page 110, are objects that excite one's curiosity. In fig. 3, after page 300 of the above-mentioned publication, we again get reproductions of similar objects tagged as "associated pottery types from Chirand and Sonpur". Among Chirand objects we find two more types of pots. One is a footed or stemmed bowl perforated at the base, No. 20, and the other is a knobbed lid. Among Sonpur objects besides short-channel-spouted bowl, No. 25, there is a bowl with perforated bottom.

All this assemblage tends to link up Bihar with southern India rather than with either western or central. The terracotta female figurine from Oriup[61] too, to judge from its stylization, tends to lead one to seek its analogue in the Kalibangan or the Inamgaon specimens.

The Chalcolithic Culture of West Bengal is younger than that of Bihar, Pandu Rajar Dhibi in Burdwan district being datable to about 1100 B.C. There is evidence of huts from the beginning of this culture. The pottery of Period I was all hand-made and had three varieties: (1) Drab or Grey ware, (2) Black-and-Red ware and (3) Red ware. The pots showed impressions of paddy-husk. In Period II white-painted Black-and-Red pottery and Black-painted Lustrous-Red ware and Black-Polished ware occur. Bowls, lota-type vessel and big jars like storage vessels appear to have formed the main bulk of pottery objects. Among special

61. *Potteries* etc., pl. 1 after page 300; *Ind. Arch.*, 1961-62 pl. LXX-A; 1970-71, pl. XLIV.

or distinctive pottery objects may be mentioned "trumpet-shaped basin" and "knobbed lid". It appears to me that the "knobbed lid" may after all be the same thing as the handled lid of Ahar assemblage of Period IIa, i.e., not Chalcolithic but of historical period.[62] What the excavators have described as a pedestalled bowl appears to be an inelegant lota-like pot.[63] Period II has yielded microliths and some copper objects, while Period III presents evidence of iron-smelting along with increased copper material and neolithic celts. In Period III when Black Polished pottery became "quite" abundant, the culture showed a new form of pot, the dish-on-stand or offering stand, believed to be a characteristic Harappan cultural trait. The speciality of this artefact at the site is that it has "grooves on the inner base of the dish".[64] Beads, terracotta objects and gold pellets are some of the other components of the Period III assemblage.

In the first two Periods there is some evidence of fractional burial in urns, Period I stratum having yielded one headless skeleton and Period III three fractional burials among which two were those of children.[65] The practice of extended burial, too, was attested in Period II.[66]

62. *Exc. at Ahar,* fig. 90, T250.
63. *Ind. Arch.,* 1964-65, fig. 9, 6 and pl. XLII a & c.
64. *Indian Archaeology,* 1964-65, p. 48 and fig. 9-10; *Indian Archaeology,* 1962-63, pls. LXXXVI, LXXXIII-B.
65. *Indian Anchaeology,* 1964-65, pp. 46-47; *Indian Archaeology,* 1962-63, pl. LXXIX.
66. Paresh Chandra Das Gupta: *The Excavations at Pandu Rajar Dhibi,* pp. 19-21, pl. XLVIII-B.

14

Non-Literate India, Southern

Now we are ready to resume our study of India south of Navdatoli the northern-most explored site of which, Prakash or Prakashe in Dhule district, I mentioned in connection with the cultural bi-facedness of Navdatoli. We have already got a glimpse into the ethnic affiliation of the region which literature makes out to be both Vedic Indo-Aryan and Naga.

Of the twelve or more proto-historic sites of Maharashtra explored so far, the best explored and reported upon are Prakash on the nothern bank of the Tapi and Nevase, hallowed as the spiritual capital of Maharashtra being associated with Jnanesvara, on the south bank of the Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari. I shall make them the main source of our data for Maharashtrian culture of the Chalcolithic period. Human settlements appear to have existed in Prakash about 1700 B.C. and in Nevase later about 1500 B.C. the former site was abandoned by the Chalcolithic people about 1300 B.C. and it lay waste for about seven centuries, till it was occupied by an iron-using people, turning out Black-and-Red and Northern Black-Polished wares. At Nevase the Chalcolithic people held on longer abandoning the site only about 1000 B.C. But thereafter the people settling there with Black-and-Red ware as the principal pottery and "a sprinkling of" the Northern Black-Polished ware cannot be dated to earlier than the 3rd century B.C.

Dr. Thapar, in his report on Prakash excavations, discussed very fully the relative dates of Ahar, Navdatoli, Prakash, Nevase and Chandoli in Pune district with reference both to their cultural assemblages and their available C-14 dates, adding a fine comparative chart for visual appreciation of the dates. More recently C-14 technique specialist Dr. D. P. Agrawal, examining the available dates critically, has concluded that whereas the Ahar culture (Banasian) starting from *circa* 2000 B.C. continued down to 1600 B.C., the Navdatoli (Malwa) culture, beginning from about 1700 B.C., lasted upto about 1400 B.C. The Jorwe (Chandoli-Nevase) culture of Maharashtra starting from 1400-1300 B.C. continued

till 1100 B.C.[1] Dr. Agrawal has not mentioned Nevase in his summation but in table 3 of his book he has presented C-14 dates for two samples from Nevase and both are 1250 B.C. He has not attended to Prakash at all; nor has he provided for us any C-14 dates for it. We shall therefore be well advised to accept Dr. Thapar's dates for Prakash which are stated above.

C-14 dates are available for only four of the proto-historic sites. They make out Nevase to be one of the younger ones. The oldest is Inamgaon in Pune district, the three dates of whose samples yield the average date of 1460 B.C., the highest being 1535 B.C. and the lowest 1405 B.C. Songaon in the same district comes next with the average date at 1380 B.C. Of the five dates for it the highest is 1565 B.C. and the lowest 1290 B.C. Chandoli in the same district stands as the youngest. The five dates available for it yield the average date of 1216 B.C., the highest being 1330 B.C. and the lowest 1040 B.C.[2]

According to Dr. Thapar, whose meticulous account of the pottery finds at Prakash with its complete enumeration of sherds and their statistical treatment presented in two tables cannot fail to inspire complete confidence in his judgement in the matter, has characterized the pottery assemblage of Chalcolithic Prakash as "a promiscuous group" showing six principal industries. The first pottery, though not the largest, in the finds is White-painted Pale Grey and Black-and-Grey ware. It stands apart "in fabric and form" from the other five wares forming the "promiscuous group". It is made on the wheel and has "egg-shell lustre". It is a painted ware, the decorations being mostly on both sides "with a marked preference" for the outside. Dr. Thapar highly impressed by the artistic use of the white patterns on the inside commends the scheme of decoration of the pots as harmonizing with their forms. The shapes attested in the finds comprise: (i) "deep spheroid or ovoid bowl with out-turned rim and convex body (fig. 5, 1-3)"; (i)) vessel with spheroid lower part and carinated or ledged shoulder, which may be as high as or even double the depth of the lower part (type 9 in fig. 5) and (iii) "vase" which Thapar describes as "lota"-shaped but is not of the shape of similar pots from other sites like Rupar or Kalibangan or Ahar.[3] It resembles more an elongation upward of the type of vessel listed above as No. (ii) and has decorations even on the inside. The 'lota'-pot of Navdatoli is still more a different type with its longer and flared out neck.[4] Dr. Thapar[5] informs us that this type of pottery,

1. *An. Ind.*, No. 20-21, pp. 19-24; *The Copper Bronze* etc., p. 109.
2. Agrawal, *Copper* etc., p. 99; Dhavalikar in *Radiocarbon* etc. quoting from Agrawal, p. 140.
3. *Arch. Since Independ.*, fig. 7, I; *Ind. Arch.*, 1962-63, fig. 3.4; Ahar, pl. 5, T54.
4. *Navdatoli*, T1 102, B & C, fig. 82.
5. *An. Ind.*, Nos. 20-21, pp. 29, 35.

White-painted Pale Grey and Black-and-Grey, is confined to Dhule and Jalgaon districts in Maharashtra and Dhar and Indore districts in M.P. A single sherd of the White-painted Black-and-Red pottery suggests some connection with Ahar culture.[6]

Black-Painted Red pottery, known as the Malwa Painted Red Ware, which claimed 43.60 per cent. of the total sherds of the layer assigned to Period I-A as against 34.46 per cent. assignable to the White-painted Grey and Red-and-Grey pottery clearly points to the indebtedness of the Prakash people to their Malwa contemporaries, Navadatolians or others. The shapes represented in this pottery, substantiate the connection. The common shapes are: (1) "vase with vertical neck and globular body". From the illustration (fig. 8, 1-8) it is clear that the length and breadth of the neck varied. Whereas the breadth appears to have some relation to the shape and size of the pot, the length apparently is not so related. Thus the globular pot numbered 1 in the illustration and photographed in pl. XII-B, a type which as will be presently shown, though it appears to be common in proto-historic Maharashtra, has its earlier counterpart in North India, has a neck which is 6 cms. high while the neck numbered 2b is almost 10 cms. high. The total height of the former pot is 28 cms. and its breadth at its centre is 28 cms. while the breadth of the neck is 8.5 cms. The other pot whose neck alone is available could hardly have been any bigger than this!

At Nevase in Ahmadnagar district and at Inamgaon in Pune district similar type of pots in Chalcolithic assemblages testify to the common use of this type in Chalcolithic Maharashtra. The measurements on these pots—both taken on the illustrations in Dr. Sankalia's *Pre-history and Proto-history*, pages 497 and 505 are: (a) Nevase pot: Total ht. 19.4 cms.; breadth, 19.8 cms.; neck ht. 3.9 cms.; neck breadth 4.6 cms.; (b) Inamgaon pot: 40.2 cms.; 37.0 cms.; 6.8 cms.; 9.6 cms. The Inamgaon pot is thus seen to be slightly out of tune with the other two in so far as its total height is greater than its widest breadth. There are two very similar vessels photographed in pl. XVIII of Chalcolithic Navdatoli. The one marked B is characterized as "globular pot with narrow neck", and is stated to belong to Phase II of the culture, datable to the end of the 16th century B.C. The pot marked A is christened as "high necked pot, Jorwe Ware" and is stated to have belonged to Phase IV which is datable to 1244 B.C. There is no mention of the pots in the body of the book and therefore no description. I do not see why there is the difference made in the characterization of the two vessels. Both are globular, the necks of both are fairly similar in girth and height. I desisted from taking accurate measurements for comparison as the scale

6. *Ibid.*

printed is not clear to me. Rough measurements, as the objects measured are photographic reproductions, cannot be vouchsafed for, are: A: Total height 8 cms; greatest breadth 7.6 cms; B: 8.8 cms. and 8.2 cms.; A: Neck height 1.6 cms.; width at the start of he neck, 2 cms., width of the rim, 2 cms. B: 1.7 cms., 1.8 cms., 2.7 cms. Thus, it will be seen, the vessels do not differ much either from each other or from the Inamgaon and Nevase globular pots, leaving out the actual sizes.

There is a further probable tie-up between Navdatoli and Nevase. Pots with high and flaring-out necks and bodies rather ovoid in profile, appear to be a speciality of Jorwe-Nevase.[7] Navdatoli pots, Type 122-A-C figured in fig. 89, T8 A and Ai, fig. 42, and even T 102-B-C are not too different from Nevase pot T3a or even T4f in figs. 90 and 91 to claim mutual relationship. Nor even the Ahar pot T 225, fig. 80, of *Excavations at Ahar* is utterly different, though there is much more angularity in its body.

A comparable pottery vessel is known from the Ochre-coloured Pottery of Bara on the Upper Sutluj in Panjab. It is figured in *Puratattva* No. 5, fig. 5.9. Its measurements are: Total height 51.6 cms., widest breadth about the middle of the body, 44 cms., height of the neck from its start to top of rim 10.8 cms., width of the neck at the start 12.2 cms., width of the highly flared out rim 20.8 cms. It is seen that the Bara pot resembles the Inamgaon pot more than the other two in its body proportions; it differs from all the three in its neck which is thicker than theirs. But the greatest difference lies in the highly flared out rim that the Bara pot has. Bara assemblage, which is datable by C-14 dates to between 1890 B.C. to 1280 B.C. with the average at 1665 B.C., is likely to be considered as contemporary with the middle or the late phase of pre-Harappan Kalibangan".[8]

Of the remaining five shapes distinguished at Prakash by Thapar, the dish-on-stand is the most important, as he has himself drawn our attention to the fact that "the dish-on-stand shows a significant likeness to the corresponding Harappan form".[9] Unfortunately not a single complete or near-complete specimen was found. Three pieces Nos. 30, 33 and 34 in fig. 9, however, appear to fit in so well, in spite of gaps, that one may form a picture of the kind of the dish-on-stand that might have been in vogue at Chalcolithic Prakash. Thapar's description of the dish reads: "Dish of red ware with an out-turned featureless rim, sharply carinated at the junction with the body. The bottom part shows traces of luting with the stem or the stand". It is painted in black on the inside. This piece is from the earliest level. The second

7. Sankalia, *From History to Pre-history* etc., pp. 205, 223.
8. Y. D. Sharma in Agrawal and Ghosh, *Radiocarbon* etc., p. 228.
9. *An. Ind.*, 20-21, p. 37.

piece is the "stem". It is painted. It, however, comes from "a mid-level of Period I". The third piece is described as "lower part of a dish-on-stand showing a clubbed rim-base". A horizontal band is painted in black on the outside. The measurements taken on the piece as a whole are: Total height 26 cms., breadth of the dish at the rim, 29.2 cms., depth of the dish about 6 cms., the breadth of the "clubbed rim-base" 28.4 cms.

In the pottery repertories of other sites in Maharashtra, like Nevase, Songaon and Chandoli, Dr. Sankalia has seen evidence for "occasional" dish-on-a-hollow-stand". He writes as if a dish-on-a-hollow-stand was found in the pottery assemblage,[10] but actually as stated by his collaborators in their reports on Nevase and Chandoli, what was found at the assemblages was "fragments of the hollow stem" and "fragments of the base, stem etc." of "the dish-on-stand". As for Songaon the excavators, after mentioning "the rectangular or square bowl on a hollow flared stem" described earlier in another connection, observe: "Similar bowls-on-stand are also reported from Chandoli". Drs. Deo and Ansari, the collaborators of Dr. Sankalia at the Nevase site and for the book on that excavation, whose last quoted remark implies that bowls like the Songaon rectangular one were found at Chandoli, in their book *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, however, have not illustrated any such bowl. Their own description of their finds of supposed analogues not only does not contain any reference to a rectangular bowl but also leaves no doubt that there was no bowl of the Songaon type in the assemblage. They have listed pottery Type XII as "Dish- or Bowl-on-stand" and have observed: "though there was no large scale evidence of any bowl- or dish-on-stand at Nevasa, Chandoli testified to the existence of these". There are only six objects comprising this type in the assemblage. Of these two are described as "fragments of the hollow base of a stem. . . ." Of these the one tagged 'XII' is the end-bottom of a stand; and is only 0.71 inch in height and one inch in breadth at the lower extremity. The other piece marked XII(3) is a piece which is approximately shown a portion of a possible bowl with only a tiny curved projection at one end, the length of the piece upto the point where the bend occurs is only 1.2 inch, the curved end-piece measuring only 0.21 inch. Object XII(5) may be the bottom-end of a stand and has fair breadth being 5.5 inches at the lower extremity; or it may be a fragment of a dish tapering rather sharply down. Type XII(4) is indeed a carinated bowl; but there is no indication on it of its being one perched on a stand. The remaining two pieces are the only objects that can claim to be a bowl-on-stand, that marked XII(2), however, being of the variety which is described as a stemmed or

10. *Pre and Proto*: p. 495.

footed bowl or bowl on a conical stem is functionally a drinking vessel. The specimen marked XII(1) can be a part of a bowl on a tubular (?) hollow stand functionally described as an offering stand, a category of which dish-on-stand is the typical representative.[11]

The suggestion that dish-on-stand was far from being common in Maharashtra is further supported by the discoveries at Inamgaon. In one house eighty-five and in another one hundred and two pots and pans were found in Chalcolithic Inamgaon. Among these hundred-and-eighty-seven pottery articles not one was a dish-on-stand. At least the excavators Dr. Sankalia, Ansari and Dhavalikar have not described any one of them as a dish-on-stand.[12]

Navdatoli and Ahar have provided almost complete specimens, one each, of a dish-on-stand. That of Navdatoli, T 106A, hailing from Phase III of the culture, stands photographed as A in pl. XII of Chalcolithic Navdatoli; and the specimen from Ahar figures in pl. VII of *Excavations at Ahar*. The former is tagged Malwa Ware and the latter Jorwe Ware, Something appears to have gone wrong with the handling of both the pieces by the excavators. The description of the Ahar specimen on page 143, to which the reader is referred by the authors, makes it out to be a "fragment of the base with possibly a hollow cylindrical base". Though that description can apply only to T230a which is already described in its proper place, the piece T 230a, being only the base of a stem or stand and the object in plate VII being almost a complete specimen of a dish-on-stand. Evidently T230 of the Plate is T230a of the description. The annual report of the excavations, appearing in *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, helps us to identify it as a Black-and-Red ware piece belonging to the assemblage of Phase Ic, datable to 1550 B.C.-1270 B.C. We read there: "The dish-on-stand was represented in red, tan, chocolate and orange-slipped varieties of the first two Phases and in the painted black-on-red ware in the topmost Phase". Here is again something wrong. For at the foot of pl. LXXIII, where the specimen stands photographed, it is stated to be a "black-and-red" and not a black-on-red ware. What is still worse is that the two photographic representations, that in pl. LXXIII of *Indian Archaeology* and that in pl. VII of *Excavations at Ahar* do not tally. In the latter representation, almost three-fourths of the dish appears broken away, whereas in the former only about one-fourth or at best one-third of the dish appears to have broken off.

There is a portion of a pottery object, T 106A, fig. 84, in the Navdatoli assemblage, which is undoubtedly one-half or "a complete piece" (cf. description of T143 on page 102 of *Excavations at Ahar*) of what was

11. *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61; pp. 20, 27; 1964-65, p. 27; *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, fig. 33, p. 68.
12. *Ind. Arch.*, 1969-70, p. 27; 1970-71, p. 25.

a large dish-on-stand, though its description by Dr. Sankalia and co-authors on page 211 of *Chalcolithic Navdatoli* makes it out to be only a "complete hollow cylindrical stem". It belongs to Phase III of the culture and is in Malwa ware. Its measurements are: Total height, 26.7 cms., height of the stand from its base to the base of the dish 21 cms., height of the hollow part of the stem from the base, 14 cms., the breadth of the dish at the edge-rim, 34.7 cms., breadth of the stand at the bottom-base 19.3 cms., breadth of the stand at the point where the solid part ends 6 cms. In section, the hollow of the stem takes the form of a steep parabolic curve. There is another pottery object in the Navdatoli assemblage, which, it appears, answers the description of a dish-on-stand. Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators inform us at page 82 of their book that of the seven new types of pottery that made their appearance in Phase IV, two "the plate-on-stand" and "straight-sided pot deserve notice". The object named by them as plate-on-stand is Type 137, the actual find of which is a "fragment of a shallow plate-on-stand bearing incipient step etc." tagged T137A at page 230. It however, is not illustrated. A plate is commonly understood to be a very shallow dish and a "shallow plate" would imply perhaps a platter, though I think it might turn out to be a dish-on-stand?

It appears to me that objects like T6 from Ahar which are classed as bowls-on-stand are better described as deep dishes-on-stand for the so-called bowl is too broad and too shallow to be called a bowl. A more or less similar pottery object, figured in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in the illustrations accompanying Prof. J. Garstang's article on Palestine, is named by him "pedestal dish". It is from Beisan and is dated to Late Bronze Age. What is almost a replica of is figured by Schaefer as No. 14 in fig. 108. It is from Beit-Mirsim, Palestine, and is datable to about 1900-1750 B.C. The measurements of the Beisan specimen are: Total height 11.1 cms., breadth at the edge-rim of the dish, 21.6 cms., depth of the dish, 4.8 cms., breadth of the base, 10.4 cms., inner height of the hollow of the pedestal, 4.0 cms. The measurements of the Ahar specimen T6 are: Total height, 13.2 cms., breadth at the edge-rim of the dish or so-called "bowl", 15.4 cms., depth of the dish, 4.6 cms., breadth of the base, 7.0 cms., inner height of the hollow of the stand or pedestal, 7.8 cms. It is seen that the main difference between the two objects lies the height of the pedestal or the stand and the breadth of the dish, less so in the former than in the latter. There is another object in the Ahar assemblage, T143 which is also described by the excavators as "bowl-on-stand". Its measurements, too, make it out to be a dish-on-stand. They are: Total height, 10.6 cms., breadth at the edge-rim of the 'bowl' or dish, 14 cms., depth of the 'bowl' or dish, 4.6 cms., breadth of the base 8 cms., inner height of the hollow of the 'stand' or pedestal,

5.8 cms. Pedestal dish or dish-on-stand figures in the pottery assemblages of Megiddo in more than one chart of Schaefer's *Comparative Stratigraphies* etc. They appear to be datable to about 1900 B.C.[13]

Lal and Thapar in their description of the pots and pans discovered by them in pre-Harappan strata of Kalibangan use the expression offering-stand to describe the dish-on-stand strictly so-called, and objects like the above one from Ahar as well others, whose upper-element is distinctly of the bowl or the cup shape. Of the twelve articles so classed by them two, fig. 5.16 and fig. 8.12 have bowls as their upper elements, four are only the bases of stands and four dishes, no doubt, but without any evidence of having been luted to any stand. There is one, however. No. 44 in fig. 5, which is clearly a dish, whose stand-portion is broken off. The breadth of the dish at the rim is 33.1 cms.[14] Prof. Lal writing about the Ochre-coloured pottery has mentioned dish-on-stand as one of the types discovered in the Ochre-coloured Pottery assemblage of Ambkheri in Saharanpur district, U.P. The article figured as No. 15 in fig. 2 of *Puratattva*, No. 5, though only the dish portion, clearly bespeaks itself as a part of a dish-on-stand. The breadth of the dish at the rim is 30.4 cms. Bahadrabad in U.P. and Bara in Panjab, too, are known to have yielded this object; but it is somewhat different. The measurements taken on the drawing of the Bahadrabad specimen about which one can be sure of its complete form are: Breadth of the dish 5 cms., breadth of the stand at its luting with the dish, 2.5 cms., breath of the base of the stand 4 cms., depth of the dish, 0.4 cms.[15]

We are informed by Dr. B. S. Verma that Chirand in Bihar has yielded a dish-on-stand, which, to judge by its representation, appears to be of the standard type, though its dish is rather deep. The stand appears to be hollow throughout. Dr. S. R. Rao sees its analogue at Lothal. However, the type, No. 26 in fig. 22 that he has represented in his book on Lothal, differs very much from this. The base of its stand is broader than the greatest breadth of its dish; and its dish which is quite shapely, is concave-sided, carinated at its base and less deep than that of the Chirand specimen. The dish of the Chirand article is 35 cms. broad at the rim, the base of the stand being 23 cms. broad. A typical complete specimen of this artefact can be seen in pl. XX-A of *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59. It figures there at the head of the burial. To judge by sight

13. *Excavations at Ahar,* pp. 32, 37, 102-03; *Ency. Brit.,* 14th ed., vol. XVII, p. 123; Schaefer *op. cit.,* pp. 124, 173, 245; fig. 140, 16.9 and 16.10; fig. 145, 34.11 and 34.12.
14. *Ind. Arch.* 1962-63, p. 23, figs. 5 and 8; *Potteries* etc., p. 84; *Puratattva,* No 5, fig. 2 after page 83.
15. *Puratattva,* No. 5, fig. 8.3 and 4; fig. 13.1.

it, too, appears to have its base wider than its dish. The classic site in India (Bharat) for this artefact is Rangpur, where two or three varieties of dishes-on-stand and of bowls-on-stand figure in the assemblage. The dish-on-stand of Pandu Rajar Dhibi hails from Iron-age assemblage and need not be considered here.[16]

Outside India (Bharat) it is Harappa that shows not only a variety of this artefact but also its architectural treatment. While articles of Type R37.1, appearing in figs. 11 and 12 and in pl. XLVI. 2, have all of them bases wider than their dishes, specimen numbered 21 in fig. 111 in Dr. Sankalia's book *The Pre- and Proto-history of India and Pakistan* has not only a dish wider than the base but shows architectural quality in the mouldings which adorn it. Iran's Tepe Hissar, which has a plethora of bowls and cups, has very few dishes-on-stand in its assemblage. There does not appear a single object in the long pottery catalogue which is dubbed dish-on-stand or standed or stemmed or footed dish. However, it appears to me that article marked H2998 and photographed as fig. 67, though described as a bowl footed and stemmed", is a good example of a dish-on-stand or at least a "stemmed plate", the expression which Dr. Schmidt has used to characterize two alabaster articles H3529 and H3528. The former is photographed in fig. 124. Further west, the Lengyel culture of Central Europe, dated to "before 2500 B.C.", is stated to have in its assemblage of "composite forms" two "notable" ones, of which "dish-on-a-high-hollow-foot" is one. Unfortunately no illustration of this interesting article is available to me.[17]

At Songaon, in Pune district, rectangular bowls-on-stand have been discovered, similar objects being said to have been found at Chandoli in the same district. The specimen photographed as E in pl. XXII of *Indian Archaeology*, 1964-65, appears to me to resemble the object No. 16 in fig. 5 of *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63 and generically described by Lal and Thapar as "offering stand". The latter piece is much more concavely walled and has its top-corners much more spread out than the former.

It is remarkable that the Neolithic or Chalcolithic sites or cultural strata in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka should not have yielded any distinctly identifiable dish-on-stand or offering stand. It is true that Dr. Sankalia, who, highly impressed by Dr. Allchin's Piklihal discoveries, has characterized the range of pottery forms "in the early Neolithic", as "truly amazing", has, in his list of fourteen pottery types said to be known from Piklihal discoveries, included dish-on-stand as the thirteenth

16. *Potteries,* etc., pp. 105, 109 and illustration bet. pp. 110 and 111; *Lothal,* fig. 22; *Anc. India,* Nos. 18-19, fig. 17, 23 and 34; *Ind. Arch.* 1964-65 p. 47, fig. 9.20.
17. *An. Ind.,* 3, Harappa; Schmidt, *Exc. at Tepe Hissar; Encyclopaedia Brit.,* 14 ed., vol. 8, p. 841.

item. But neither in the pots and pans figured by him in figs. 221-223 nor in Dr. Allchin's list of twenty-three "functional groups" of his Piklihal pottery or in the enumeration of their "suggested functions", do we find any place for or mention of dish-on-stand. Allchin marked the pots in 42 numbers of ware-types, among which there is none for dish-on-stand. Tekkalakota, in Siruguppa taluka of Bellary district, has yielded among its variety of pottery forms some very highly developed forms but no object which can at all be described as a dish-on-stand.[18]

Now it may be pointed out that there is a reconstructed pottery object in Dr. Allchin's work which is numbered 59a in pl. 33, and finely photographed to its best advantage in pl. 34a. However, Allchin has desisted from naming it as a whole; because what he found were two separate pieces. It is indeed difficult to make out from his account precisely what he found, from which one thing is clear; and that is "the legged stand", which, in the initial formal listing of function groups and waretype numbers, was given only the number 58, and is now given, in addition, the number 59 absent in the formal list. The combined type 58-59 is found to be "one of the most curious and perplexing groups of pottery from the site, numerically dominating the A3 ware". The form of the article tagged type 58-59 is described as "a truncated conical cylinder on the type of which is luted a bowl and to the base of which are attached four or five legs". This means that there are three distinct parts from which the article called "offering stand" was made. Actually what we have of Type 58 in pl. 33 amounts to twenty-two pieces, each one of which could have been a part of a dish-on-stand. One however, figures in the list like others but unlike others it appears in the pl. as if it is a complete half, made one with one leg portion of the cylindrical stand, which numbered 59a is described "four legs (lower part of pl. 34a and B)". Pl. 34a is a photograph of the reconstructed article, 34b being the holed disc-like (?) bottom of the bowl. In the descriptive account Type 58(0) is listed as the "upper part of pl. 34a and b" and not type 58h. To say the least this account leaeves scope for serious doubts about the correctness of the description and the nature of the article, thus impugning the very basis for reconstruction.

One point that militates against the reconstructed article being considered an offering stand is the hole in the bottom of the bowl. Though Dr. Allchin's description of the legged stand leaves his readers in doubt whether the cylindrical portion of the stand was hollow or not, I think the photographs suggest that it was hollow and that the hole in the base of the bowl fitted over the top opening of the stand.[19] Dr. Allchin is

18. *Pre. and Prot.*, p. 521; *Piklihal Excavations*, p. 31, pls. 24-28, 31-32.
19. *Piklihal Excavations*, pp. 31, 52-54.

hard put to it to find a parallel to his article in the cultural assemblages of other southern sites. Leaving out his analogue which he has not illustrated, from "the earlier excavations", one eagerly looks forward to the other which unfortunately proves to be even more dubious or non-existent This other analogue is "from surface collection at Maski" Whose collection it was is not mentioned, much less is any reference to specific journal where one can find it is given! Altogether it appears to be a bad case and may be dismissed, as there is no mention of any such article in that excellent account of Maski excavations by Dr. Thapar, who is not wearied of drawing his reader's attention to analogues far and wide.

Tubular spout is the one pottery artefact above all that distinguishes the south Indian Chalcolithic or Neolithic period in the Vedic age from the parallel cultural period of the rest of India. And this distinction is not merely a difference but a mark of superiority of the south over the rest of India in cultural matters. The zenith of this high distinction was attained fairly early at Tekkalakota, in Siruguppa taluka of Bellary district in Karnataka. Dr. D. P. Agrawal's[20] C-14 datings give 1636 B.C. as the average date for the Tekkalakota assemblage. The measurements taken on the very helpful drawing of the object in *The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of Tekkalakota* by M. S. Nagaraja Rao and K. C. Malhotra are: Total height 18.5 cms., the breadth of the mouth (rim), 12.5 cms., breadth of the neck at the start, 7.5 cms., total height of the neck-mouth, 5.8 cms., greatest breadth of the body, at 14.7 cms. from the top 17.8 cms.

It is clear that the pot has a funnel-shaped neck-mouth and that its side presents the profile of a gentle bulge, reaching its greatest breadth at about two-thirds of its body and then sharply sloping inwards to form the bottom base. This feature presents a mildly carinated profile to the body below the spout. The recurved spout juts out in a fine sweep just above the greatest breadth line of the body. Altogether, except for its long neck and wide mouth, the object would have fitted well by its shape and form, in a modern china-ware tea-set if provided with a handle. It is thus a unique pottery artefact among Indian cultural assemblages.

Another object much like the above generally speaking is reported from among the "burial-pottery" of the Stone Axe culture I-B of Brahmagiri, in Molakalmuru taluka of Chitaldrug district, Karnataka. Sir Mortimer Wheeler who excavated the site has fixed the time-period of the Stone Axe culture of the place as "early first millennium B.C. (?) to the beginning of the second century B.C."[21] We may date this "tea-pot" to about the 4th or the 5th century B.C. The Brahmagiri analogue of the Tekkala-

20. *Copper* etc., p. 97.
21. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 199, 202-03, 228; fig. 21, T46.

kota recurved spouted vessel is thus a millennium younger than the latter! With such long-continued tradition of making the particular kind of pot in the Karnataka region and so many of its Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites explored, we should have had a fair number of these pottery objects in the cultural assemblages of the region. But the expectation is not fulfilled, no other comparable pottery object having been discovered there so far!

To describe the Brahmagiri object, one notes that Sir Mortimer described it as a "vessel with a funnel-spout" rather unjustifiably. The shape of the body, though after the pattern of that of the Tekkalakota pot, does not present a carinated profile being more gently sloping down and being more rounded. The neck is well-proportionedly short and the mouth, too, not as flared out as that of the Tekkalakota pot. The spout is not as recurved as that of the other; however, its angular jutting out and sweep appear to be appropriate for functional efficiency.

Tekkalakota, luckily has provided some evidence to suggest that the recurved spout, so efficient functionally, was an exotic in Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka. Another burial was accompanied by a "spouted, globular vessel with sloping shoulders, blunt carination and saggering base" which has "the short tubular spout luted on its shoulder". Though Dr. Nagaraja Rao,[22] the excavator and reporter, has not informed his readers about the nature of the spout, e.g., that it is almost a straight tube, he has drawn their attention to the correspondence between the vessel and one from Nevase, fig. 86, Tlc2, observing further that the spout of the Nevase specimen is attached at the carination. However, his analogy is off the mark, both as regards the shape of the vessel and the length and nature of the spout. That the Nevase pot bears bold painting in black of a complex but pleasing design on its shoulder and that it was not an accompaniment of any burial are its other distinctions may be brought to the notice of Dr. Nagaraja Rao's readers. The spout is much longer, so much so that one safely takes its pouring-out end to have been level with the mouth end of the pot. Moreover it tapers, however gently or mildly, from the attachment end to the pouring-out end.

Short-tubular spouted vessels as accompaniments of burials figure in Piklihal, of A.P., the spouts jutting out at the shoulder of the pot. None of the specimens is properly described by Dr. Allchin. In two of the three pots represented in pl. 32, e.g., 55a and 55b, the spouts are so short that their pouring-out ends are well below the level of the rims of the pots. In one pot, 55c, the pouring-out end of the spout, which is attached rather straight to the shoulder, rises above the level of the

22. Tekkalakota, p. 52 fig. 22a.

pot-mouth. In the footnote Dr. Allchin[23] asks his readers to compare the Piklihal spouted vessels with "a long series starting locally at Brahmagiri (*An. Ind.*, No. 4. *loc. cit.*, fig. 21 T46) *via* Nasik and Jorwe (Sankalia and Deo, *loc. cit.*, fig. 1, d; fig. 61.1 and 2), Maheswar etc., to the startingly similar vessels of Shah Tepe . . . ".

As for Dr. Allchin's Brahmagiri analogue our comparison with the Tekkalkota specimen made above will convince any reader of the impropriety of seeing much similarity between it and the Piklihal specimens.

Channel-spouted bowl on the other hand, appears to have been a common element in the pottery assemblages of Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka. Piklihal[24] has produced at least one such; Brahmagiri I-B (T44, in fig. 21) has another, though Wheeler has described it as a "lipped bowl"; Hallur has yielded two slightly differing types of channel-spouts, one, fig. 12, 11, like the usual channel-spouted bowl, and the other a recurved channel-spouted bowl, fig. 12, 8. At Tekkalakota there are at least three channel-spouted bowls. But they stand distinguished from all other channel-spouted bowls of North India. For their spouts jut out from the side-wall of the pot at about their own length below the rim. In two of these, 15d, and fig. 22b, the spouts form an acute angle with the potside, the same way as that in a tubular-spouted jar. In the third, bowl, fig. 21h, the spout is almost at right angles to the side of the bowl and juts out straight. In the channel-spouted bowls of the first variety, i.e., the common specimens, the spout appears as a narrow prolongation of the edge of the bowl just like a man's protruding under-lip.

In Maharashtra, too, the two varieties of channel-spouted bowls of Karnataka are represented. The spout of the specimen from Nevase, T2n juts out from some distance below the edge while that of the Inamgaon bowl is a prolongation of the edge of the bowl. However, the Inamgaon bowl bears a bold and broad painted pattern all round the edge and the Nevase specimen shows some evidence of its having borne painting around the edge.[25] The Maharashtrian channel-spouted bowl thus reveal their inspiration from Navdatoli, where one comes across not only a channel-spouted bowl so painted, T59A, but also a unique type of such bowls though unpainted, T101A. The unique feature is that the channel-spout is "bridged at the bowl end".[26]

There is another feature of the recurved-spouted pot from Tekkalakota, viz., the high neck with flared mouth which tends to support the

23. *Piklihal*, p. 51.
24. *Piklihal*, pl. 31, 51a, p. 48.
25. *His. to Pre. at Nevase*, p. 220, fig. 8; *Ind. Arch.*, 1969-70, p. 26, fig. 8.1; *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, fig. 28, T1d; fig. 32, T7ei.
26. *Excavations at Navdatoli*, pp. 183, 203; figs. 71 and 82.

suggestion of its being an exotic. For this feature, high neck with flared mouth, is not observed in other vessels in the pottery assemblages of Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka but is present in fair number in those of Nevase-Jorwe. Of the five tubular-spouted vessels from Nevase figured by Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators, the neck of one is broken away, the necks of two are very high and the mouths fairly flared, the necks of the remaining two are relatively high and the mouths extremely wide. The pouring-ends of the spout-tubes rise slightly higher than the rim of the pots in the case of two and end just below the rims in the other two. All these vases, or vessels bear elaborate paintings from the shoulder to the start of the neck. There is evidence in this Nevase assemblage of the local potter's experimenting with a new idea; for the spout of T1ci in fig. 86 juts into the inside of the pot to about one-eighth of its own length and adheres to the side rather awkwardly, reducing thereby its functional efficiency.[27]

It is quite interesting to find, apropos of the Nevase tubular-spouted pots Type Ic1 and Ic2, in which the spouts appear to rise straight up, almost parallel to the neck of the pots, that similarly spouted globular vessels have been reported from Mesopotamia, on the one hand, and from Central America on the other. Both were accompaniments of burials. The Mesopotamian specimen, which has a loop-handle over its mouth and is a painted object, is datable to about 3000 B.C. and is figured in *Scientific American*, vol. 203, July-Dec. 1960, p. 154. The Central American specimen is a Mayan artefact. It contained the secondary burial of a child. It was covered with another, but smaller, similarly spouted pot. Both of them are figured in *Archaeology*, vol. 21, p. 40. It is approximately dated to 1000 B.C.

High-necked jars, without the accompaniment of any spout appear to distinguish the cultural assemblage of Chalcolithic Maharashtra from that of Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka. Thus among the eight pottery forms listed as typical Jorwe by Dr. Sankalia "vessel with high neck and globular body" figures but it is absent from his list of twenty-two forms representing the Karnataka pottery assemblage.[28] Maharashtra potter's inspiration for high-necked jars can be traced to Central India. For at Navdatoli high-necked jars make their appearance a few centuries before the Maharashtrian Chalcolithic period began. In Navdatoli culture of Phase III, average date about 1720 B.C., pots tagged T102A, B, C, fig. 82, described by the excavators as "lota shaped pots" are really speaking high-necked jars with flared mouths. The two pots, T122A and T122C in fig. 89, which the excavators themselves have described as "pots with

27. Nevase, pp. 215-17; fig. 85, fig. 86, T1ci.
28. *Pre. and Proto.*, pp. 494, 521, 525.

high neck", do not have as much claim to be dubbed high-necked pots as the ones which I have described as high-necked above.[29] At Ahar in south-eastern Rajasthan Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators found at least eight or nine types of pots, T66, T73, T78, T79, T113, T171, T175, T182, T182a, which had high necks. As all of them seem to be of the kind of pots which are comprised under the generic term of storage-jar, Ahar might have served as the primary source of the idea and practice of high-necked jars.

Lid is another pottery article which can indicate the efficiency potential of a culture and one which perhaps is not always in evidence, though a need in any pots and pans repertory. Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators by listing such articles as "lids and covers" in preference to Dr. Allchin's previous nomenclature as "lids and/or potter's dabbers" have pointedly driven home the last mentioned aspect, though later they adopted the heading "lids".[30] Dr. S. R. Rao, writing on his Rangpur finds which included at least six types classed as lids, lists "lid with a knob in the interior" as one of the twelve types of pottery articles, which are "characteristic Harappa types" but does not include that artefact in his "material equipment" chart in pl. LI as one of the types characteristic of Rangpur II-A. Quite naturally he does not give it any place in the Nevase assemblage of the chart.[31] One, studying the various specimens figured in the above-referred to three publications, finds in their variety a clear indication of the fact that the production of lid had exercised the minds and called forth the skill of potters in order to meet the two objectives of grace and functional efficiency without sacrificing the strength of the article.

Nevase with the largest specimen among the lids of the age discovered at Indian sites, measuring about 37 cms. wide at the flat end, and with two or three interesting varieties of the artefact, though not an utter contrast to the Neolithic-Chalcolithic cultural assemblages of Karnataka, stands out uninfluenced by them and invites us to search for their analogues. The piece mentioned, T17, is domical in shape being reconstructed from a sherd which, the excavators have taken to be "half of a lid", and must have had a perforation right through its centre. The excavators think that the lid was "more likely" meant to cover a big jar, in which something was kept boiling of which the steam was to be carried away. Type 17a, again a reconstruction from a fragment, is a circular piece with the upper surface rising into a sort of a knob at the centre. Types 11-b, e and f are more or less similar to the last described specimen. Types 11-c and d are interesting variations of the general pattern. Types 11-g

29. *Ex. at Navdatoli,* p. 221, figs. 82 and 89.
30. Nevasa, p. 233; Navdatoli, p. 661; Piklihal, p. 43.
31. *An. Ind.*, Nos. 18-19, pp. 67, 98-9, fig. 23.

and h are different, the former being biconvex and the latter, though circular, having "the pinched hold formed by two depressions". Types 11-c, 11-e, 11-f and 11-g are complete speciments. So is Type 11-d, which is not figured. Type 11 and 11-a are particularly interesting. Both are round on one side, one of them being "perfectly semi-circular". The excavators have described the rounded side as the base of the artefact. Both have a central knob on the inner surface of the rounded side, having "shallow depressions" at their tops, which number eight and three respectively. The measurements of Type 11 are: Total height 10.4 cms., breadth at the level end, 21.9 cms., the distance from the plane of the level end to the top of the knob, 2.5 cms., breadh of the top of the knob, 4.4 cms.

Chandoli and Songaon, Chalcolithic sites in Pune district, older in age than Nevase, have provided even a greater variety of lids. At least two new types can be distinguished. Thus the T-shaped knob with its variations is represented in Chandoli, fig. 40, XXXII and XXXII.1. Knob with a cross-shaped head is seen in Chandoli, fig. 41 XXXVII and in Songaon, fig. A, T10. If a pinched-hold knob may be counted another variety then we have it in Chandoli, fig. 42, XLII and XLII-b. Prakash, the northernmost Maharashtrian Chalcolithic site, has yielded only four lids and added one extremely interesting variety to the already numerous types. It stands numbered 11 in fig. 17 in the report on Prakash.[32] Dr. Thapar has described it as a "lid of grey ware with a strap handle". It is stated to have been found in a "mid-level of Period I" and therefore datable to about 1500 B.C. It is 14.8 cms. broad on the concave side, the total height being 6.4 cms. The strap or loop aperture is 2.4 cms. high and about 4 cms. across.

The significance of the last-mentioned specimen lies in the fact that it is represented at Navdotali and in a more elaborate or developed form at Ahar. At the former site we see it in the fragmentary specimens, T85B, T160A and T160Ai.[33] The Aharians in their awkward-looking specimens of this artefact appear to have had an improved model. For the lids from Ahar[34] figured in fig. 13, T24f to i, having the strap-hold in the rectangular form, made the gripping of the lid firmer but the shape of the hold awkward. We may call this variety of the lid a saddle-hold, because the top bar is like a saddle provided with front and back supports in the form of humps.

The strap-holder lid is also reported from the south, Piklihal yielding what appears to be a fine specimen of such, an excellent photograph of

32. *An. Ind.*, Nos. 20-21, pp. 63-64; *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, fig. 7.
33. *Navdatoli*, figs. 77 and 97, pp. 199, 239.
34. *Exc. at Ahar*, p. 40.

which Dr. Allchin [35] has presented in pl. 30(b), type 40. He has described it as a "discate lid and/or potter's dabber". He has further drawn our attention to "closely similar objects" occurring at "Sangankal, and Maski". Commenting on a similar—may it not be the same?—article tagged 40-b in pl. 28, he stated that it is "unstratified". His earlier assertion that "only one of the specimens [of "discate lids and/or potter's dabbers"] listed, actually comes from a Neolithic level" appears to apply to the artefact in pl. 30(b). There are at least two other lids in the assemblage which are of the simpler variety, the ordinarily knobbed one. They are stated to have been found in layers 5 and 6 respectively, in the description of the finds ware-wise and plate-wise at page 44. On the other hand, in his commentary on pot-shaping at Piklihal, Dr. Allchin states at page 27 that "the dabbers of type 40 (pl. 28)" are "all from late or doubtful levels". The question arises how could Dr. Allchin state on page 43 that one "discate lid and/or potter's dabber" came from a Neolithic level? The fact that he has not cared to specify the particular specimen that came from a Neolithic level added to the above-mentioned nebulous statements to his, makes one of two minds about the authenticity of the age of the fine specimen which I have referred to and which appears to be a close analogue of the Navdatolian specimens.

At Tekkalakota there is clear evidence of at the most two lids, to judge from pl. XI-a. Of these Dr. Nagaraja Rao [36] has described one, the first in the plate, as a lid "with a convex top, sloping sides, concave base with a finger pressed depression". From the illustrative drawing in fig. 20d and from the photograph in the plate, I am sorry I fail to see how the article could have been used as a lid. The same scholar informs us that at Hallur he discovered fifteen lids. Attempting to trace the evolution of the form of the artefact at the site he says: "It appears that simple cake-like lids occur in the early levels, while the later ones show either finger pressed depressions or knobs to facilitate holding". Two such lids figure as Nos. 10 and 11 in fig. 16. One can see that a flat piece, in which more or less at its centre two depressions with the thumb or the fingers perhaps parallelly made can provide a make-do hold with which to catch and lift up or put down the piece can be called a lid. But if the piece is not flat but concave on one side and consequently convex on the other, such depressions in the concave side are not likely to be of much use. With the convex side used as a kind of lid, a poor cover indeed, the projecting portion of the piece can enable one to lift it up or put it down. Among the illustrated specimens there are only two other lids. Both of them are types known at Nevase and some other sites as described earlier. Of these

35. *Piklihal Excav.*, pp. 27, 43-44, 48.
36. *Stone Age* etc., pp. 41 and 48.

the one numbered 16 in fig. 16 is a fine specimen of a concavo-convex lid with conical knob on the concave side. The other, numbered 13, is rather problematic; but if the tiny piece is correctly interpreted the specimen is a lid with strap or loop hold. However, the photograph of the tiny piece in pl. XIII-B as number 5 raises various doubts in my mind regarding the correctness of the proposed reconstruction. The knobbed lid, No. 16, is 9 cms. broad. The total height of the article from the centre at the convex side to the top of the knob is 4.2 cms., the height of the knob as such being 2.8 cms. The other article, reconstructed from the tiny piece is only 6 cms. broad at the base, the total height from the base to the top of the strap-hold being 3.4 cms. The loop formed is only 1.9 cms. across. It is too slender to facilitate the handling of the lid.

Maski has yielded four lids, three of which are of the knobbed variety. The under-surface of one, T18 in fig. 11, being level, is solid in section, while the other two, T16 and 16a, have convex under-surfaces, one having rather low convexity. Most interesting is the fourth lid which is T17. It resembles in general the Tekkalakota specimen, Td in fig. 20, differing from it mainly in that its under-surface is level and not concave as in the Tekkalakota article. The depression in the centre of the Maski specimen, which is described by Dr. Thapar as "cup-shaped", is not as deep nor as narrow as that of the Tekkalakota article. All the same, I am unable to see how the piece could be handled as a lid. The convex side, no doubt, is not fully convex but shows an attempted sort of a knob, which is too ill-formed to be a handlable knob! Its measurements are: Breadth of the circular side, 11.4 cms., total height 6.4 cms. and the depth of the depression, 1.4 cms. The specimen marked 16a is the largest of the lot and its measurements are: Breadth at the rim of the concave side, 11.8 cms. height of the convex side from the rim, 3.2 cms. The knob is broken just above the rim of the other side. I think we may legitimately conclude that the tradition of pottery lids was weak at the Karnataka Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites and that many of the pieces turned out as lids were meant to cover very much smaller pots than those in general use for routine daily purposes, some of them being rather inconvenient to handle.

One going through the reports of the excavations of more than half-a-dozen Chalcolithic sites in Maharashtra cannot fail to notice that a pottery form variously described as stemmed or footed or pedestalled bowl or simply chalice is almost conspicuous by its absence in their assemblages. If one looks through the pages of *Excavations at Navdatoli* by Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators, which contain drawings or photographs of the pottery articles discovered, and then looks through the similar pages of *From History to Pre-history at Nevase* by the same group of scholars one will realise the truth of my statement. If one desires a speedier or shorter

procedure for the purpose, one should look carefully through the forty and odd folio pages that Dr. Sankalia, who has dug at most of the Chalcolithic sites in Maharashtra, in which he has dealt with the finds made at those sites in his book *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*. He will find that there is no mention of any article of the type referred to. He will also find that such an article does not figure either in Dr. Sankalia's lists of typical pottery forms in Chalcolithic Maharashtra or in the list of ninety-seven pots and pans which were found intact in one house of the Chalcolithic period. In another house from the same place, Inamgaon, with one-hundred-and-eleven intact pottery articles, the same scene faced the excavators.[37] The pottery article discussed is a drinking vessel, one from which a drink can be taken both elegantly, neatly and very conveniently, much more so than it can be taken from a simple 'vati'-like pot. Navdatoli, as we saw yielded some very modern forms of it. In Maharashtra the Chandoli pottery piece marked XII(1) in fig. 33 of *Chalcolithic Chandoli* by Drs. Deo and Ansari is perhaps the only artefact that probably was a stemmed bowl. Dr. Deo's note on a half-inch-long sherd from Songaon appears to clinch the issue. Marking it as Type 19 he questions his own description of it as a goblet.[38]

Piklihal of Andhra Pradesh has yielded two pieces of pottery which as a reconstruction is seen to be a bowl on a legged stand. I have shown earlier that as the excavator has drawn our attention to a hole made in the bottom of the bowl the function served by that piece of pottery could not be that of an offering stand. We can see that much less could it have been used for drinking liquids from.

On the Karnataka sites Brahmagiri and Maski have yielded some evidence it might be interpreted as even adequate of the presence of a stemmed or footed or pedestalled bowl in their assemblages. In the assemblage of the stone-axe culture at Brahmagiri, two pieces of pottery. T74 and T75 figuring in fig. 23, are quite clearly parts of an article like the one under discussion. Sir Mortimer Wheeler[39] has described both of them as "fragment of a pedestal". We can legitimately expand the same into "fragment of a bowl-on-pedestal". The larger of the two pieces, T74, is 2.9 cms. broad at the base of the pedestal and 1.5 cms. at the juncture of the pedestal and the base of the bowl, the inner height of the pedestal is 0.8 cms. The dimensions of the smaller piece, T75, in the same order are: 1.1. cms., 0.9 cms. and 0.3 cms. The measurements are all taken on the drawings, there being no indication of the scale in the text. Could these pots have served as drinking vessels?

37. *Pre. & Proto* etc., p. 482; *Ind. Arch.* 1970-71, p. 25.
38. *Songaon Excavations*, p. 13.
39. *Anc. Ind.*, 4, p. 231.

There is a bowl on pedestal in the Brahmagiri assemblage of pottery discovered in the pit circles and consequently of the Megalithic-Iron period. As it appears to be a complete specimen and very similar to stemmed or footed bowls from northern Chalcolithic cultures, it may be noticed here as a cultural tell-tale. It figures as Type P12 in Wheeler's work [40] and is described as "a rare type of short, wide-mouthed pedestalled vessel, . . . characterized by a globular cup with an externally grooved rim and a hollow stem". Sir Mortimer has also drawn our attention to analogues from Adichanallur (Tinnevelly) urn-field and from Vallalur in Coimbatore district. It is noteworthy that Dr. Thapar,[41] in describing an analogous object from the burial-pottery assemblage of Maski Period II, i.e., Megalithic-Iron period, mentions the Brahmagiri specimen as "a variant type" of it and also of that discovered in the Adichanallur urn-fields. He, speaks of his Maski specimen, labelled B(i)5 in fig. 14, as a pedestalled vessel. Another artefact from the same Maski assemblage, labelled B(i)6 in Fig. 14, is still more interesting because its pedestal, being almost identical with the Brahmagiri specimen marked T74 in fig. 23 and described above, tends to raise doubts in one's mind if the latter specimen, though said to be from pottery of the Stone-Axe Culture, really hails from the Chalcolithic period. The main distinction of the Maski specimen is that the pedestal has four "oval-shaped holes" just below its juncture with the base of the bowl perched on it. Dr. Thapar has naturally described the article as "a unique vase". With the scale of reproduced objects available, the measurements of the Maski specimen can be given more or less correctly. They are: Total height of the specimen: 18.7 cms., depth of the bowl proper, 7.4 cms., breadth of the bowl at the rim, 18.7 cms., breadth of the bowl at its broadest, 17.8 cms., breadth at the base 10.4 cms., breadth of the hollow stem or foot at its juncture with the bowl proper, 5.2 cms., inner height of the stem or foot, 2.2 cms., depth of the bowl proper, 7.4 cms. The measurements of the stem or foot of Maski specimen B(i)6 are: Height, 6.1 cms., breadth at the base, 12.6 cms., breadth at the juncture with the bowl. 6.9 cms.

There is one type among pottery objects of Navdatoli,[42] T1A whose bowl more or less is like that of the Brahmagiri and Maski specimens; but the stand on which, according to the excavators' reconstruction, it was gluted is a high one and of a different kind. being solid. So too is Type T13A. The excavators have named the object "goblet". Among bowls, footed or stemmed or footed and stemmed, occurring so frequently in the assemblage of Tepe Hissar, I find none that resembles in shape the

40. *An. Ind.*, 4, pp. 216, 218, fig. 14.
41. *An. Ind.*, 13, p. 55.
42. *Chalco. Navd.*, figs. 37 and 45.

bowls of Brahmagiri and Maski, though there are many whose stem or foot is almost identical with theirs.

As neither Wheeler nor Thapar nor even later writers like Sankalia have referred to any analogue in the assemblage of the Indus civilization, it may be presumed that there is none similar to it in the Indus Civilization pots. This being the case, it intrigues one to find their analogue in the Bronze Age burials at Kok Charoen in Thailand. "The main pottery shapes", we are told "which accompanied the burials were bowls on a low pedestal . . . the sides sometimes carinated to give a broad cavetto neck. . . . All made by the pad beater method". The height of the illustrated specimen is stated to be 11 cms.[43] Taking this measurement as the scale I find that the breadth of the bowl at the edge rim is 15 cms., the breadth of the base is 10.2 cms. and the inner height of the hollow of the pedestal 3.7 cms.

Now I shall take up for study the peculiar bowl which only Tekkalakota has yielded, which, though not such a unique possession of its Neolithic people as the already studied modern tea-pot-like vessel with recurved tubular spout, is extraordinary enough among Bharatan assemblages to deserve separate study by itself. It is the object marked 'f' in fig. 15 and photographed as (a) in pl. VI of Dr. Nagaraja Rao's[44] book on Tekkalakota. It is described by him as "goblet with a hollow pedestal, carinated body and a short, straight rim", and compared with the painted "goblet" from Tepe Hissar. The particular object from Tepe Hissar, however, Schmidt, the excavator of the site, has described as "jar, footed". Broadly speaking the comparison may be accepted but the carination of the Tekkalakota specimen is so pronounced and the proportions among its three parts, the "pedestal" or "foot", the part below the carination, and the part from the carination to the start of the very short neck, as also among other measurements like the breadth at the carination, the total height, the depth of the bowl, the breadth of the base and the breadth of the 'pedestal' or 'foot' at its juncture with the bowl, are so different that functionally speaking the two objects stand fairly differentiated, apart from the inelegance of the Tekkalakota specimen. The Hissar object is 16.1 cms. high while the Tekkalakota one is only 8 cms. high. The bowl of the latter is 4.7 cms. deep whereas that of the former must be 12.75 cms. deep.

In the Navdatoli assemblage, types T86A and 86Ai, described by Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators as "ridged pots", offer the nearest analogues to the Tekkalakota object, except that we do not know if the Navdatoli objects had any pedestal or foot.[45] The pot appears to have been 8.7 cms.

43. *Antiquity*, 1968, pp. 303-04.
44. *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
45. *Chalcolithic Navdatoli*, p. 199.

deep. Lamps would appear to be such a need of daily life that one expects its presence in the form of a pottery or other article even in the Neolithic stage of culture. With the appearance of Neolithic-Chalcolithic assemblage of artefacts, indicative of much higher technology, and the use of greater variety of natural materials, as in the cultures of Maharashtra and Andhra-Karnataka that we are studying, one is prepared to find some kind of a lamp in plenty. Prakash did not satisfy our expectation though it was so near Navdatoli, which according to the excavators of the site, Dr. Sankalia and others, yielded to them "thirteen complete and three fragmentary terracotta lamps" of which only three did not belong to the specific cultural assemblage. It is interesting to note that Chalcolithic Nevase, too, gave to the same excavators thirteen "fragmentary" specimens and one complete lamp. Drs. Deo and Ansari, the two scholars who collaborated with Dr. Sankalia at Nevase, Ahar and Navdatoli, were more fortunate at Chandoli where they "recovered" as many as "nineteen terracotta lamps". What is more, as they point out, "most of these lamps were used sufficiently". Drs. Deo, Mate and Mujumdar, in the first report on their Songaon excavations spoke of "terracotta lamps as at Nevasa" among their finds in "the remains of an extensive house" of the Chalcolithic period. However, Drs. Deo and Mujumdar in their special publication on Songaon, four or five years later, were positive that only one lamp was discovered at the site.[46]

This actual abundance of pottery lamps in Chalcolithic Maharashtra contrasts very sharply with the absence of lamps in the Neolithic-Chalcolithic assemblages of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

One lamp and two fragments of lamps are indeed, claimed for Tekkalakota by its excavators. Of one of the fragmentary specimens Dr. Nagaraja Rao himself says that it "could have been used as a channel-spouted bowl". The other which is 4 cms. long and about 4.4 cms. broad at the broken end has nothing but its slightly tapering other end to recce-sumed it to be accounted a lamp. The third, appearing as 'g' in fig. 30, which is described as "a small oval lamp with a very narrow wick channel", it may be noted is labelled "broken" by Dr. Sankalia, though Dr. Nagaraja Rao's description and its actual photograph as No. 11 in pl. XI(a) of Rao's book on Tekkalakota make it out to be a complete piece. As for the "very narrow channel", I do not see it anywhere in the piece even under a magnifying glass.[47]

Dr. Sankalia and his two co-workers have distinguished a number of varieties in this artefact of Chalcolithic Maharashtra. Two or three of them only deserve to be noted. The fact that Dr. Sankalia and his

46. *Chal. Navd.*, pp. 374-5; *Hist. to Prehist.*, pp. 377; *Chal. Chand.*, p. 119; *Ind. Arch.*, 1964-65, p. 27; *Songaon Excavation*, p. 44.
47. Tekkalakota, p. 81; figs. 20 and 30; Sankalia, *Pre and Proto*, p. 534, fig. 234.

collaborators have reproduced either in a photograph only one of their "thirteen complete lamps" from Navdatoli is a great handicap to one who desires to compare these lamps with other Indian or non-Indian ones. And that is rectangular in shape, and not really complete, 3 in pl. XXVII. In chapter twelve I have compared the Navdatoli specimens, on the basis of the fragments and their reconstruction, which the above-mentioned authors have offered to their readers, with similar ones from Ahar and also with such artefacts from Rangpur, though painfully aware that I was comparing a fragmentary object with a complete one. The latter is reproduced in a fine photograph by Dr. S. R. Rao in his Rangpur report. The same scholars, in their work on Nevase, have illustrated two "complete" specimens from the finds at the site, though they have clearly stated that there was only one complete specimen among them! My statement about the relative merits of the artefacts from Rangpur and from Nevase made in chapter 12, it will be seen, can stand, though it disagrees with the pronouncement of Dr. Sankalia, and his collaborators that "the Rangpur lamps are a range of monotonous bowls".

The above-mentioned scholars have brought to the notice of their readers the fact that the Harappan assemblages of the Indus valley have not yielded unmistakable specimens of lamps. In chapter 12 in the context of lamps I have drawn attention to pottery lamps which neatly answer the description of a pottery lamp current in Maharashtra as known to me from the beginning of the twentieth century till to day, the time since when it came in use not being known, popularly known as 'panti', correctly spelled as 'panati', 'n' being cerebral and appearing in dictionaries also as 'panatoli', 'n' being cerebral. I believe that it is represented in the Chalcolithic assemblages of Maharashtra by what Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators have described as "circular on plan" in their book on Navdatoli. The description of "pipal-leaf-shaped" on plan, which Dr. Sankalia has applied to what appears to be an oval or rectangularish artefact, fits it better. The 'panti'-lamp does not have any "longitudinal" or latitudinal depression. It is the pinched lip-receptacle for the wick, looking like the prolongation of the pipal-leaf, that justifies the appellation for this type of pottery lamp.[48] The longitudinal depression is best seen in the oval-shaped specimen numbered 1 in fig. 60 of *Chalcolithic Chandoli* and in the complete specimen from Nevase numbered 1 in fig. 173. There are at least two fragmentary specimens from Nevase, both oval-shaped or near-oval-shaped, numbered 1 and 2 in fig. 174 in which, too, the same feature stands out. The feature of longitudinal depression characterizes three of the fragmentary specimens from Navdatoli all of them rectangular, illustrated in fig. 117 of Chalcolithic Navdatoli. The

48. Nav., p. 376; *Pre & Pro.*, p. 504.

Ahar specimens, on the other hand, do not show it. Chalcolithic Maharashtra's affiliation with Chalcolithic Malwa thus stands out boldly.

Drs. Sankalia and Deo discovered a double-pot at Jorwe in 1950-51, which appears in photograph numbered 3 in pl. XXXV of their Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe published in 1955. They have added in brackets, after the descriptive tag, the qualification "Unstratified". They did not even care to give any description of the object in their listed descriptions. However Dr. B. K. Thapar in the report on his Maski excavations of 1954, published in 1957, has figured the pot along with some other artefacts of Jorwe-Nasik-Nevase complex in his chart presenting "common elements among the Harappan and other Chalcolithic cultures". In the Harappan complex he figured a similar but painted pot from Kot Diji. He presented them in photographs side by side in pl. XVIII, where they appear as if they were a pair of twin, the Kot Dijian having black stripes painted all the way round its body. The Kot Diji pot was discovered by me in 1936 and was included in the whole assemblage of pre-historic antiquities I had discovered in Sind which was donated to the Prince of Wales Museum. Strangely enough there is no mention of the Jorwe pot in Dr. Sankalia's works and consequently no reference to the Kot Diji specimen. Dr. S. R. Rao in his disquisition on Rangpur in relation to other Chalcolithic sites, comparing the so-called double-pot, which he discovered at Rangpur, mentions as other pots "of identical shapes" those of Maski I, Jorwe I and Kot Diji, presenting in photographs the three specimens, Rangpur, Jorwe and Kot Diji in pl. XXIX.[49] It can be seen from the reproductions that the Rangpur specimen, if it is really a double-pot, is different enough not to be classed as a sister of the other two. Thus at least one Chalcolithic site of Maharashtra might have had some connection with Sindh Chalcolithic which was clearly a highly developed urban civilization. Dr. Rao's enumeration of Maski I as a cultural stratum yielding a double pot is of course an error, there being no such pot discovered at Maski.

It may be of interest and perhaps of some use too, to state here that Vedic ritual required a number of pots, of different shapes. One of such pots appears to have been a triple-pot. Dr. Raghu Vira, has described the pots basing his description on Vedic literature and on the pots in actual use by Vedic ritualists. The triple-pot appears as fig. 22 on page 289 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1934 illustrating his article.

The Grey ware of the Maharashtrian Chalcolithic sites connects them with the Karnataka Chalcolithic culture, the Black-and-Red ware, though present only in Prakash, Daimabad, and Chandoli, and that, too, in small

49. *Ancient Ind.*, No. 13, fig. 3 and pp. 21-22; Nos. 18-19, p. 203.

quantities, implies connection with the post-Harappan culture of Rangpur in Kathewad.[50] The Black-and-Red ware in Karnataka, whether White-painted or not, occurs mostly in the Megalithic-Iron age context, the main wares being Grey pale or Burnished-and-Brown or Brown-and-Black wares. Though Dull Red ware characterizes some phases of Tekkalakota culture, there is no evidence of Lustrous-Red anywhere.[51]

Housing in Maharashtra of the Chalcolithic period appears to have begun with small circular pit-dwellings. At least such houses appear to have been the structures at Inamgaon. The diameter of the circular pit-top was about 2 m. At the same place, later, rectangular houses came to be put up, at least eight such houses having been uncovered. The houses appear to have been much bigger than the pit-dwellings. The biggest of these houses measured about 8.50 m. in length and 3.30 m. in breadth. "Some of the houses had well-defined courtyards", with arrangement for draining away rain-water from the courtyard. At Songaon where the circular pit-dwellings were even smaller, with diameters ranging between 0.75 m. to 1.21 m., a rectangular house larger than the largest of Inamgaon houses was discovered. It measured 10.66 m. in length and 6.09 m. in breadth. The biggest of all Chalcolithic Maharashtra houses was seen at Nevase. It was 13.7 m. long and 6.3 m. broad. The excavators, Drs. Deo and Ansari, inform us that "the normal length of a room" was about 2.4 m. and width 2.1 m.[52]

The settlement as a whole at Inamgaon, the village or agro-town with houses having courtyards, appears to have been fortified, the wall being built with "unhewn stones, set in mud mortar". It was further protected against floods by means of an embankment formed of "boulders set in mud mortar". The excavators inform us that the "ancient river channel is even now seen running close and parallel to the embankment".[53] This is a highly significant feature of Chalcolithic Maharashtra. For the only other rampart in North India besides the fortification at Kalibangan is that of Eran in M.P. And Eran site appears to be younger than Songaon.

Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka has revealed evidence of houses at Tekkalakota and Hallur. Both the structures at Tekkalakota which the excavators could reconstruct were round, 5.53 m. and 6.15 m. in diameter respectively. Both of them were above ground. At Hallur too, only two structures, both circular in shape, were evidenced. In one, with a diameter of 3 m., the central port-holes have led the excavator Dr. Nagaraja Rao to conclude that the roof was conical. The other, whose interior diameter was 2.60 m., a slightly smaller structure, did not evidently reveal

50. *An. Ind.*, Nos. 20-21, p. 55; *Chalcolithic Chandoli,* pp. 51-53.
51. Tekkalakota, pp. 37-48; Sanganakallu, pp. 19, 26-7; Hallur, pp. 37-52.
52. *Ind. Arch.*, 1970-71, p. 25; 1964-65, p. 27; 1959-60, pp. 27-8.
53. *Ind. Arch.*, 1970-71, pp. 25-6.

its central port-hole.[54] Altogether Karnataka may be said to have had smaller and poorer houses, though its Neolithic-Chalcolithic inhabitants built them above ground. There is, therefore, no evidence of development nor of possible social distinctions.

In tools and weapons, Maharashtra appears to align more with Navdatoli and therefore M.P. than with Karnataka. For as against the vast number of stone-blades yielded by Navdatoli the number of these artefacts discovered at such sites as Daimabad and Inamgaon is not known and the number encountered at Chandoli, Songaon, Nevase and Prakash are fairly large. At Chandoli the excavators enumerated 1473 stone-blades, at Songaon they counted 314, at Nevase more than 5000 and at Prakash more than 500. In copper tools, Maharashtrian Chalcolithic sites of Central Deccan appear to approach Navdatoli and even Ahar, lagging behind in number of such artefacts but not in types. The northernmost site of Prakash with only one shapeless bit of copper to its credit in the Chalcolithic period and with twenty-one objects in the next period stands distinguished from Navdatoli culture and inter-alia proclaims its derivation of copper technology more from Maharashtra than from the north. The insignificance of the Period I object can be judged from the fact that Dr. Thapar has not cared to have it illustrated in his report, where later objects are illustrated both in photogaphs and in line-drawings. Nevase yielded one copper object which is some kind of a chisel and another which is construed to have been a blade and also a celt. One of the six copper pots in the assemblage of this site, being from the Chalcolithic period testifies to the development of copper technology there. Though at Songaon no metal object was met with, at Chandoli not only three copper chisels, one copper celt, and three fish hooks but also a spear with antennae in copper testify to the spread of copper technology in Central Deccan in the Chalcolithic Period, not inferior to that which prevailed at Navdatoli.[55]

The type of copper tool least represented in the abovementioned Maharashtrian sites but found, rather in large number in the north, is the celt, of which Navdatoli provided five complete and three fragmentary specimens. At Ahar in south-eastern Rajasthan four celts were discovered.[56]

In Karnataka, the culture of Brahmagiri is described as "Stone-Axe Culture". It yielded 15 complete and 29 broken polished stone axes or celts—and eighty-nine microliths mostly blades. At Maski 387 stone

54. Tekkalakota, pp. 20-21; Hallur, pp. 23-24.
55. Prakash, p. 121, fig. 39 and pl. XXVII-A; Nevase, pp. 416-18, 421; figs. 185-86; *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 20, pl. XXXI-B; Songaon, p. 44; Chandoli, pp. 114-116, figs. 57-58.
56. Navdatoli, pp. 390-95; Ahar, p. 199.

blades were quite clear but the stone-axes gathered were all unstratified. At Sanganakallu at least 27 fully finished stone axes and 52 unfinished ones, but hardly a true stone-blade were encountered. Drs. Ansari and Nagaraja Rao have, indeed, devoted two paragraphs to "the Neolithic stone blade industry" but have said nothing about any actual find of that artefact at Sanganakallu! Tekkalakota, "among the excavated sites", as Dr. Nagaraja Rao informs us, has yielded "the largest number of tools of ground and pecked industry from the stratified deposits". However, he has not stated the number of ground tools he discovered, nor is it possible to count them from his listings of the types. No true stone-blade figures among the illustrations of stone-tools embodied in the book on the excavation. Hallur yielded 23 stone tools, adzes, axes and chisels, and about 150 stone blades.[57] On the other hand, Chalicolithic Hallur yielded only 3 copper objects, two of which are described as miniature axes and the third as "a small fish hook". The excavator Dr. Nagaraja Rao compares the last artefact with similar ones from Tekkalokata in Karnataka and from Nevase in Maharashtra. It must be pointed out in this context that the Nevase fish-hook did not belong to the Chalcolithic period. Of the five copper objects, all small ones, discovered at Tekkalakota none is an implement. Three of them appear to be some kind of ornaments, finger-rings (?). The remaining two are nondescript pieces of copper. Among the two copper and two bronze objects from Brahmagiri figures a copper object, which, Sir Mortimer Wheeler describes as "possibly a flat axe", the other copper object being a rod. The bronze objects are a pin and a finger-ring. One copper rod was the only metal object in the assemblage of this Period at Maski.[58] Piklihal, which is Neolithic, yielded one copper chisel. There were two pieces of copper of the Period but they appear to have been parts of "the rim of a bowl".[59]

It may be legitimately concluded that in the matter of tools and weapons Chalcolithic Maharashtra resembled Central India more than southern India of that Period.

It appears that 'kulthi', horse-gram, Dolichos lablab, and 'ragi', millet, Eleusine coracana, were the only grains known and used by the people of Karnataka of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic Period. They appear to have supplemented their cereal food by animal food charred bones testifying to the use of both beef and mutton.[60] As against this very restricted knowledge of cereals evidenced by the Southern Neolithic-Chalcolithic people,

57. Brahmagiri, pp. 202, 245-46, 250; Maski, pp. 92, 101; Sanganakallu, pp. 15-16; Tekkalakota, pp. 55-65; figs. 24-27; Hallur, pp. 75, 83.
58. Hallur, pp. 90-91; Tekkalakota, p. 77; Brahmagiri, pp. 262, 268-9, fig. 41; Maski, p. 114.
59. Piklihal, p. 107; pl. 56b.10.
60. Tekkalakota, p. 91; Hallur, p. 141.

the fact that the people of Maharashtra of more or less the same period knew and used at least six different cereals inclines one to see deeper connections of Maharashtra with Central and Northern India, though rice does not figure among them. Barely, wheat, lentil, pea, green-gram and horse-gram are the cereals listed by Dr. Sankalia among the ten grains identified in the remains from Inamgaon.[61] There is no unequivocal evidence in the assemblages supporting Dr. Sankalia's statement that "For food the inhabitants of these Chalcolithic villages [Nevase and Chandoli] largely depended upon beef, and venison, to some extent on buffalo, fish and mussel-shell". For, his authority for the major part of the statement, which is the report of Mr. J. Eapen on the animal remains of the Nevase excavations, reads "some of the pieces of antlers and bones of cattle and deer are found in charred condition. Whether these are the left overs of food or sacrificial rituals is difficult to say". As for Chandoli Drs. Deo and Ansari who speak of the food of the people in indefinite negative terms as that they "were not entirely vegetarians", have based their statement on the presence of "a large number of animal bones, shells, fish vertebrae and fish-hooks" in the assemblage and not on any specific indication of such use of the bones.[62]

In the matter of personal ornaments, Maharashtra appears to stand more distinctive than as affined either to the North or the South. Beads are the universal ornament of the proto-historic people, whether supplemented or not with other types of ornaments. Prakash yielded only 16 beads among which there was none of metal or glass; but there were two of coral. Nevase yielding as many as 594 beads makes us look to Central and Northern India but the fact that more than 93 per cent. of them were of steatite makes us turn to Maharashtra itself. Neither coral, nor glass, bead was known. Though the excavators have not shown any bead of metal among the Nevase beads in their classified list, copper beads were in evidence at Nevase. For Drs. Deo and Ansari digging at the site in 1959-60, among the accompaniments of a burial, came across "a necklace of seventeen barrel-shaped copper beads strung with a string" round the neck of a child buried in urns. The thread is said to be of silk. If the identification is correct and quite authentic, to Maharashtra will go the honour of being the earliest user of silk in the country. Drs. Deo and Ansari counted 79 beads in their Chandoli assemblage, in which contrary to Nevase situation, steatite accounted for only one and glass for three. Nine copper beads of this total were barrel-shaped and were "the remains of a necklace". Besides these there were evidently five similar copper beads forming part of another necklace, left out by the

61. *Pre. & Pro.*, p. 510.
62 Sankalia, *Pre. & Pro.*, p. 508; *Hist. Pre Hist. at Nevase*, pp. 531, 539; *Chalcolithic Chandoli*, p. 139.

excavators from their total number of beads for reasons not known. Inamgaon yielded "a number of copper bangles and anklets, bearing incised patterns".[63]

Dr. Thapar found at Maski only 23 beads, among which 5 were of glass. Stone-Axe-age Brahmagiri yielded only 26 beads among which 12 were of magnesite, a material which appears to be in evidence only in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. There was no bead of either glass or metal. In the Piklihal assemblage of the Neolithic Period there were only 6 beads of which five were of "shell and magnesite" and one of carnelian. Tekkalakota yielded only 14 beads among which carnelian beads numbered six and steatite ones three. There was no metal, nor even glass bead indisputably of that Period. However, surprisingly the poorly looking Tekkalakota culture made up for its lack of its bead-wealth by small gold ornaments: One three-coiled piece weighing 7.49 gms. is described by Dr. Nagaraja Rao as "a gold pendant or ear ornament" and another similar piece with six coils weighed 5.37 gms. A copper spiral and a copper ring figuring in the assemblage, too, could have been used as ornaments. Dr. Nagaraja Rao's haul of beads at Hallur was larger, there being 64 beads in the assemblage. Shell was the predominant material, claiming 42 of the total beads, with steatite, providing 15 beads, coming next. Neither metal nor glass figured in the beads materials.[64]

Seeking for some information regarding what are called religious beliefs and practices from the assemblages of the Period, one finds that the excavators and authors of the excavation reports have seen evidence of some kind of bull-cult at Piklihal, Sangankallu and Tekkalakota. The statement about some kind of animal-cult including the bull at Tekkalakota made by Dr. Nagaraja Rao is quite circumspect and is described by him as "speculative, and therefore, tentative". What Dr. Rao has actually presented in his work as implied evidence for his "speculative and tentative" statement is this: (1) A number of bovine bones but no skulls; (2) "painting, bruising, engraving and punctured decorations depicting the humped and long-horned cattle"; (3) "presence of two hind parts of terracotta bulls". The objects mentioned in the last item are so tiny and nondescript that to look upon them as hind parts of bulls specifically requires an act of faith. For Sanganakallu there is good evidence of what appear to be fine specimens of terracotta bull-figurines. Though there is at least one figurine of a bird in their midst, the particular style of the bull-figurines, joined legs, bespeaks their affi-

63. Prakash, p. 111; Nevasa, p. 346; *Ind. Arch.*, 1959-60, p. 28; Chandoli, pp. 107-08; *Ind. Arch.* 1970-71, p. 26.
64. Maski, p. 104; Brahmagiri, pp. 264-65; Piklihal, p. 109; Tekkalakota, pp. 76-77, 79 and pl. IX b & c., Hallur, p. 94.

nity with similar figurines elsewhere and consequently raises the presumption of their having been cultic-figurines.

Compared with the Sanganakallu bull-figurines those of Piklihal are more imaginative reconstructions than actualities. There is only one figurine among the pieces implied to be evidence of bull-figurines which is quite clearly a specimen of the humped bull, pl. 40.5 and pl. 41, 6.5. In the latter plate, however, the broken figurine numbered 3 is a specimen of the fowl.[65] All the data thus amount to rather very little for positing the prevalence of some kind of bull-cult in Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.

Bull-figurines or even paintings are an extreme rarity in Chalcolithic Maharashtra. The fact that whereas Nevase of the post-Chalcolithic Period has yielded a number of bull-figurines, Chalcolithic Nevase assemblage is uttery devoid of any, should lead one to conclude that anything like bull-cult must be a post-Chalcolithic phenomenon. However, just the opposite of this is Dr. Sankalia's statement on religion in Chalcolithic Maharashta. Searching for evidence in the assemblages of the various excavations, I find that Drs. Deo and Ansari found one "fragmentary" and "crude" specimen of a terracotta bull at Chandoli, hardly more than 2.5 cms. in total length and about 1.8 cms. in height. They also discovered a vessel "in the form of a bull with strokes in black colour all over the body". The shape of the pot in their own words is "like a hollow cylinder with a rimmed opening in place of the mouth of a bull". That the figure intended is a bull is, according to them, "indicated by a short applique tail, a small hump and short oblique strokes in black painted all over". One pottery fragment from the assemblage at Prakash is construed by Dr. Thapar to be a bull-figurine. If that identification is granted, then one can see similarity between it and the Chandoli specimen in the fact of its having black stripes painted all over. At Inamgaon Drs. Ansari and Dhavalikar in their first excavation apart speak of a plurality of bull-figurines among their finds, However, Dr. Sankalia along with Drs. Ansari and Dhavalikar, reporting on another excavation at the same site in 1970-71, write thus: "The most significant find of the season was a clay receptacle, containing a Mother Goddess figurine . . . The receptacle along with a bull-figurine, also of unbaked clay, was found deposited in what first appeared to be a post-hole". None of the so-called "bull-figurines" of the earlier report is illustrated. The only bull-figurine illustrated is that of the second excavation, the unbaked clay object.[66]

65. Tekkalakota, pp. 89, 94; Sanganakallu, fig. 11 & p. 19; Pilklihal, pp. 80-81.
66. Sankalia, Nevase, p. 388; *Pre. & Pro.*, pp. 487-89; *Ch. Chandoli,* pp. 123-4; *An. Ind.* No. 20-21, p. 119 & pl. XXV-B; *Ind. Arch.*, 1969-70, p. 27; 1970-71, p. 26 & pl. **XLIV.**

Thus it is seen that bull-figurine proper is a rarity among the cultural assemblages of Chalcolithic Maharashtra. The fact that in the two Inamgaon houses, which wielded to Dr. Sankalia and his collaborators as many as two hundred pottery objects, did not contain a single bull-figurine must incline one to call in question the validity of Dr. Sankalia's[67] attempt to support his postulation of the worship of the nude goddess standing on the back of a bull in the "small thercomorphic vessel at Nevase and Chandoli". By the by, Dr. Sankalia has not provided the specific reference to authenticate the find of such an object at Nevase and I do not find such one mentioned or figured in *From History to Pre-history at Nevase*!

Chalcolithic Maharashtra proclaims its affinity with Chalcolithic North India further in the matter of the cult of a female deity. Nevase has yielded a rather ungainly terracotta figurine. It stands photographed in pl. XXXI-B of *Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60. The excavators, Drs. Deo and Ansari, speak of the find of "two mother goddess figurines". The only description of their find they have offered is "One of them was of large dimensions; its concave base might indicate its having been placed on a stand".[68] The figurine photographed is a very poor analogue of the fine specimen of a mother-goddess discovered at the Ochre-coloured Pottery site, Lal Qila in U.P., already mentioned above in its proper context. It is more like one or the other of the three terracotta figurines from Kalibangan photographed in pl. LXX of *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62. The clay figurine in a clay receptacle discovered at Inamgaon, photographed in pl. XLIV of *Indian Archaeology*, 1970-71, is a much better specimen, the prominent breasts of the figure recalling the feature of the Lal Qila figurine. There is in the illustration another headless prominent-breasted female figurine which is not mentioned in the account of the finds.[69] Though I have used the information provided by the excavators in *Indian Archaeology*, I must point out to the reader that one cannot be quite certain about the situation. For in his letter to the editor of *Man*, which being published in the issue of the Journal for March 1970, must have been written about the same time that Drs. Sankalia, Ansari and Dr. Dhavalikar wrote their above-mentioned account, Dr. Dhavalikar asserts that all the mother-goddess figurines were "well baked",[70] though in the above-mentioned account and in the description tag of the illustration, nothing is said about the figurine, being of baked-clay. And Dr. Sankalia, the senior partner in the joint venture of excavation writing

67. *Pre. & Pro.*, pp. 488-89.
68. *Loc. cit.*, p. 28.
69. *Loc. cit.*, p. 26.
70. Man, 1970, p. 131.

thee years after has categorically told us that "all or many of the nude mother goddess" figurines "have been found in an unbaked condition".[71]

It is interesting to find that Chalcolithic Maharashtra which in so many cultural items including that of the cult of a female deity appears to line up itself with Central and Northern India has in the matter of the disposal of the dead, closer affinity with Neolithic-Chalcolithic Karnataka.

Both burial and cremation would appear to have been the methods of disposal of the dead in Chalcolithic Maharashtra. The practice of burial, must have been the only one for the disposal of dead children. Nevase has yielded 134 burials, 100 being the sum of the burials enumerated as discovered in the two excavations of 1959-1960 and 1960-61. The number of burials found in the earlier excavations is stated in *From History to Pre-history at Nevase* to have been 34. Of the 100 burials 95 were those of children and only 5 of adults. This heavily weighted burial-scene raises the probability of burial or cremation having been the mode of disposal for the adult dead. Almost all the child-burials are pot-burials, two pots enclosing the burial, whereas the adult burials were extended burials laid "directly on the floor with the head pointing towards the north" or enclosed in three globular pots. In the latter case, the two "northern jars faced each other, while the southern-most one capped the apertured bottom of the middle one", i.e., of the jar placed mouth to mouth with the northern-most jar. Parts of the adult body below the ankles were missing in almost all the burials. Of the 24 burials at Chandoli, 23 were of children interned in urns, which numbered two in all but three burials. The adult burial was right on the floor in the extended position and lacked in the lower extremities.[72] At Inamgaon the adult burials are stated to have been laid in pits, the number of such burials discovered not being given. It is clear from the description of the Dha'mabad Phase I adult burial that adults too were buried, in the eariler phases, under the floor of the house. Child-burials were almost all within the house.[73]

Tekkalakota of Karnataka has furnished evidence to indicate that the practice of extended burial in pits prevailed there in its earliest cultural phase. However, whether the skeletal remains of three persons found in one pit or those of the single person in another, represented primary burials or secondary ones is not clear. Phase II is characterized by normal extended burial of an adult in "a narrow oval pit", as well as by secondary burials in pots of skeletal remains after desication. Dr. Nagaraja

71. *Pre. and Pro.*, p. 488.
72. *Ind. Arch.*, 1959-60, p. 28 & pl. XXX; 1960-61, p. 20 and pl. XXXI; *Hist. to Pre-Hist.*, p. 23; *Chal. Chandoli*, p. 18; *Ind. Arch.*, 1960-61, p. 27. We read of 2 adult burials though only one is described.
73. *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 18 and pl. XXIV; 1969-70, p. 27.

Rao mentions a four-pots burial, evidently of the normal extended variety, which he found in Tr. 49. However, it is not illustrated. Two normal extended burials of adults are illustrated, one in pl. IV(a) marked as Burial No. 7 Tr. 1, and the other in pl. V(a) marked as Burial No. 2 Tr. 1. We see that in one of them the extremities of the legs are missing and in the other broken up. We may see in this feature a practice analogous the Maharashtrian one. Children were buried either in urns or in the ground in the house beneath the floor. Dr. Nagaraja Rao appears to have found the whole and fractional burials as concurrent practice. In the former case the child was laid up or placed in the embryonic position. The same scholar found all the three child burials at Hallur to have been two-pots burials, the pots being placed in a pit dug up in the floor of the house.[74] At Brahmagiri children were buried either doubled up in two pots placed vertically in a pit or in the extended position in a pit.[75]

The next phase of culture in Karnataka was Megalithic and Iron-using, there being no evidence of the Northern Black Polished pottery in its assemblages. In Maharashtra both at Prakash and Nevase the Chalcolithic Period was followed, after a long interval, by assemblages of Iron age and Northern Black Polished pottery as a new ceramic component.

74. Tekkalakota, pp. 27-33; Hallur, pp. 29-30 and fig. 10, pl. IVA.
75. *An. Ind.*, 4, pp. 202-03 and pls. CVIII, CIX.

15

Non-Literate Vedic India, The Extremities

We have seen that a very much larger area of Bharat than that mentioned in the Vedic literature was occupied by peoples whose culture is summed up in the single technological term Chalcolithic. It has still not been possible for scholars to identify the Chalcolithic culture or cultures—we have encountered some areal or regional differences in this culture—discovered in the region known to have been specifically occupied by the Vedic people with the Vedic Indo-Aryan peoples. We have put in some literary evidence to support the archaeologists' plea to find in the pre-Harappan culture of north Bharat a pre-Harappan Sindhi source. We have also presented some Puranic-Epic data to suggest that the Banas-Malwa, or the Ahar-Navdatoli, culture complex may be the result of the confluence of the Yadava and the Naga ethnic cultural streams. It is seen that in this portrait the extremities of Bharat do not figure. I have to point out that it is so because they have so far yielded no cultural remains that can claim the Chalcolithic label without demur. They are now to be studied in this last chapter.

The extremities left out are: Jammu-Kashmir, Assam and Orissa, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala. Three well-known archaeologists, with long experience of archaeological field-work in India and keenly intent on presenting a synthetic picture of the Indian pre-historic and proto-historic scene, have during the last seven years, obliged students of the subject by presenting maps of distribution in their valuable works. Drs. Bridget and Raymond Allchin[1] in their "map of Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites east of the Indus system", have placed 57 sites, out of which 54 are Bharatan. Of the 54, one, Burjahom, lies in Jammu-Kashmir, and three in Tamil Nadu; Paiyampalli, Gaurimedu and Mangalam, the last two being in Pondicherry. No site is indicated in either Assam, Orissa or Kerala. Dr. W. A. Fairservis[2] has gone one better by presenting two

1. *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, fig. 42, p. 177.
2. *The Roots of Ancient India*.

separate maps; map 24, p. 332, spots the neolithic sites. I count seventy of them as on the Bharatan soil. Of these, one is in Jammu-Kashmir, two in Orissa, four or possibly more—Dr. Fairservis has not listed the sites by name—in Tamil Nadu and none in either Kerala or Assam. On map 25, p. 336, which shows "certain sites of 'chalcolithic' type", I count 47 sites. None of them happens to be in either Jammu-Kashmir, Assam, Orissa, Tamil Nadu or Kerala.

Dr. Sankalia's book, *The Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, contains three maps showing the distribution of sites, which are Neolithic or Chalcolithic. In the first map, fig. 68, opp. p. 280, we find the distribution of Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites "in relation to ancient trade routes". From the explanations accompanying the map we find that neither in Assam nor in Orissa, nor again in Kerala is there any site which is either Chalcolithic or Neolithic-Chalcolithic. However, from his description of Assam stone tools and the map on p. 280 it is abundantly clear that Assam is teeming with Neolithic tools. Almost all of them, with the exception of those from one site in North Cachar Hills, are surface finds. The North Cachar Hills site has yielded along with the stone-tools many pottery sherds, so small that the excavators, Prof. M. C. Goswami and Dr. T. C. Sharma, and even Dr. Sankalia have dispaired of giving any idea of the shapes of the pots. However, they have explained the technique of pot-making employed, from which it is clear that it is a purely hand-made pottery, perhaps not well fired. Eleven sherds of another variety of pottery found among them they have pronounced to be both thin and fine and well baked. It "seems to have been made on a wheel or a turn-table". The people, it is surmised from the nature of the debris, must have lived in mud-walled houses.[3]

In Tamil Nadu, Dr. Sankalia shows four Neolithic sites, and in Jammu-Kashmir three in closest contiguity. The second map, fig. 214, which appears on p. 514, "showing the probable subdivisions of the Southern Neolithic Culture", which is "after Peddayya", names only three sites in Tamil Nadu, which are the same as those mentioned above, and none in Kerala. The third map which is much more composite than the first mentioned above, fig. 246 on p. 555, shows "the approximate spread of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic and Bronze-Age cultures in India and Pakistan with their probable time range", and spots the site of Burzahom in Jammu-Kashmir and none in Assam, Orissa, Tamil Nadu or Kerala. However, in Orissa at least one neolithic site, very poor in pottery assemblage, was discovered by Dr. B. K. Thapar, e.g., Kuchai in Mayurbhanj district.[4]

The site of Burzahom, though placed by Dr. Sankalia among Neolithic-

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-7.
4 *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, pp. 35-36.

Chalcolithic sites was a purely neolithic one in the Vedic age. The excavation at Burzahom is described in at least five volumes of *Indian Archaeology*, those for 1960-61, 61-62, 62-63, 64-65 and 65-66. In none of them do we find mention of any metal tool among the finds of Phases I and II, both of which are dubbed as Neolithic.[5] Radiocarbon dates given by Fairsevis[6] are 1850 ± 130 B.C. and 1540 ± 110 B.C. for Phase I. Dr. D. P. Agrawal, on the basis of several C-14 dates, has dated "this Northern Neolithic Culture" to *circa* 2300-1500 B.C.[7] The excavators of the site, speaking in terms of Periods and not Phases as Dr. Fairservis does, declared both the Periods I and II to be Neolithic. The tools were mostly stone and some of bones, the latter variety being much more in evidence in Period II. In the later reports apparently the same excavators use the term Phase for Period. In Phase I, sixteen pits dug into the natural soil were exposed, each one measuring 3.96 m. deep and 4.57 m. and 2.74 m. in breadth at the bottom and at the top respectively. The side walls of the pits were plastered with mud, and there were landing steps reaching to a depth of 1.21 to 1.52 m. from the top. Post-holes on surface at the top "indicate the likelihood of a super-structure". There are undoubted indications of human occupation of the pits. There were stone-hearths near the mouths of the pits which the excavators rightly suggest are an indication of temporary and seasonal dwelling on ground level. The pits were either rectangular or square. Hearths and drains, too, are said to have been noticed but none of them is reproduced in the reports. In the second Phase, structures of mud and mud-bricks made their appearance.[8]

The pottery was a crude hand-made ware with "grey, shades of dull-red, drab, brown, buff and burnished black surfaces", the last variety becoming more abundant in Phase II, the pottery of the earlier period being coarse. The excavators have taken care to warn the students of the culture against identifying the burnished black pottery with the famous Northern Black-Polished Ware of *Indian Archaeology*. All pottery was "hand-made". Bowl, dish, vase, jar and stem are the forms or shapes met with in the assemblage. "A distinctive type in the grey or black burnished ware was a high-necked jar with a flaring rim, globular body and flat base" from Phase II.[9] The measurements of the jar are: Total height 44.1 cms.,

5. *Indian Archaeology*, 1964-65, p. 13.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 316.
7. *Indian Archaeology*, 1965-66, p. 87.
8. *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62, pp. 17-18, 21; Dwelling pits: pls. XXXIV-XXXV; tools, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII-B and 1960-61, pls. XIV-XV, XVII B, XVIII and fig. 8 and p. 11.
9. *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, p. 11 and pls. XVI, XVII-A; 1961-62, pp. 17-19, 21; fig. 5, 6 and 7; pl. XXXVIII-A; fig. 8.

neck height 15.8 cms., height of the belly of the jar 28.3 cms., breadth of the jar at mid-belly 30.4 cms., breadth of the neck at start, 11.6 cms., breadth at the rim, 21 cms. At the start of the neck it is decorated with "incised oblique notches". On other pots "mat-impressions formed exclusive designs".

In Phase II occupation, "mud-platforms with partitions, storage pits and house-floors with post-holes suggestive of timber superstructures" were uncovered. Nine human burials and ten animal ones, of course, excite one's keenest interest. What is more the human burials bore marks of the use of red ochre on the bones. The skeletons were found in pits, circular or oval, narrowing at the top. "The burials showed both primary and secondary internments, the former containing extended articulated skeletons and the latter only selected bones". Only in a few cases was there any grave-furniture. Animals or their bones were evidently deposited in the burials. One of the human skeletons bore evidence of heavy trepanning, having "seven finished and four unfinished circular holes on the skull". The animal-burials like the human ones, were either complete skeletons or incomplete ones. The animals buried were the dog, the wolf and the ibex. In one burial there were skeletal remains of five wild dogs.[10]

Regarding the effiliation of the Neolithic Kashmiri culture Dr. Fairservis[11] has arrived at the conclusion that it "represents a movement out of Central Asia" and not out of Western Asia.

There is literary evidence, however, of a tradition, which envisages Kashmir as a State ruled over by kings from about 1184 B.C., Kalhana, who wrote his history of Kashmir, entitled *Rajatarangini*, River of Kings, in A.D. 1150, has spoken of the first rulers of Kashmir as the Gonanda III who came to the throne in about 1184 B.C. What intrigues one more is that the four kings coming after Gonanda III have the names of men made famous in Ramayana as the Rakshasas of Lanka, Ceylon. They are Bibhishana, Indrajit and Ravana. In Ramayana, Bibhishana who is a younger brother of Ravana is shown as going over to Rama's side. Indrajit is the redoubtable warrior son of Ravana. Ravana was succeeded by Bibhishana II. Still more interesting is the fact that Ravana is said to have erected the shrine of Vatesvar and a 'matha' or monastic structure having four halls. The 40th king of the line was Kusa who was succeeded by Lava.[12] In Ramayana they are Rama's sons. If we follow Pargiter's scheme of counting we come to about the end of the Vedic age's with the reign of Lava in the history of Kashmir.

Of the three recorded sites in Tamil Nadu full information about the

10. *Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63, pp. 9-10, pls. XXV-XXVII; 1964-65, p. 13.
11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 317-18.
12. R. S. Pandit, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. trans., pp. 581-595.

actual finds is available for the excavation at Paiyampalli in North Arcot district. Of the two cultural periods distinguished at the site, the first, which is dated by C-14 test to 1390 ± 200 B.C.,[13] is the only one relevant to our study. The second period, which is named Megalithic, the first being Neolithic, is datable to 315 and 100 B.C. Its artefacts were mixed up in the upper levels of the 1st period. The second period was not separated from the first by any lapse of occupation. The neolithic period thus was a long one of about thousand years duration. The 1 m. thick deposit representing the 1st Period yielded usual tools, pounders, polishers, a chisel and a hoe all of stone. No metal object was discovered in either of the two Phases which the excavator has distinguished within the Neolithic period. The only difference between the Phases is that in the second Phase the quantity of stone blades and bone tools diminished. Some of the dwelling pits, oblong, circular or oval, exposed in the excavation, had, along their periphery at the top, post-holes suggestive of thatched superstructures. Some of the larger pits had "a landing or a ramp-like approach on one side".

The above statements, I must point out, are open to doubt. For though Mr. S. R. Rao was in charge of both the excavations, 1964-65 and 1967-68, he is not consistent in the two reports. In the first report the pits, the so-called dwelling pits, are said to belong to Period II, which was, in his words, "distinguished by the megalithic culture and represented by 1.5 to 2 cms. thick deposit". It is only in the second report, 1967-68, that, after dividing the Period into two Phases, he has ascribed at least some of the dwelling pits and top post-holes and the ramp-like arrangement to Phase A and has pointed out, as a development in Phase B, only "the marked preference for built up huts with wooden posts over the dwelling-pits".

The same contradiction or at least lack of precision marks the excavator's description of the pottery. In the first report the pottery of Peirod I, i.e., the whole Neolithic period, is described as "hand-made greyware, occasionally burnished and painted on the rim with red ochre. An orange-to-pink shade in surface-colour was also observed on some sherds". The second report speaks of "pale grey and burnished grey wares besides a red ware" as the pottery of Phase A of Period I, and adds, without reporting anything about the pottery of Phase B: "All vessels of pale grey and red wares of the pure neolithic levels were hand-made or turned on a slow wheel".

As for the shapes of pots we are told that the "recurrent shapes in cluded: the lipped bowl; vessel with a flaring mouth; and storage jar and dough-plate, made of a thick gritty red ware". The second report

13. *Indian Archaeology,* 1967-68, p. 26.

specifies the type of the bowl further by stating that it has "a round base", and, leaving out the other shapes of the first report, adds one type to the repertory. And that is "a rare type" of "bowl with a short channel spout", which is not illustrated. Further, the second report contains an observation about "the emergence and disappearance of painted pottery" as "a significant feature" which implies that during the period of mix-up with the megalithic culture painted pottery occurred but it disappeared in the megalithic period. Unfortunately the reports are singularly deficient in illustrations, either line-drawings or photographs. There is only half a plate XVII-A of photographs accompanying the first report and a few line-drawings contained in a space of 9.5 cms. × 2 cms. not fully filled up with them, in the second report, the lipped bowl figuring in the neolithic panel.

In the associated finds, terracotta beads and a terracotta figurine of "long-horned variety of cattle" alone need mention. They fiurine in the plate mentioned above.

The statement made by B. and R. Allchin [14] that horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*), green-gram (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and ragi (*Eleusine coracana*) are reported from Paiyampalli is only correct in part and that, too, definitely only for the megalithic period and doubtfully for the upper levels of the neolithic period. For the first report speaks of "charred grains, recovered from a large pit" and treats the same as indication of the use of horse-gram (*Khulti*), green-gram and cereals resembling *ragi*", and assigns the find to the megalithic period and that, too, perhaps of "late levels". The second report, however, dropping *ragi* from the list, states that the two remaining varieties of grains were "found in those levels where a few sherds of megalithic pottery occurred in an essentially neolithic habitation level". Ignoring the contradiction involved between his two reports and the distinction basis of the two phases of the neolithic period, Mr. S. R. Rao in his second report unqualifiedly asserts: "The neolithic settlers of Paiyampalli used to cultivate cereals and pulses"!

As for animals, known to the neolithic Tamil people of Paiyampalli, the excavations reveals the skeletal remains of bovines, sheep, spotted deer, fowl, pig and jungle cat and rhinoceros. Which of them were used for food it is not known.[15]

Paiyampalli excavations did not reveal anything about the practice of the disposal of the dead among the neolithic settlers. We are told [16] that urn-burials were discovered at Gaurimedu and Mangalam in Pondicherry but no definite stratum or cultural assemblage is indicated nor any specific reference to the literature on the particular site made. No student of

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 261.
15. *Indian Archaeology*, 1964-65, pp. 22-23; 1967-68, pp. 27-28.
16. B. & R. Allchin, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

the subject can avoid the impression, nay conclusion, that Tamils of Tamil Nadu even so late as about 500 B.C., had but a rather poor and crude neolithic culture!

The state of affairs of early culture thus revealed by the archaeologists' spade so far cannot but cause great surprise. For Pandyas and Cholas, though not particularly known to *Panini*, were so important by Katyayana's time, about 400 B.C. (?), that he corrected or expanded Panini to bring in the mention of these people.[17] Greek writers, of early decades of the 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D. have recorded the belief of the Indians of their time that Madura, which must have then been a flourishing town, was named after Mathura of the north, the city of the god-like hero, Krishna whose sister, the mother of the Pandavas, was also the ancestress of the Pandians (Pandyas) of that country.[18] Asoka, only about fifty or sixty years later thought it best to reckon with the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas; and we know from the distribution of his edicts, so far discovered, that they remained outside his full dominion. They were prosperous and great political communities in Kharavela's time, i.e., *circa* 150 B.C. That they were a very important component of the Indian people in Kalidasa's[19] time is clear. For he projects back, about sixteen centuries, a Pandya king for him to be present at the self-choice marriage of Indumati, a princes of Vidarbha. The greatness which the Pandyas, Cholas and Keralas had attained in fairly early times is proved by the piece of the Puranic tradition which traced their descent from a descendant of the Rigvedic Turvasas. Pargiter[20] who has furnished this information remarked that the derivation is "not impossible". A Pandya king who was the father-in-law of Arjuna, the Pandava hero, is said, in the Mahabharata, to have been present in the Bharata war and to have fallen at Kurukshetra.[21] All this means that the Cholas and the Pandyas must have had flourishing states and rich towns and cities at least by the 6th century B.C. And yet the archaeologist's spade has not so far been able to unearth a developed culture of pre-Christian era date in the south-eastern extremity of Bharat, the land of the great Cholas and Pandhyas. This situation has to be borne in mind when one seeks for early traces of the urban or non-urban culture of the Vedic peoples in the north, where a number of terrifically destructive raids have taken place and where one or two heavy floods have been traditionally known!

17. Patanjali, *Mahabhashya*, IV, 1, 168 and 175.
18. McBrindle: *Ancient India as described by Magasthenes*, pp. 115, 206-208; *Ancient India*: Strabo's account, p. 9, fn
19. *Raghuvamsa*, VI, 59-65.
20. *Op. cit.*, p. 108.
21. Chitrav: "Pandya".

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